



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

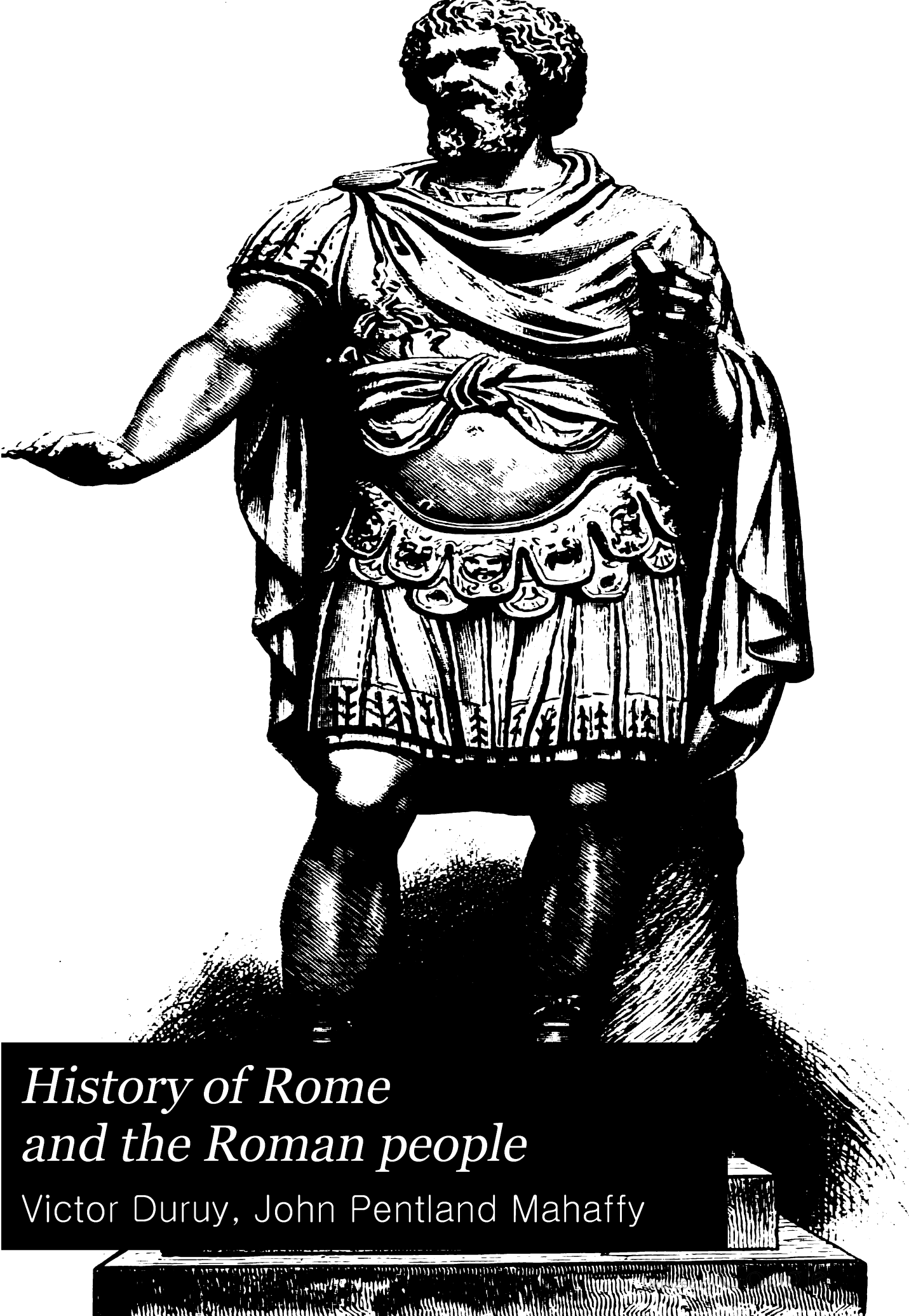
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

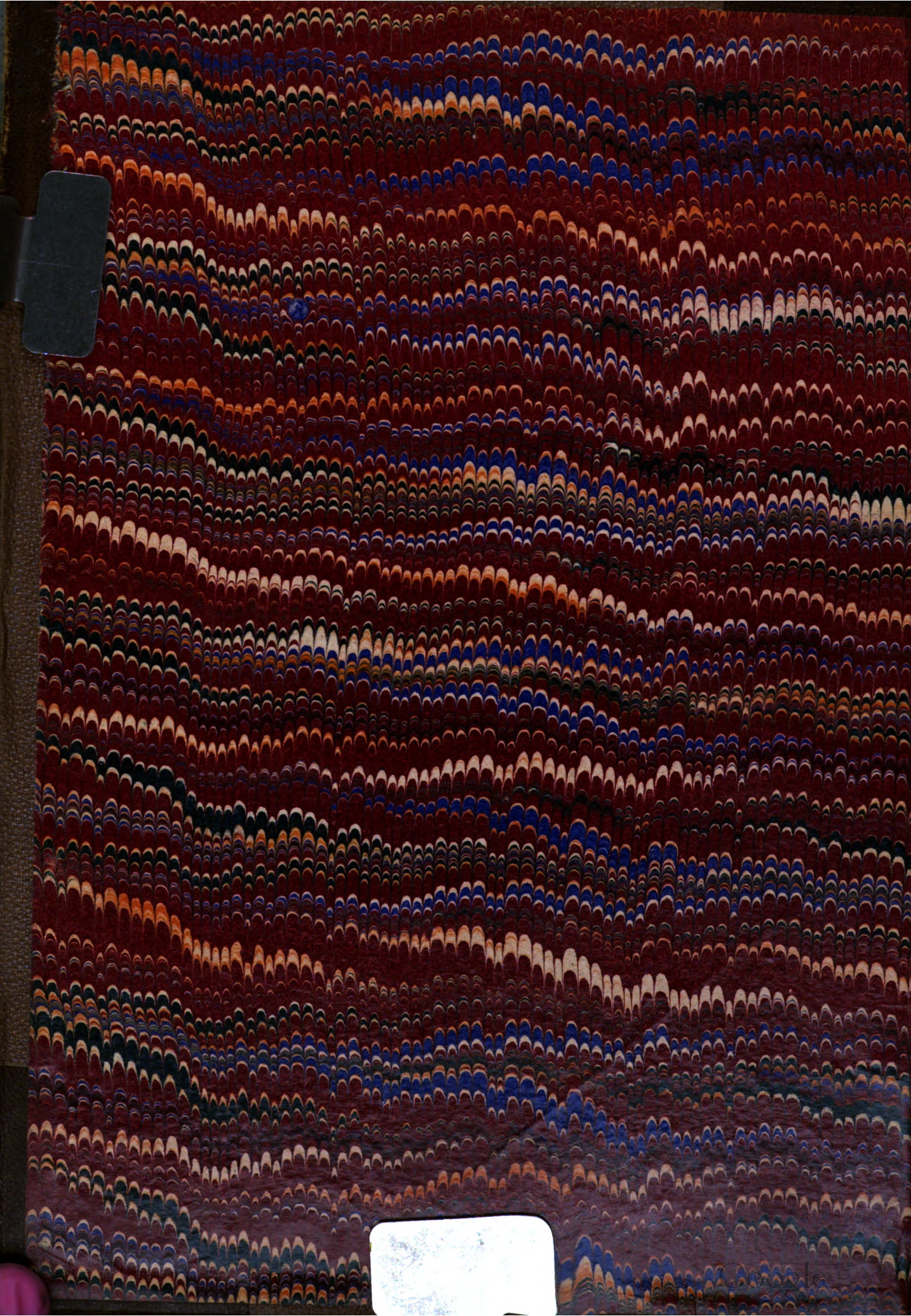
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



*History of Rome
and the Roman people*

Victor Duruy, John Pentland Mahaffy





HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.



SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.
(From Prince Torlonia's Gallery.)

HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE.

BY

VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, &c.

EDITED BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY.

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

AND COMPILED AND ARRANGED BY KELLY & CO.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ABOUT 2500 ENGRAVINGS, 100 MAPS AND PLANS, AND
NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

VOLUME VI.—PART I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF COMMODUS TO THE DEATH OF PHILIP.

WITH 255 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, MAP, AND 3 CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

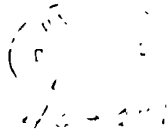


LONDON:

KELGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1886.

KG 2203



PRINTED BY KELLY & CO., GATE STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C., AND KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

[The rights of translation and reproduction are reserved.]

COPYRIGHT (1886) BY ESTES & LAURIAT.

PREFACE TO VOLUME VI.

IN bringing this long labour to a close, I am bound to mention specially the care and ability of the translators, Mr. Clarke and Miss Ripley, who have become so expert in their work as to relieve me of most of an editor's trouble. For in this volume I felt it undesirable to curtail the French text, as has been done to some extent in Volume V. The general index, which was begun as a translation, very soon assumed an independent character, and will be found adequate for all practical purposes; indeed, to catalogue every minute fact or solitary name in so large a book would require an additional volume of print. The work is already voluminous enough, and the publishers are agreed with me that the death of Diocletian is the proper halting-place, as pagan Rome may be said to have no history after that date. The life of Julian is a retrograde step in Christian Rome rather than a survival of paganism. We therefore send this work into the world to take its place as the most complete Roman History yet published in the English tongue, and not likely to be superseded in our day.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.
August, 1886.

ELEVENTH PERIOD.

THE AFRICAN AND SYRIAN PRINCES (180-235 A.D.).

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

COMMODUS, PERTINAX, DIDIUS JULIANUS, AND THE WARS OF SEVERUS (180-211 A.D.).

I.—COMMODUS (180-192).

THE 31st of August was a day doubly unlucky for the Empire: it was the birthday of Caligula and of Commodus. In the 210 years that Rome had had emperors, the latter was the first "born in the purple," *porphyrogenitus*; ¹ but his reign was not of a character to recommend to the Romans the principle of hereditary succession. He was not yet nineteen when Marcus Aurelius died.² His father had given him the best of masters, but an ungrateful nature rendered their cares fruitless, for instance, at the age of twelve, finding his bath insufficiently heated, he ordered the servant who had charge of it to be thrown into the furnace. The absolute power which he inherited at so early an age completed his ruin, for those whom an old author calls "the court instructors"³ quickly

¹ Born, that is to say, during the reign of his father. The title of this chapter must not be taken strictly. Commodus, Pertinax, and Julianus are neither African nor Syrian. But the former does not deserve being ranked with the Antonines, and the two latter, who reigned so short a time, are connected by their history with the first African emperor.

² Marcus Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus Antoninus was born August 31st, 161, and succeeded Marcus Aurelius on the 17th of March, 180. For the history of his reign we have only the shapeless abridgment of Dion by Xiphilin (book lxxii.), the first book of Herodian, which is that of a rhetorician, and the confused biography of Lampridius.

³ . . . *qui in aula institutores habentur* (Lamp., *Comm.*, 1). Dion, who knew him

obtained control over this feeble intellect. His bust and medals represent him with the stupid look of a man whose mind has never been crossed by one worthy thought.¹ Combining as he did timidity and cruelty, he exhibited the latter trait as soon as, by a word or a look, he was able to rid himself of those who caused him alarm.

The imperial power was not hereditary, but the emperors had always wished to make it so, and, in the absence of any great institutions of government, this was inevitable. The sons of the emperors in their cradles were surrounded [as they now are] with titles and honours, one or two of which would have been, to a citizen, the reward of a long life of public services. At the age of five Commodus was made Cæsar; at the age of fourteen, member of all the sacred colleges and *princeps juventutis*, although he had not yet assumed the toga; at sixteen he was consul, imperator, and invested with the tribunitian power.² That is to say, he had all the imperial titles with the exception of that of Augustus, the sign of the supreme rank, and of Pontifex Maximus, which also could not at that time be shared. Marcus Aurelius associated his son with himself in the triumph over the Germans, and took him in 178 upon the expedition against the Marcomanni. The rumour was current that the imperial sage had been aided "in restoring to nature the elements which she had lent him." Dion Cassius accuses the physicians of Marcus Aurelius of having poisoned him at the instigation of Commodus; but Dion was a contemporary, and contemporaries have their ears ever open to all kinds of calumnies. Two winters passed in an inclement climate were dangerous for this man of the South, whose enfeebled constitution made him old and infirm at the age of fifty-nine. If we add to this the cares of an important war, and the plague supervening, we are not compelled to charge Commodus with parricide, whose account, moreover, is long enough without this addition. It is worthy of mention that

well, says of him, however (lxxii. 1), that he was not an evil-disposed person, but extremely timid, and so simple-minded that he became the slave of those who surrounded him.

¹ See the two busts represented in vol. v. pp. 203, 206.

² According to the inscription on his tomb, he held, at the close of the year 192, for the eighteenth time, the office of tribune. (Orelli, No. 887.) He had been made tribune for the first time on the 23rd of December, 176. (Cohen, *Méd. impér.*). Lampridius says that in 183 he assumed the title of Pious, *senatu ridente*, and that of Felix on the death of Perennis in 186.



Commodus. (Statue of Pentelic Marble. Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 8.)

the latter dedicated a temple to his father with priests, Antonine flamens, and all that antiquity had prescribed for "consecrations."¹ Later, Commodus did not consider the new divinity of sufficient rank, and preferred to be called the son of Jupiter rather than of Marcus.²

Commodus assumed power without opposition. He was advised to profit by the exhausted condition of the barbarians to overthrow them completely. But the young nobles, wearied by these obscure combats in the Pannonian marshes, this dull life in wild camps, under hovels of mud and reeds, reminded him of the marble villas of Tibur, the games of the amphitheatre, and the seductions of the Via Sacra; and the young emperor became eager to go back to Rome, to enjoy his palaces, his wealth, and his sovereign authority. He waited, however, until his father's old generals had renewed the treaty which Marcus Aurelius had already imposed upon the barbarians.³ The Marcomanni and the Quadi engaged not to approach nearer the Danube than twenty stadia, to give up their arms, their auxiliaries,⁴ their captives, the deserters, and a certain quantity of corn, which tax Commodus afterwards remitted. They were forbidden to attack the Iazyges, the Buræ, and the Vandals. They were accustomed to hold markets which were frequented by the Roman traders, but were also the occasion for assemblages of their own people, when plots were concerted and oaths interchanged. These markets they were forbidden to hold more than once a month, in places designated by the Roman authorities; they were watched by centurions, and forts were constructed all along the river to prevent smuggling.⁵ A similar treaty was concluded with the Buræ.

The Empire might at this time feel that its sway or its undisputed influence extended through the entire valley of the Danube from the Black Sea to Bohemia, and that the Carpathians, with the mountains of Moravia, would be its secure barrier. But Commodus had relinquished the former right of making annual levies among these warlike tribes, that is to say, of taking away their best

¹ Capit., *Anton. philos.*, 18.

² Herod., i. 14.

³ See vol. v. p. 197.

⁴ The Quadi surrendered 13,000; the Marcomanni, not as many.

⁵ Desjardins, *Monum. épigr. du musée hongrois*, No. 112.

warriors. Moreover, he gave back to them all the fortresses of which they had been deprived.¹ From the summit of these walls the Romans had held the barbarians in check, and had guaranteed the security of the colonists, who, under the shelter of the Roman



The Empress Crispina. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 44.)

swords, would have made of these lands another Dacia. But Commodus was not Trajan.²

This was the last time he appeared at the head of the troops. Happily the great traditions of war were not yet lost, and there remained to Rome generals like Marcellus, Niger, Pertinax, Albinus, and Septimius Severus, who kept strong watch upon the barbarians.³

¹ Dion, lxxii. 2 and 3.

² Herodian (i. 15), speaks of large sums of money given to the barbarians to buy peace.

³ Dion and Lampridius mention some few victories gained over the barbarians of the Danube by Albinus and Niger, in 182 and 184. There were more serious engagements in Britain (184) and in Africa (187-190). Cf. Eckhel, vii. 120 and 123.

He returned to Rome the 22nd of October, 180, surrounded by all triumphal pomp in honour of victories that he had not gained, and instead of placing upon his chariot the image of Marcus Aurelius, the true conqueror, a handsome and favourite slave was seated beside Commodus. Vice returned into the imperial palace, where, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, virtue had dwelt.

Leaving the care of public affairs to Perennis, prefect of the guards,¹ Commodus took no thought save for his pleasures, and a part of the Roman aristocracy did likewise. The preceding emperors had imposed severe morals on the court. Men now made amends for this prolonged restraint, and rushed into all forms of dissipation, like the young French nobles after the hypocritical austerities of the latter years of Louis XIV. The ruler, at the age of ardent passions, propagated around him all the vices which were in himself: lately it had been the fashion to philosophize, now it appeared good taste to practise every kind of profligacy. It is said that the two empresses set the example. One of them, Crispina, the wife of Commodus, was banished to Capri, under a charge of adultery, and afterwards put to death; the other, Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, had retained imperial honours from her marriage with the emperor Verus: at the theatre she sat with the emperor's family, and in the streets the sacred fire was carried before her.³



Crispina Augusta, Wife of Commodus. (Bronze Medallion.)



The Empress Lucilla, Daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Wife of Lucius Verus.²

¹ Dion, lxxii. 9. According to Herodian, Commodus reigned wisely up to the time of the conspiracy of Lucilla, which is placed in 183. But this is probably a literary reminiscence of Nero's early reign.

² From an intaglio in the *Cabinet de France* (red jasper, 12 millim. by 8). The name of Proclus abridged, ΠΡΟΚΛΑ, is perhaps that of the engraver. Cf. Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, *Supplément*, No. 3,509.

³ Ammianus Marcellinus and Quintus Curtius say that the kings of Persia possessed a

Her father had compelled her to espouse in second nuptials the old and respectable Pompeianus, whom she, it is said, betrayed, even including her own son-in-law in the number of her lovers. But Lucilla is perhaps one more victim of those calumnies so very current in Rome at that time, according to the testimony of Tertullian who heard them.¹ She must have been nearly forty at this time, an age which, for women of the South, is no longer the period of beauty or of transient amours.

The writers who have preserved to us the history of this reign fill it with monotonous accounts of cruel executions. In the whole period of twelve years is found neither a good measure of government nor a decree for the improvement of laws; nothing which shows any care for the public interest; Commodus did not even finish the constructions which his father had begun. Yet still the Empire stands by its own weight, *mole sua stat*. Traders buy and sell, sailors traverse the seas, labourers do their work, and governors keep watch over the provinces, as though a wise ruler presided over the destinies of the Empire. The treasury still furnishes funds to assist in the reconstruction of Nicomedia, destroyed by an earthquake,² to construct a gymnasium at Antioch, diverse monuments at Alexandria, and to establish at Carthage an African fleet, *classis Africana*, in order to make good with African corn the deficiencies in the Egyptian supply brought into Ostia.³ Lastly, the soldiers still are detailed to aid in public works. Those in Dalmatia restore a bridge over the Cettina that had been destroyed; along the Danube they construct fortified posts to keep out German marauders.⁴ If our information were more extensive it

fire which fell from heaven, which they kept alive with care, and had it borne before them on expeditions on little silver altars, surrounded by singing magi. The usage is ancient, for Herodotus makes mention of it. The emperors adopted this oriental custom like many others, and the fire became a symbol of their majesty. The passage of Dion Cassius referred to shows that this custom was already established at the close of the second century.

¹ *Apol.*, 35.

² πολλὰ ἐχαίσατο (Malalas, *Chronogr.*, xii. p. 289, ed. of Bonn). Antioch had bought in the year 44 from the inhabitants of Elis, for a term of ninety Olympiads, the right of celebrating the Olympic Games, and expended for them yearly a sum amounting to nearly £40,000; but these games were not regularly celebrated at Antioch until the reign of Commodus (Gibbon, chap. xxii.).

³ Lamp., *Comm.*, 37. The oldest inscription mentioning the *classis nova Libyca* is of the time of Commodus. (*Recueil de la Soc. archéol.* of Constantine, 1873, p. 460. See Erm. Ferrero, *Inscr. d'Afrique relatives à la Flotte*, in *Bull. épigr. de la Gaule*, August, 1882.)

⁴ Or.-Henzen, Nos. 5,272 and 5,487: clandestinos latrunculorum transitus.

would show us the same labours carried on everywhere. What Fénelon said of the monarchy of Louis XIV., that the old machine continued to move with the impulse originally given it, might long be said of the Roman Empire.

Disquieting symptoms, however, are seen to appear. Under the feeble and violent hand that holds the reins Roman discipline is relaxed through all the orders.¹ In the city riots break out; seditions announce the reign of the soldiery; disorders springing up around the temples,² a religious war; and the anarchy which will soon threaten the very existence of the Empire is manifested by the insolent success of a bandit pillaging with impunity many provinces. Lastly, the military spirit is growing feeble; senators desert those offices which involve actual service. One of them obtains from Commodus an exemption from military duty.³

On the frontier there is no important war during these twelve years. A Roman garrison permanently established on the Kour, in a fortress built in that remote region by Vespasian, kept the people of the Caucasus quiet and protected Armenia against them.⁴ Niger and Albinus, who both were to taste imperial power,⁵ and to die of it, seem to have had to defend Dacia against the Sarmatians and Gaul against the Frisii. In Britain, the Caledonians having broken through the line of Roman defences, Marcellus, a soldier of the old stamp, drove them back into their mountains; some similar outbreaks in Mauretania were repressed with equal promptness.

Commodus heard not even the echo of these remote sounds of war. To leave the care of public affairs to his prætorian prefect, and to send him his death order at the faintest suspicion; to keep the children of the governors as hostages, that he might have nothing to fear from the provinces; and to make himself secure in Rome by granting all possible licence to the prætorians—it was to this that he had reduced the science of government. In regard to the finances, he had resumed the system of raising money out of condemnations, a capital sentence bringing with it always, in accordance with the oldest Roman laws, the confiscation of the

¹ Spartian, *Pescenn.*, Nig., 10: *Commodi temporum dissolutio*.

² See p. 31, n. 3.

³ Orelli, No. 5,003; L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigraphie*, pp. 12 and 20.

⁴ Inscription of 185. (*Journal asiatique*, 1869, p. 103.)

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 20: *degustabis imperium*.

property of the condemned person; or, as in the year 188, he announced that he was about to depart on a long journey, and with this pretext drew from the public treasury whatever money he desired. Having taken these precautions he abandoned himself quietly to his passion for chariot races, hunts, and the games of the amphitheatre.

Each of the tyrants of Rome had his favourite folly or dominant vice. Caligula thought himself divine; Nero, an incomparable singer; in this infamous band, Vitellius was the Silenus,



Commodus on Horseback striking a Tigress with his Javelin.¹

and now Commodus is to be the gladiator. Seven hundred and thirty-five times he fought in the arena; and these combats were ruinous for the treasury, which paid 25,000 drachmæ for each of these royal performances;² they were also without peril, for every arrangement was made to secure that his imperial majesty should receive no harm at the hands of the victims, nor from teeth or claws of the wild beasts, who were often brought out in their cages. Always surrounded by Moorish or Parthian archers, Commodus excelled in throwing the spear or javelin; one day 100 bears fell by his hand. At each of these easy and disgraceful victories the senate applauded in chorus: "Thou art the

¹ Intaglio, 45 mill. by 55. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2,096.)

² This was to be paid from the funds appropriated for games, but that sum being quickly exhausted, the expense fell upon the treasury. (Dion, lxxii. 19.)

master! Thou the first and most fortunate of men! Thou art conqueror and shalt ever be, Amazonius the victorious!" But we know to what a sad condition the descendants of the men who once ruled the world were now reduced—their continual terrors, their shameful sycophancy, in the presence of such rulers!¹ One only, Pompeianus, the son-in-law and friend of Marcus Aurelius, dared to protest against this degradation, refusing to appear in the amphitheatre or even in the senate. Dion declares that he had never seen him there except in the time of Pertinax. This knight of Antioch was the Cato of his time. Old Rome still gave her stamp to some of her new children.



Commodus the Olympian.
(Bronze Coin of Ephesus.)

But how easy for a young prince to become dizzy from this cloud of incense! The senate was not alone in exhausting all the vocabulary of servility; the people, the army all do the same; and Commodus could hear the acclamations of the provinces answering back those of Rome. The young men of Nepete subscribed to consecrate a monument to "Commodus the Victorious." A coin of Ephesus gives him, as formerly in the case of Hadrian, the surname of Olympios,² and an inscription calls him "most noble, most fortunate of princes." In another the offering is made to "the Roman Hercules." Accordingly "the god"³ respects nothing upon earth; he deprives the months of their names to give them others of his own choosing; he even changes the names of Rome and Jerusalem and calls them *Coloniæ Commedienses*. His reign is the Golden Age; at least, so his imperial letters are dated, *ex sæculo aureo*, and his birthday is to be celebrated throughout the whole Empire. But the festival is only for himself, for "on that day," Dion tells us, "we senators, our wives and our children, must each of us



The Roman Hercules.
(Reverse of a Bronze Medallion
of Commodus.)

¹ See vol. v. p. 512, under what a reign of terror the senators lived.

² For Nepete, see Orelli, No. 879; for Ephesus, Eckhel, vii. p. 136.

³ Ἐσθλὸς καὶ θεός (Zonaras, xii. 5). Renier, *Inscr. de l'Algérie*, No. 4,403. Orelli, No. 886.

give him two aurei, and the decurions of all the cities must send him five denarii apiece" (lxxii. 16).

His greatest ambition was to resemble the son of Alcmena, who, to his mind, was only the god of brute strength. There was carried before him in the streets the club and lion's skin of the



Veiled Priest driving
Two Oxen.
(Reverse of a great
Bronze of Commodus.)¹

conqueror of the hydra; in the amphitheatre they were laid on a gilded platform and sometimes he used them. Dion relates that having collected a great number of maimed and infirm persons taken at random in the streets of Rome, he had them costumed to represent fabulous monsters with long serpents' tails, and gave them sponges instead of stones to defend themselves with, when he attacked them with his club. He thus imagined himself repeating the exploits of Hercules, and a

rumour was current that the spectators seemed to him very well adapted to fill the part of the birds of Stymphalus, and that he proposed to shoot his arrows into the crowd that filled the



The Golden Age under
Commodus.²

amphitheatre. To keep this threat ever before the minds of the senators, he caused to be placed in the curia a statue of himself as Hercules,³ with bow strung in hand. "Never," says the historian, who was the witness of what he nar-

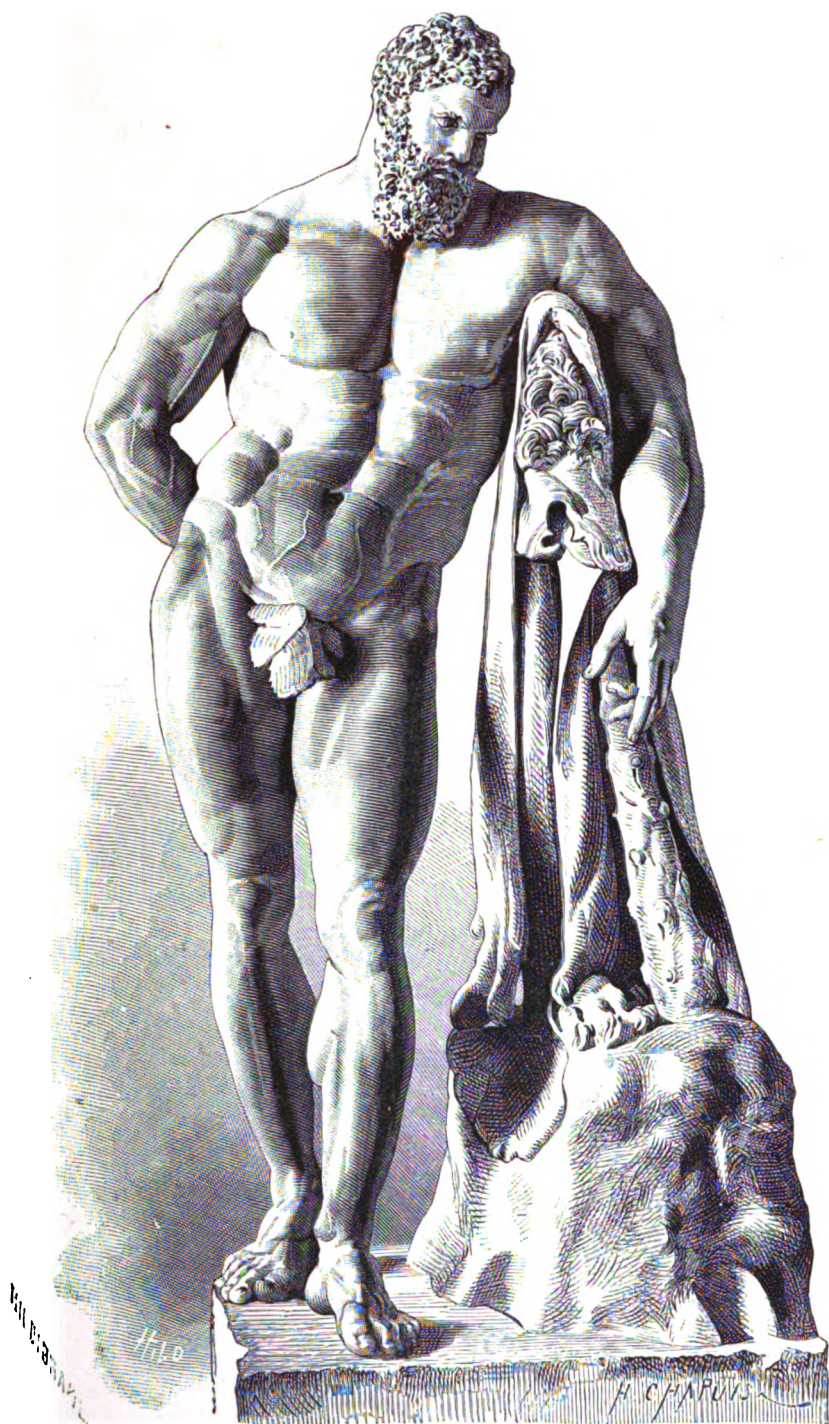
rates, "did he appear in public without being stained with blood;" and Lampridius adds, "when he had mortally wounded a gladiator, he plunged his hand into the wound, then wiped the blood off on his hair." He was indeed a butcher.

Again we have an insane emperor, in whom the intoxication of youth and power takes the form of blood-madness. Nero was not so bad as he, for in the case of that grotesque artist there was at least a spark of art, and his Babylonian entertainments, in

¹ COL(onia) L(ucia) AN(tonina) COM(modiana) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestas) XV., IMP(erator) VIII., COS(ul) VI. Reverse of a great bronze of Commodus. For Jerusalem, p. 53.

² The Vatican has a statue of Commodus as Hercules, of which there is in the Louvre a beautiful copy in bronze.

³ ΚΟΜΟΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ Ο ΚΟΚΜΟΚ ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ (*under the rule of Commodus all the world is happy*), legend surrounded by a wreath. Reverse of a bronze coin of Nicæa.



Hercules, known as the Farnese, found at Rome in the Baths of Caracalla.
(Museum of Naples.)

all their infamy, had a certain grandeur. The instincts of Commodus were always low, and his pleasures vulgar or hideous, and it is this which gave probability to the current story that his father was one of the heroes of the arena.

The populace is not over nice in the choice of its favourites; when it has the vote, violent declamations are its delight; when it has only the right to applaud, skill and physical force are what it loves. Accordingly these exploits of the highway on the part of its emperor enchanted the Roman crowd. They adored this man who lavished gold upon them and lived in the amphitheatre; who gave them another spectacle, the terror of the nobles, and from time to time as an interlude a dead body to drag through the streets. But the aristocracy were indignant at being made to tremble under a ruler who appeared to them singularly petty in comparison with the great emperors who had preceded him. In the senate there existed no longer, as there had been during the first century, either republican rancours or patrician desires for power. Now it was perfectly understood how necessary to the Empire was a true emperor; how much vigilance, skill, and firmness in the supreme rank was needed to maintain, with the greatness of the Empire, the security of the individual and the liberty of all. These sentiments showed themselves later when, to replace the last of the Antonines, all men in the curia agreed to place the imperial purple upon the shoulders of a freedwoman's son. From the third year of the reign of Commodus a conspiracy, of which Lucilla was the soul, began in the palace itself. The emperor doubtless kept at a distance this ambitious woman, who was jealous of the empress as her superior in rank. She thought that by putting her son-in-law, or Quadratus, a rich young senator who shared in her projects, in her brother's place, she should obtain a larger share of power. To be sure of success she intrusted her son-in-law, who was an intimate of the emperor, with the striking of the fatal blow. As Commodus passed through a dark passage-way which led to the amphitheatre, the murderer fell upon him with a poniard, crying, "This is what the senate sends thee!" But he was disarmed before striking the blow (183); and his imprudent words cost many senators their lives. From that day the old friends of Marcus Aurelius appeared to his son no longer silent

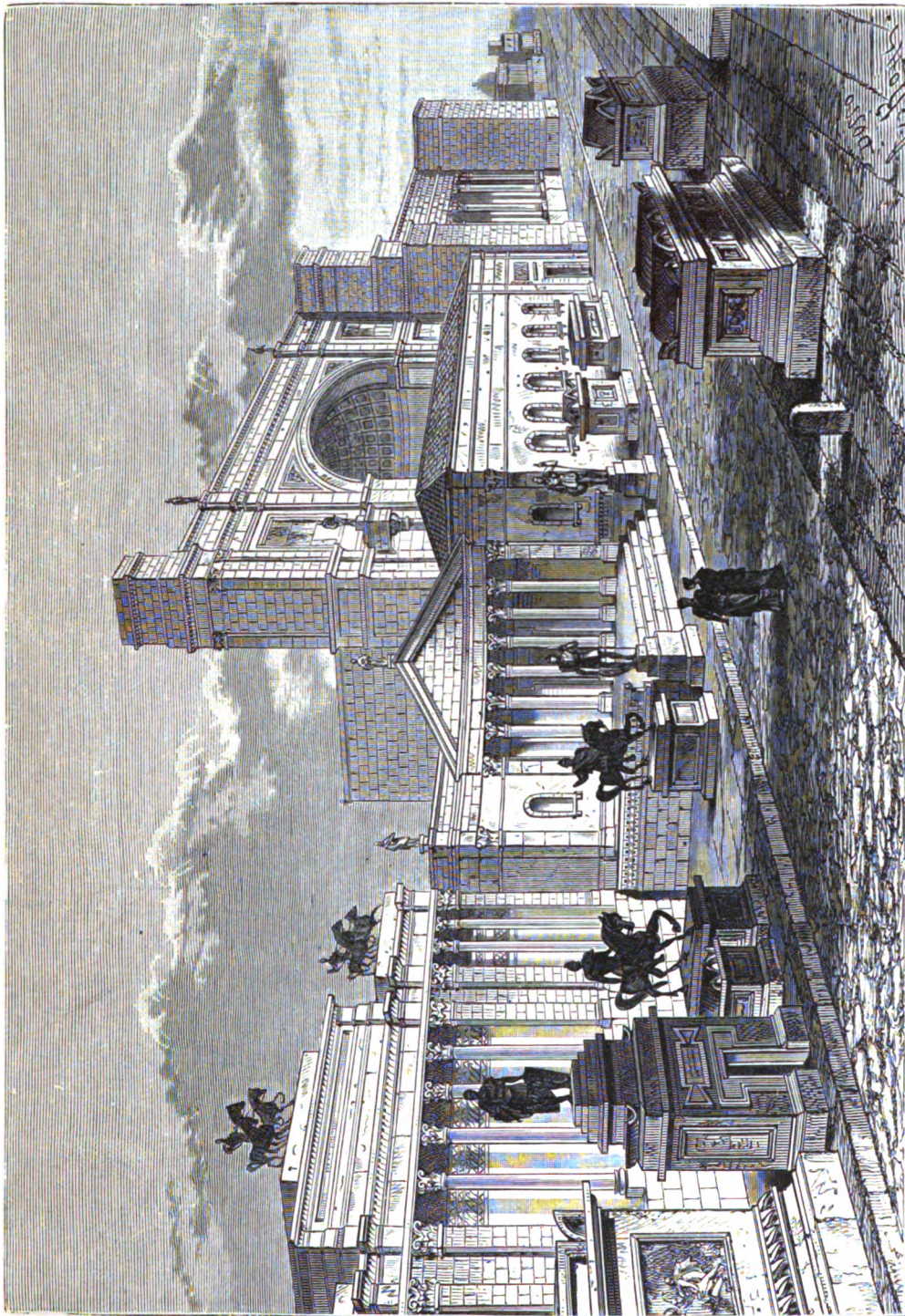
censors, but enemies whose blows he must prevent. The palmy days of the informers came again, and murders seemed to have no end. Lucilla, her son-in-law, the latter's father, Quadratus, and many others perished. One of the prætorian prefects, Tarrutenius Paternus, a learned lawyer who has the honour of being placed among the jurisconsults of the *Pandects*, could not be convicted of



Sextus Quintilius Maximus.¹

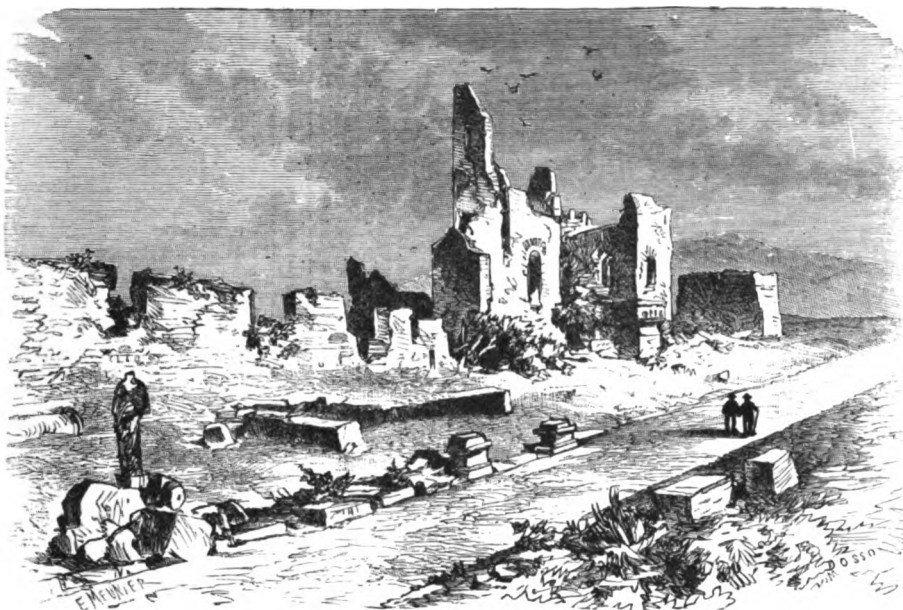
having shared in the conspiracy. But Perennis, his colleague, wished to be sole chief of the guard. He caused Paternus to be appointed senator to remove him from the prefecture, then accused him of treason, and Paternus was condemned together with the grandson of Hadrian's great jurisconsult. The latter, Salvius Julianus, was, at the accession of Commodus, in command of a

¹ The only bust known of any of the victims of Commodus. It was found in the ruins of the villa of the Quintilii, on the Appian Way. Cf. Henry d'Escamps, *Descript. des marbres du Musée Campana*, etc., No. 101. Paris, 1855.



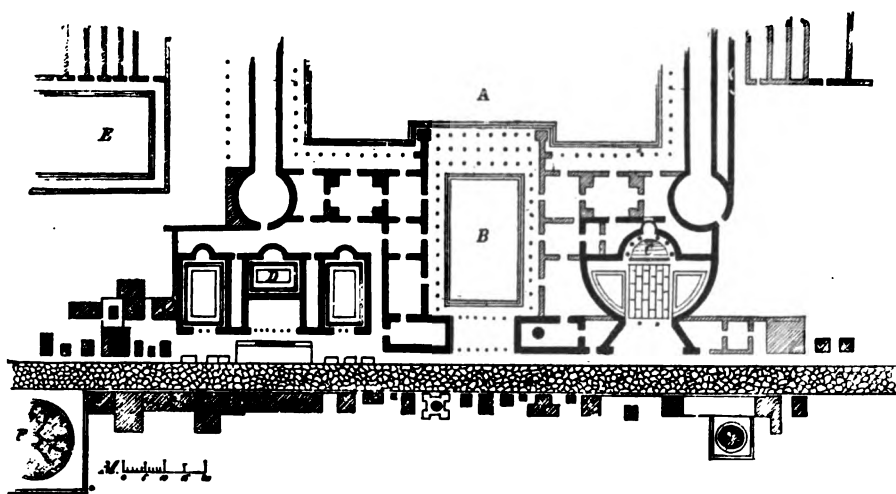
Restoration of the Villa of the Quintilii, on the Appian Way, from Canina. (Cf. next page.)

large army, and much beloved by his troops; he had not desired



Ruins of the Villa of the Quintilii (*Roma Vecchia*).¹

to dispute the Empire with the son of Marcus Aurelius, but he



Plan of the Villa of the Quintilii.²

might have done it had he chosen; this was enough to render him guilty, since he was esteemed dangerous. The list of the tyrant's

¹ From Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, pl. 33.

² A, peristyle; B, vestibule; C, nymphaeum; D, temple of Hercules; E, hot baths; F, tomb on the Appian Way. (Canina, *op. cit.*, pl. 32.)

victims is long; Dion assures us that of all who had enjoyed distinction in the State during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, three only, under Commodus, escaped with their lives. Like Caligula, he often took a man's life only for the sake of taking his property and relieving his own financial embarrassments; many women perished on account of their wealth.

The fate of the Quintilii struck the imagination of contemporaries, habituated and hardened as they were to scenes of murder: they were two brothers of Trojan origin famous for their wealth, learning, and military talents, and they were inseparable. The emperors, taking pleasure in honouring this fraternal friendship, had caused them to pass through the career of public duties together: they had been consuls, heads of armies, and governors of Achaia, one serving as lieutenant to the other; they both signed the same despatches, and Marcus Aurelius sanctioned this affectionate illegality, addressing to the two a rescript which still exists in the *Digest*. Commodus also united them, but in death.¹ There is still to be seen on the Appian Way the great ruins of their palace, called in the Middle Ages *Roma Vecchia*. Dion relates that, in order to escape, the son of one of them, Condianus, had caused it to be reported that he was dead. Feigning to fall from his horse, he had himself brought home covered with blood, and while a ram was burned in his stead on the funeral pile, he concealed himself and made his escape. Many paid with their lives for their resemblance to the young Quintilius. After the death of Commodus a pretended Condianus claimed the rich inheritance. "The Claimant" was extremely well-informed in the history of the Quintilii and answered all questions pertinently. But Pertinax, an old professor of grammar, confused the claimant by addressing him in Greek; whereupon it was decided that a man who was ill-versed in the language of Homer could not be a Quintilius.

During the war in Britain Perennis had replaced by knights the senators in command of the legions in that country. The soldiers, it was said, were offended that the distinction of the military grades should be thus impaired. This solicitude in the camps of Britain for the honour of the Conscript Fathers may well

¹ *Digest*, xxxviii. 2, 16, § 4. *Domus Quintiliorum omnis extincta* (Lamp., *Comm.* 4). This writer gives a long list of the victims of Commodus.

be doubted. Probably there were other motives of discontent. There was vague report of a great sedition appeased¹ by Pertinax after his life had been imperilled by it; and of an emperor, Priscus, or Pertinax himself, whom the legions would have raised to power, but who refused the offer. Fifteen hundred soldiers were sent to bring the complaints of the army to the emperor; Commodus, anxious at the approach of deputies so numerous that they might seem to bring commands rather than requests, went out of the city to meet them. "What is it, comrades," he said, "and for what do you come?" They rejoined that they had come because Perennis was conspiring against him and had the design of making his son emperor. Without further information the base Commodus gave up his faithful general.² He was beaten with rods, then beheaded, and his wife and sister and his two sons were put to death (185). The soldiers had unmade a minister; ere long they were to make and unmake emperors.

It is not clear where we ought to place the singular history of Maternus;³ Herodian relates it after the fall of Perennis. This soldier having deserted together with some bold comrades, scoured the country, pillaging the villages. His troop, with a regular military organization and swelled by the addition of bandits and convicts to whom he opened the prison doors, grew strong enough to attack cities, many of which they sacked and burned. Maternus thus ravaged through Spain and Gaul, pillaging and burning, and having nothing to fear from the municipal militia, which through long peace had fallen into inefficiency. The government was obliged to decide on sending regular troops against him. Maternus was no common bandit; he resolved to attempt a great achievement. Learning that preparations were on foot against him, he divided his band, gave his men orders to make their way into Italy by unfrequented routes, and directed them to meet him at Rome on the festival of the Mother of the Gods. Upon that day disguises

¹ Dion, lxxiii. 4, and Capit., *Pertinax*, 3.

² This is the testimony of Dion (lxxii. 12). Herodian (i. 24) relates the story differently. Instead of the soldiers from Britain they are legionaries of Illyria, and he says that a begging philosopher came in the midst of a *fête* to denounce the intrigues of the prefect, who caused him to be burned alive.

³ Dion Cassius does not mention it, but Lampridius speaks of the *bellum desertorum* (Comm., 16), and Spartian (*Nig.*, 3) says of Niger that he was sent *ad comprehendendos desertores qui innumeri Gallias tunc vexabant*.

of all kinds were authorized. Maternus proposed to assume, with some of his men, the dress of the prætorians, and thus approaching the emperor to slay him and take his place. Being denounced by a fellow-conspirator, he was put to death with all of his band who could be discovered.



Diana of the Vatican.
(Museo Chiaramonti, No. 122.)

Nothing authorizes us to say that this audacious enterprise could not have been successful. In a State where there is no strong and vital institution between ambitious men and the sovereign power to shelter the ruler from a surprise, the thrust of a dagger may suffice to change a dynasty. These catastrophes we have already seen, and many more are yet before us in the history of Rome. In this regard the imperial dignity had a certain analogy with the priesthood of the temple of the Arician Diana, whose high-priest was bound to slay his predecessor.

The freedman Cleander, a former porter who had become the chamberlain of Commodus, took the place of Perennis in the imperial favour. This man had retained all the vices of a slave, adding to them greed for gain. He sold offices, provinces, and judicial deci-

sions; there were seen in one week several prefects of the guards, and as many as twenty-five consuls in one year.¹ With a part of this money he bought the emperor's mistresses, and even the emperor himself. The prætorians were soon to follow this example, but it was the supreme power itself which they offered for sale. Governments also reap that which they sow.

¹ According to Lampridius; but of this we have no other proof than his word, which is not sufficient.

Burrus, the brother-in-law of Commodus, wished to enlighten the emperor upon the unworthy conduct of his favourite. Cleander accused him of aspiring to the imperial dignity, and obtained against him an order of death, which was extended to many senators. He then took for himself the prefecture of police, consenting, however, to share it with two colleagues.

This freedman, who has been called the minister of the dagger, might have continued with impunity to decimate the nobles; but he allowed the populace to go hungry, and they were the cause of his downfall. For some years there had been a condition of want; the price of corn rose and distributions were suspended. Commodus wished to compel the traders to sell at a lower price; but provisions were concealed and the evil increased. An immense fire, like that in Nero's time, and an epidemic which in Rome alone carried off 2,000 persons daily,¹ raised the public exasperation to the highest pitch. These scourges did not appear the result of natural causes and the public clamoured for a victim. It was asserted that Cleander had hoarded wheat. We know the fate of those thus accused by the populace in times of scarcity. One day in the circus a band of boys rushed into the arena with loud outcries, headed by a virago of great stature and fierce aspect, who doubtless was got rid of in the tumult, which gave the foolish crowd and the enemies of Cleander the occasion to say that some goddess had been the leader. To the boys' clamour was joined that of the spectators; an excitement seized upon all; they abandoned the games and rushed out of the city to the Quintilian palace where the emperor then was. To stop this multitude Cleander caused them to be charged by the German or prætorian guard; many persons were killed, many others wounded, and the great rabble turned back into the city. To disperse them still more utterly the cavalry followed them into the streets. Assailed by a shower of stones and tiles from the house-tops, attacked by the soldiers of the urban cohorts who made common cause with the people, they fell back in disorder, upon which the crowd again turned in the direction of the palace. mingling cries of death to

¹ Another had occurred in 182. Cf. Or.-Henzen, No. 5,489. It would seem that the great plague which had ravaged Rome in the reign of Marcus Aurelius left behind it centres of contagion, whence it again appeared from time to time under Commodus.

Cleander with expressions of affection for the emperor. A concubine of Commodus made known to him the riot in the city, the danger that might threaten himself, and the means of avoiding it. Commodus caused his favourite to be slain and threw out the



Commodus.¹

body to the populace. For many hours the crowd bore through the city on the point of a spear the head of the all-powerful minister, and dragged the headless corpse through the streets. His son, a little boy brought up at court, had his brains dashed out on the pavement; those who had shared the fortune of the favourite, shared now in the ignominy of his death, and, after

¹ Marble bust found at Ostia. (Vatican, *Braccio nuovo*, No. 121.)

being the sport of the rabble, were dragged to the Gemonian stairs (189).¹

On the last day of the games Commodus, before descending into the arena, had given his club to Pertinax. Later, men remembered this, and saw in it a sign. The expiation was drawing near. The son of Marcus Aurelius, whom his biographer calls "more cruel than Domitian, more impure than Nero," was a wild beast who could not fail some day to be stricken down. Among the possessions of one of his victims Commodus had found a woman to whom he attached himself passionately, making her his concubine. This union, a sort of morganatic marriage recognized by the Roman world,² permitted Marcia to receive almost all the honours due to an empress.³ This woman, who seems to have possessed liberality of mind and determination, had gained an immense ascendancy over the weak soul of the imbecile buffoon; her medals, which perhaps are portraits, reveal a strong character, and we have seen with what energy she acted in the affair of Cleander. She was a Christian,⁴ in so far as this was possible for the mistress of Commodus; at least, she favoured the Christians, who owed to her



Commodus and Marcia.
(Bronze Medallion
in the *Cabinet de France*.)

¹ Alarmed by this riot, Commodus gave some care to the provisioning of Rome, as is proved by many medals representing him as Hercules, his right foot on the prow of a vessel and extending his hand to Africa, who is holding out ears of corn, with this legend: *Providentiæ Augustæ*. Cf. Cohen, *Comm.*, at the Nos. 212, 213, 719, etc. We shall see that Septimius Severus kept very close watch over this supply.

² The condition of concubine had not all the civil effects of *justæ nuptiæ*, but it did not incur the disgrace attached to illegitimate connections *nec adulterium per concubinatum committitur, nam, quia concubinatus per leges nomen assumpsit, extra legis penam est* (*Digest*, xxv. 7, 3, § 1). It was really a kind of marriage, not suppressed until the time of Leo VI., the Philosopher. (Cf. Accarias, *Précis de droit romain*, vol. i. pp. 193-5.) It is possible the children followed, as in the morganatic marriages of our time, the condition of the mother, and were not subject to the father, *patria potestas*. The name of concubine had no disgrace attached to it. A widow inscribed on her husband's tomb, *concubina et hæres*. (Fabretti, *Inscr.*, p. 337.) Jumentarius furnishes a burying-place for his brethren, their children *et uxoribus concubinisque*. (Wilmanns, 330.) Vespasian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius had had concubines before this time, and Constantius Chlorus and Constantine kept up the custom.

³ All, Herodian says, excepting that the sacred fire was not carried before her. Capitolinus (*Max. jun.*, 1) gives the detail of the costume of a Roman empress.

⁴ πολλά τε ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν σπουδάζει. This testimony of Dion is confirmed by the

the tranquillity which they enjoyed during this reign. But, to keep the space around the throne vacant, these frenzied tyrants end by turning against themselves the instruments of their tyranny and of their pleasures. Marcia, Eclectus the chamberlain, Lætus the prefect of the guards, all felt themselves in danger. Is it probable that Commodus overheard some imprudent words? This is not known, but it is certain that he believed in the existence of a plot, which he called forth, if it did not already exist. Herodian relates in perhaps too dramatic a manner the last incident, which, without doubt, did but decide the day of execution.



Marcia.¹

On the eve of the Saturnalia Commodus formed the plan of going to pass the night in a school of gladiators, whence he would go forth in the morning for the day's *fête*, armed from head to foot, and preceded by all his comrades of the arena. Vainly did Marcia and those about him urge him most strenuously to abandon the unworthy design; he dismissed them angrily, and to put an end to this opposition to his will he wrote upon tablets the names of the new victims who were to perish on the following night, placing at their head Marcia, Lætus, and Eclectus. When he left his bed-room to go to the bath he placed these tablets under his pillow. A child, whose sportive ways had amused the emperor, and who had the range of the palace, entered this room, discovered the tablets, and took them away for a plaything. Marcia met him and read the fatal list; in all haste she warned those whom Commodus had thus assigned to her as accomplices. They determined that, after the bath, she should present to the emperor a poisoned draught; the effect was merely to produce vomiting;

Philosophumena (ix. 12), who call her *φωδότης*, and relate that she sent a priest, the eunuch Hyacinthus, who brought her up, to deliver the Christian exiles of Sardinia. The measure seems to have been a general one. "Under Commodus," says Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 21), "we enjoyed a profound tranquillity." (See chap. xc. *ad fin.*)

¹ From an engraved stone (amethyst, 18 mill. by 14) in the *Cabinet de France*. M. Charles Lenormant recognized Marcia in this intaglio, which was published by Mariette under the name of Sappho.

upon this they caused him to be strangled by a young and vigorous athlete (31st December, 192). His body, secretly removed from the palace, was hastily interred, and news was spread that Commodus had died of apoplexy. The senate, who yesterday offered incense to him, now pursued his memory with all maledictions;¹ they proposed to declare him a public enemy and cast his body into the Tiber. To this Pertinax objected, but his statues were thrown down and in every direction were dragged through the streets those figures representing him which by and by were again restored, especially in Africa, after Severus had made him a god. He was thirty-one years of age, the same age as Nero; Caracalla was killed at twenty-nine; Caligula at twenty-eight; Heliogabalus still younger, at twenty-one. Real tyrants seldom grow old.

Commodus has against him too many detestable things for us to omit the one good thing that can be said of him: he gave peace to the Christians and released those from prison whom his father had incarcerated.²



Young Athlete. (Statue in the Museum of Naples.)

¹ The long enumeration may be read in Lampridius (18).

² See chap. xci. § 1. We read in Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 21): "Apollonius was accused by a minister of the devil in a time when this was not permitted. Perennis sent the informer to execution; but he also referred Apollonius to the senate, to make answer on the subject of his faith, and the latter, refusing to abjure, had his head cut off, because it was forbidden by law to release Christians who had been accused, unless they should recant." The prætorian prefect punishes with death an accuser of the Christians, which must have intimidated those who might have felt inclined to follow his example. But Apollonius having publicly avowed his faith, he applies in the case the rescript of Trajan. This is certainly very precise jurisprudence.

From a more general point of view, his reign commences a new period in the history of the Empire. It is the end of the good days and the beginning of the days of misfortune. One single reign had sufficed to develop the fatal germ existing within the imperial monarchy, namely, the preponderating power of the army. This evil had appeared for the first time on the death of Nero, and had very nearly rent the Empire in pieces; the firm hand of Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian had for once suppressed it. It broke forth anew when an accident of birth or of public tumult brought to the head of the legions, instead of renowned and honoured emperors, a gladiator, such as Commodus, or a feeble and licentious Syrian like Heliogabalus. From the day when the soldier saw at close quarters the disgrace of his rulers and the base adulation of the senate, the power of the government and of the civil law gave way.

In the camps, the near presence of the enemy kept up somewhat of the early discipline; but in Rome, amidst the seductions of the great city, the prætorians had formed many habits which implied a great deal of licence. Pertinax alienated them when he forbade them to treat the citizens insolently. Commodus, on the other hand, whose sole defence they were against the nobles whom he was decimating, gave them fatal indulgence, and his distrust of the aristocracy obliged him to give the prætorian command to *pervenius*, and even to a freedman. These generals of fortune, in their turn, took their precautions against the emperor. They sought to make sure of their cohorts, and for this purpose, made them up of men from whom they could ask anything, for the reason that they themselves refused them nothing. They called into the ranks, once open only to Italians, then to the bravest provincials, the very barbarians: the chief of the band who rushed into the palace of Pertinax a few years later was a Tongrian. Soldiers like these must have cared far less for the honour of the Roman name than for the fear they might be able to inspire. Accordingly, the Empire still stands firm; but, in the presence of a senate whom the ruler degrades and of magistrates who have become powerless, a turbulent and rapacious soldiery will make, for the sake of gratifying their cupidity, revolutions which will ruin the provinces and lay open the frontiers to the barbarians. Military

order will soon supersede civil order. The Antonines had depended upon the senate, their successors relied upon the legions, and for a century all, with the exception of three only, will be the servants of the soldiers rather than their masters. The officers in their turn will bow before the men who make emperors; and so it will come about that from the political power of the armies will follow the ruin of discipline, and hence the ruin of the great military institution of Augustus and of Hadrian.¹

II.—PERTINAX AND DIDIUS JULIANUS (193).

The murderers of Commodus made haste to choose an emperor, Publius Helvius Pertinax, an old general, who appeared to have preserved to advanced life² vigour enough to make men feel secure that, after the excesses of youth, the Empire would not now suffer from any senile feebleness. Lætus led him to the prætorian camp.

Famous for his severity, Pertinax could not please the soldiery who regretted Commodus, but they had no candidate at hand for the imperial dignity, so that between the ruler who could no longer do anything for them and the one who promised them a *donativum*, they resigned themselves to the change that had taken place. As for the populace, they had applauded Commodus and they now hailed Pertinax: it was one show and one largess more.

In the case of Commodus we had an emperor's son; in the case of Pertinax we see the rise of a man of the lower ranks. The son of a freedman, a charcoal dealer at Alba Pompeia in Liguria, Pertinax began to gain a livelihood as a teacher of grammar; not succeeding very well at this, he asked and obtained the rank of centurion through the favour of a patron. His merit raised him rapidly to the first rank in the army, and so to the highest in the State. He became prefect of a cohort in Syria, commander of a squadron in Britain, and in Mœsia, commissioner in charge of the Æmilian road to superintend the distribution of alimentary pensions;³ later, he was chief of the flotilla of the Rhine, collector of

¹ "At this epoch," says Herodian (ii. 24), "began the corruption of the soldiers. From this time they showed an insatiable and shameful cupidity, and the greatest contempt for the emperor."

² He was sixty-six years of age. (Zonaras, xii. 7.)

³ This office of *proc. ad alim.* filled by Pertinax, which we find indicated in many inscrip-

tribute in Dacia with a salary of 200,000 sesterces, legionary tribune, senator, prætor, legate of a legion which distinguished itself under his authority in Rhætia and Noricum, and, lastly, consul. His services at the time of the rebellion of Cassius against



The Emperor Pertinax.¹

Marcus Aurelius had given him the command of the army of the Danube, and then the government of the two Mœsias, of Dacia, and of Syria. Thus, at the age of fifty-four, he had filled a variety of public offices and had administered four consular provinces. His

tions (*e.g.*, Or.-Henzen, Nos. 3,190, 3,814, 6,524, and No. 1,456 of the *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. p. 235, *proc. ad alim. per Apul. Calabr., Luc. et Bruttios*, for a contemporary of Alexander Severus and Gordian III.), proves that the alimentary institution of Trajan was still in full vigour as late as the middle of the third century; but it was interrupted under Commodus (*Lamp., Comm.*, 16), and Pertinax found arrears of nine years which he could not pay (*Capit., Pert.*, 9).

¹ Colossal marble bust, found at Pozzuoli. (Museo Campana. H. d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 102.)

talents do not, however, appear to have been remarkable, and this rapid advancement proves only that the road to honour was open to all who knew how to pursue it.

He had not seen Rome since his appointment to the senate. When he returned thither he was reproached with having gained great wealth in his various employs. He had not conceived it his duty to ruin himself in the public service, and a strict economy had doubtless sufficed to bring him to fortune.² We may mention two facts to his honour: he kept his mother with him in his various promotions, and on erecting some fine buildings in his native city, he had the shop of his father, the charcoal dealer, inclosed within one of them.



Coin of Pertinax.¹

Perennis caused him to be sent into exile; but Commodus on that prefect's death recalled Pertinax and put him at the head of the turbulent legions of Britain. Later the emperor appointed him to watch over the provisioning of the city, *præfectus frumenti dandi*, gave him the proconsulship of Africa,³ and, as the highest honour, the prefecture of the city. By nature he was honest, destitute of ambitions, and somewhat penurious, as is the case with those who have made their fortunes slowly; but he was devoted to the public welfare, and would have been one of the best of rulers if he had been allowed to live, or if he had known how to defend himself.



Pertinax laurel-crowned. (Great Bronze.)

The imperial power alarmed him, he had no relish for it.⁴ In the senate he offered the Empire to Pompeianus, who had been the patron of his early years;⁵ and to Glabrio, who was reputed

¹ IMP. CAES. P. HELV. PERTIN. AVG. Laurellled head. On the reverse: AEQVIT. AVG. TR. P. COS. II. Equity standing, holding a balance and a cornucopia. Gold coin.

² Herodian (ii. 3) says that he was poor. His mother died while with him in Lower Germany, where her tomb was long to be seen. (Léon Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 272.)

³ In this province he had, according to Capitolinus (4), to repress many seditions caused *vaticinationibus earum quæ de templo Caestis emergunt*.

⁴ *Horruitse illum imperium epistola docet*. Capitolinus, who speaks of this letter, unfortunately does not give it to us, the more so, because Julian in *The Cæsars* accuses Pertinax of having been "the accomplice, at least in thought, in the conspiracy whereby the son of Marcus perished."

⁵ In respect to Pompeianus, cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. de Troesmis*, p. 5.

to be the descendant of Æneas; but these men were wise enough to decline the burdens and the perils. A few days later another senator venturing into the midst of the prætorians, the soldiers wished to make him emperor. Scarcely escaping from their hands, his toga torn to rags, he sheltered himself in the palace of Pertinax, and more surely to escape the imperial power fled from the city. Disinterestedness like this reveals a situation full of anxiety.

Pertinax refused for his wife the title of Augusta and that of Cæsar for his son. "When he has deserved it," the father said, "it will be time enough to give it to him."¹ All his own relations and servants remained in their humble condition; he gave up his own property to them, and remained simple in his habits of life. At news of his accession his compatriots from the Ligurian mountains, a rapacious race, hastened to Rome in crowds to draw profit from this fortune; but Pertinax sent them away as they came. He had the same duty to fulfil that had devolved upon Vespasian, namely, to restore order in the State, in the magistracies which had suffered from so many arbitrary appointments,² in the finances ruined by mad prodigality—in the treasury he had found only 1,000,000 sesterces. To procure the money which the soldiers and the people needed he sold his predecessor's favourites at auction, the accomplices or the victims of his debauchery, quite a harem; also the weapons of Commodus, his garments of silk and gold, his valuable furniture, and a thousand curiosities, among which we note carriages with a movable seat which turned easily in all directions, and also marked the hour and the distance passed over. Pertinax confiscated the property of the buffoons, made the freed-men disgorge their ill-gotten gains, and drove out of the palace all useless persons. The parasites who, under Commodus, lived at the emperor's table were bitterly exasperated at what they called the

¹ At Metz an inscription has been found giving the title of Augusta to the emperor's mother and that of Cæsar to his son. (Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*) These provincials believed that things had gone on as usual at Rome, and allowed themselves a flattery which they were sure would not be displeasing. Inscriptions bearing the name even of Pertinax are rare. One has lately been discovered in Africa: *Divo Helvio Pertinaci*; it belongs to the time when Severus called his father: *Divo Pertinaci Augusti patri*.

² Under Commodus many had been *adlecti inter prætorios*. He obliged them to take rank after those who had really acted as prætors. (Capit., *Pert.*, 6.) He doubtless made the same regulation in respect to the other magistracies, thus restoring order in the senate.

meanness of the new emperor, and slandered him incessantly. So immense were the resources of the Empire at this time, that less than three months of strict and economical administration enabled Pertinax to fulfil half of his promises to the prætorians,¹ to pay many public debts, and resume the works of public utility which had been suspended under Commodus. He suppressed many of the hindrances to commerce; he exempted from taxes for ten years those who should cultivate the deserted lands of Italy, and restored security by the rehabilitation of the victims of Commodus, the recall of exiles, the condemnation of informers, and the protection accorded to citizens against the insolence of the soldiery.

But this order, this economy, suited neither the prætorians nor the populace. Pertinax had ventured to forbid the former to carry weapons in the streets,² or to be insolent towards passers-by, and had said to them: "Many disorders have appeared in our age, with your aid I propose to correct them;" and his first pass-word had been: *militemus*, "let us be soldiers." In these words the soldiery had discerned an intention to bring them back to the early discipline and to warlike duties. In the case of the populace, Pertinax had suppressed the distribution of corn to children from nine years old, a measure introduced by Trajan. Lastly, he showed himself disinclined to be guided by Lætus, who regarded this distrust as a presage of disgrace, and from that time began intrigues among the prætorian cohorts. A conspiracy was originated, or at least, Falco, an ex-consul, was accused of aspiring to the Empire; the senate was about to condemn him when Pertinax interposed and swore that no senator should be put to death during his reign. A slave having accused many prætorians of complicity in the designs of Falco, Lætus caused them to be put to death, throwing upon the prince the odium of the execution. Being ill-paid and feeling themselves objects of suspicion, they resolved to rid themselves of a parsimonious emperor and of all anxiety for their own lives. Three hundred repaired in arms to the palace; there were guards enough there to drive back this handful of insurgents; but all the servants of the palace, whom Dion calls the Cæsarians, ruined by the economy of their master, opened the gates to the assassins. Pertinax

¹ *Promisit duodena millia nummum, sed dedit sena* (Capit., *Pert.*, 15).

² μήτε πελίκεις φέρειν μετὰ χεῖρας (Herod., ii. 4).

believed that he could stop them by going out to meet them unarmed. The sight of the emperor did indeed produce an effect upon them. Many of them had already sheathed their swords, when a Tongrian soldier rushed upon the emperor and wounded him. Immediately all hesitation was at an end; all struck at him, and his head, borne on a spear, was carried out to the prætorian camp. He had reigned eighty-seven days (28th of March, 193).

There was in Rome at this time a senator by name Julianus,¹ of great wealth and noble lineage, for he was descended from



Manlia Scantilla,
Wife of Didius Julianus.²

Hadrian's great jurisconsult, and had been brought up in the household of Domitia Lucilla, the mother of Marcus Aurelius. He was a man of small mind and puerile vanity, to whom life had taught nothing. He filled however not discredibly the highest offices in the State, governed many provinces, defeated some German tribes, and at a time of life which should have been for him the age of wisdom, sixty years, suffered himself to be dragged to the abyss by the ambition of his wife, the haughty Manlia Scantilla, who was eager to change her husband's laticlave for the imperial purple.

Although the Empire had been often bought, it had not as yet been publicly put up at auction: Rome was now about to witness this disgrace. To tranquillize the prætorians, Pertinax had sent out to their camp his father-in-law Sulpicianus, who was the prefect of Rome. This senator again was one of those commonplace persons who, ignoring the obligations of power, see only its glitter. When the head of Pertinax was shown to him, he proposed instantly to buy of the murderers the imperial purple which had just been dipped in the blood of his son-in-law. The rumour of this spread quickly, and Julianus hastened to enter the lists as his rival. Then began a scene without name, and fortunately

¹ Marcus Didius Severus Julianus. (*C. I. L.*, vol. vi. No. 1,401.)

² Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 47.

without parallel. Julianus was on the top of the wall and Sulpicianus was in the camp; and the two bid against each other. Messengers passed between the two, saying: "He offers so much; what will you give?" And, "The other goes higher; will you go higher still?" They went as far as 5,000 drachmæ, or 20,000 sesterces, and the offers being equal, the soldier hesitated, sure to get more in the end for his commodity; finally, Julianus routed his adversary by a bold advance of 1,250 drachmæ. He cried the sum from the top of the wall; he counted it on his fingers, that those who could not hear might see, and he threw down to them his tablets on which he had written that he would rehabilitate the memory of Commodus, while Pertinax would unquestionably be avenged by Sulpicianus. The latter dared not go further. Each prætorian was therefore to receive by this bargain about £250. "There had been a time when the senate had proclaimed the sale of a piece of ground which was part of the territory of the State: it was the field whereon Hannibal was encamped."¹ We may well find this scene disgraceful; but we must admit that the *donativum*, whose origin we have seen, was a practice from which no emperor could escape. The odious feature is not the sum, but the auction. Marcus Aurelius gave almost as much,² and among nations who are very free, who are even very proud, men buy a portion of power, if not from the prætorians—who, happily, no longer exist,—at least from the electors.

The decision being made, the soldiers brought a ladder so that the purchaser might come down inside the camp and receive the oaths of his new guards and also the imperial insignia. They caused him to appoint two prætorian prefects chosen by themselves, after which they opened the gates, and with standards displayed and in order of battle conducted their new leader to the senate, whom they presented under the name of evil omen, Commodus. They took the precaution, however, to make him swear that he would bear no ill-will towards his competitor. It was wise not to discourage those who might be tempted to renew this shameful traffic.

¹ Chateaubriand, *Études historiques*.

² Twenty thousand sesterces. See vol. v. p. 169, and for the value of the sesterce, vol. iv. p. 790, n. 4. Now the 1,250 drachmæ of Julianus are only 5,000 sesterces more.

Many senators trembled, among others our historian Dion, who had often had occasion to sue Julianus in court. They loved Pertinax and considered his successor ridiculous. They were also shocked at the bargain which had just been concluded. But all the approaches to the curia, and even the senate-house itself, were filled with soldiers. The senators hastened to welcome the new emperor, to admire his foolish speeches, and to lavish upon him the wonted acclamations. Julianus finally went up to the palace; there finding the supper which had been made ready for Pertinax, he ridiculed the simplicity of the repast, ordered another to be prepared, and played with dice within a few steps of the spot where lay the dead body of his predecessor;¹ but, from the morrow on, came to him the terrible cares of a disputed authority, and but a few days later the anguish of a near and inevitable death.



Reverse of a Coin of Julianus bearing the Legend: *Rector orbis*. (Large Bronze.)

He had made no promises to the people, who were wounded in their dignity by this offensive neglect. When he presented himself on the following day in the curia, the crowd received him with loud outcries, calling him usurper and parricide. He took matters easily at first, and assured them that he would give them money. "We will have none," they cried, filled with unwonted disinterestedness, "we will not accept it." Upon this he ordered the troops to disperse them, and many were wounded; the others fled and took refuge in the circus. Dion asserts that they remained there all night and through the following day, invoking the gods, and—which would have been more useful—the military leaders, especially Pescennius Niger, or the Black, who was at this time far away in Syria. They were let alone, and the feeble riot subsided.

Meanwhile the imperial mint coined money representing the new ruler with a laurel wreath and the lying inscription: *Rector orbis*, while others had the legend: *Concordia militaris*; but, of the world, all that Julianus possessed was merely the space on which stood the palace in which he had just taken up his residence,

¹ Spartian represents him as frugal and thoughtful, but at the end of his account speaks otherwise. Herodian confirms Dion, whom he often copies.

and the military concord existed only against him. The legions of the frontiers had just obtained the idea of what was meant by the election of an emperor, and they did not propose to leave to the prætorians all the advantages of this profitable traffic. Very strong armies, each consisting of three legions, occupied Britain, Upper Pannonia,¹ and Syria, under the famous generals Albinus, Severus, and Pescennius Niger.



*Concordia militaris.*²

When news came that within three months two emperors had been assassinated and that a third had bought the Empire, there was a general movement of disgust towards the senate who had accepted all this. This feeling showed itself especially in the camps of the Danube, where Pertinax had commanded and had left an honourable memory.



Concordia militaris.
(Reverse of a Large Bronze of Didius Julianus.)

Then recurred the scenes that had taken place on the death of Nero. Two of the armies, those of Pannonia and Syria, proclaimed their generals (April, 193), and the third would have done the same had not Severus skilfully negotiated with Albinus. At the same time that Severus made sure of the neutrality of the army in Britain he gained the assistance of the legions adjacent to his command, so that in a few days he found himself possessor of nearly half the military strength of the Empire.³ His cause, therefore, was already gained when he set out for Rome, preceded by the declaration that he was coming to avenge Pertinax.⁴ Secret emissaries had withdrawn his children from the



Didius Julianus, laurel-crowned. (Bronze.)

¹ Spartian (*Sev.*, 4), Herodian (ii. 33), and Borghesi (*Œuvres compl.*, v. p. 368), represent Severus as governor of both Pannonias; but Dion, who commanded in Upper Pannonia, gives him only this province and speaks of but three legions as under his orders. If he had had the two Pannonias he would have had four legions.

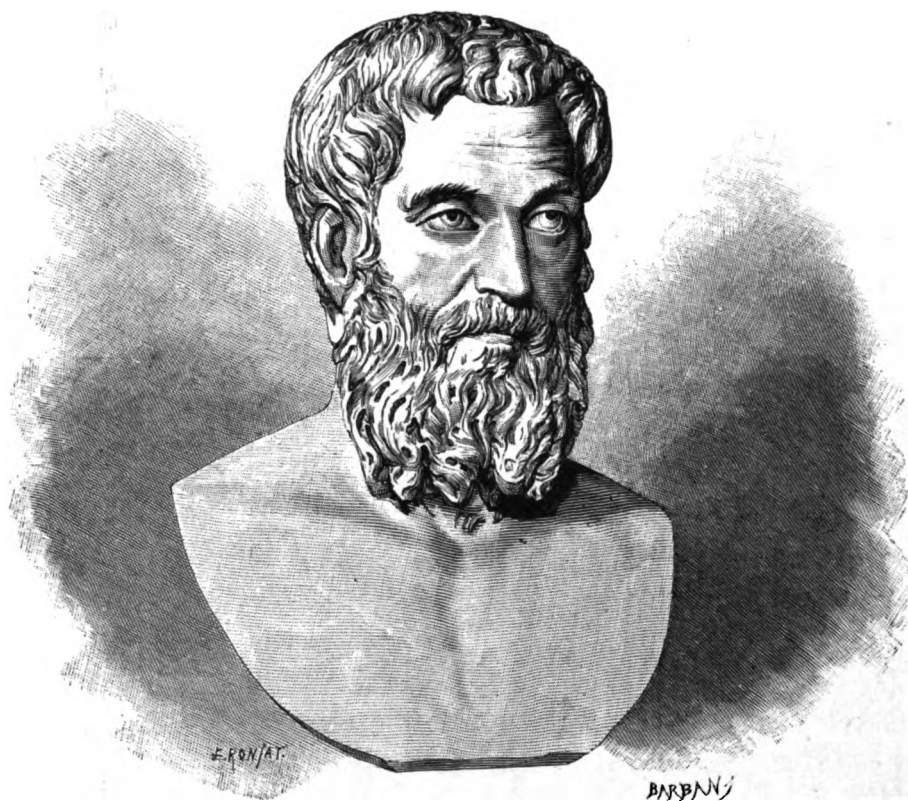
² CONCORD. MILIT. Concord standing between two standards. Reverse of a gold coin of Didius Julianus.

³ "The fourteen legions who proclaimed Septimius Severus, and to whom the new Augustus gave the *donativum*, were the ten legions guarding the Danube and the four legions on the Rhine." (Robert, *les Légions du Rhin*, p. 46.) M. de Celeuneer, *Essai sur la vie de Sévère*, counts sixteen legions. Spartian says (*Sev.*, 5) that it was necessary to urge Severus, *repugnans*. He doubtless borrowed this word from the emperor's autobiography.

⁴ *excipiebatur ab omnibus quasi ultor Pertinacis* (Spart., *ibid.*, 5; cf. Herod., ii.

city before the news of his elevation to the imperial power could reach there.

Julianus caused him to be declared a public enemy by the senate, and at once began his preparations; labourers were set at work digging a moat around the city; the gladiators from Capua were called in, mere bandits on whom no reliance could be placed;



Pescennius Niger. (Bust of the Vatican, Hall of Busts, No. 292.)

the soldiers from the fleet at Misenum were sent for, who made themselves ridiculous by their awkwardness in handling the javelin; and the elephants of the circus were armed for war, but very unsuccessfully, as they threw off the towers which were placed on their backs. Julianus even caused the palace to be barricaded, in sign of the desperate resistance he would make to the enemy even after an entrance had been effected into the city. The prætorians ought to have set him the example, but they were rich, habituated

9, 10). He even assumed the name of Pertinax, which we find on many of his inscriptions. Cf. L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigr.*, pp. 180 *et seq.*

to an indolent life, and to pay for having their tasks done for them, while they insulted the people, whose terror they were.¹ As a pledge of the maintenance of his alliance with them, Julianus put to death Lætus and Marcia, the murderers of Commodus. At the same time he consulted the magicians, sacrificed children as victims, and despatched assassins to Severus² and senators to entice away his troops, and the prætorian prefect to defend Ravenna, the outpost where the fleet of the Adriatic was stationed. But Severus was on his guard, and advanced rapidly. Proclaimed at Carnuntum (near Vienna) on the 13th of April, he was obliged to employ ten or twelve days in negotiating with the legions of Upper Germany and in putting his army in motion. However, he arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital before the 1st of June, so that his troops must have made from Vienna to Rome in less than seven weeks, a distance of 266 leagues, or six leagues and a half on each day's march without intermission. This rapid march of a numerous army unexpectedly advancing through a country proves the abundance of provisions that agriculture and commerce could bring together at a moment's notice; it proves also the good condition of the roads and the subjection of the provinces, that is to say, the prosperity and calm of the Empire during the storms of Rome. Still further, it shows the admirable discipline in which Severus held his legions, that he could lay upon them such fatigues without exciting a murmur of discontent.



Coin of Didius Julianus.³

This rapidity check-mated all resistance. Severus crossed the Alps, the Adige, and the Po, without meeting any opposition, and entered Ravenna before the arrival in that city of the prefect who had been sent from Rome. Thus Julianus saw the narrow limits growing even narrower in which it was permitted to him to live and reign.

The last news overwhelmed him. Anxious, irresolute, he sought

¹ Dion, lxxiii. 16; Spart., *Did. Jul.*, 5.

² . . . *Aquilium centurionem notum cædibus ducum miserat* (Spart., *Pescenn. Nig.*, 2).

³ IMP. CAES. M. DID. IVLIAN. AVG. Laurelled head. On the reverse: RECTOR ORBIS. Julianus standing, holding a globe. Gold coin.

advice, but the senate would give none; he offered the Empire to Pompeianus, who replied: "I am too old, and my sight is too weak." Reduced to the miserable hope of conciliating his formid-



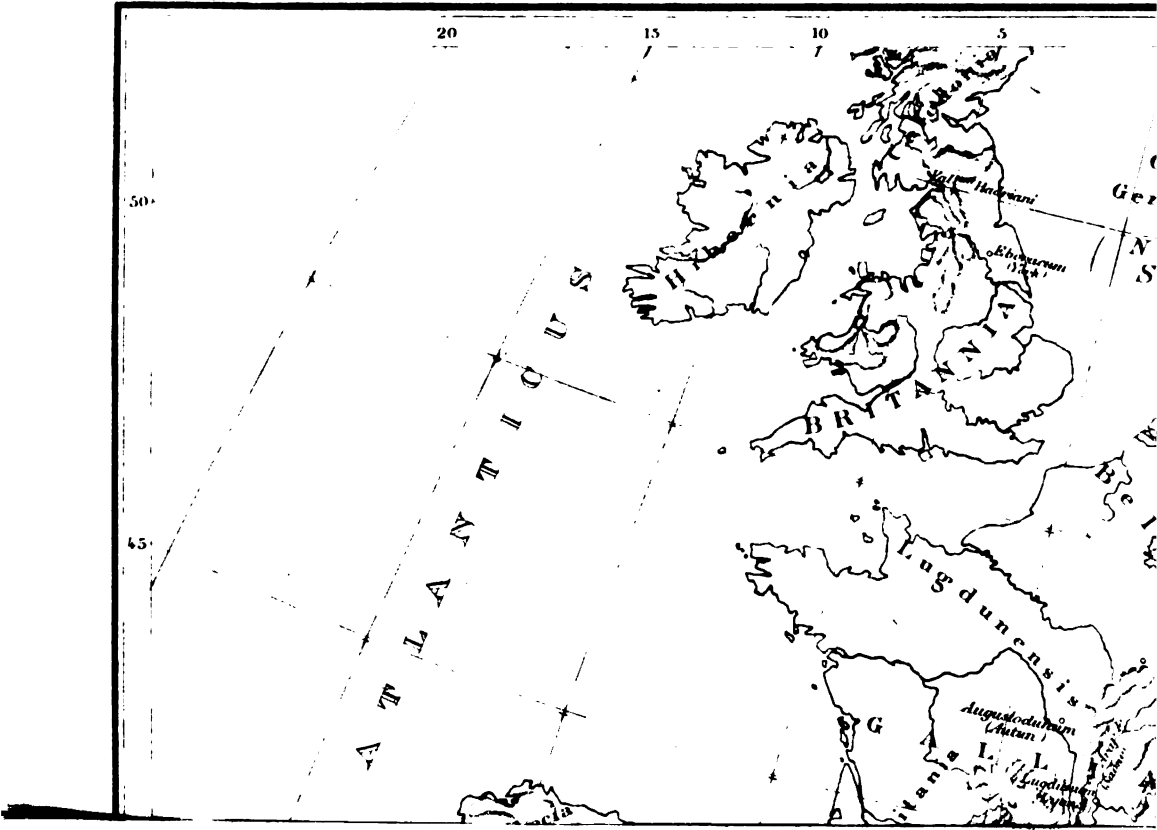
Septimius Severus.¹

able adversary by begging for his life and a share of the power, he formed the idea, like Vitellius, of sending the Vestals to meet Severus and naming him at once his colleague.²

The Conscript Fathers hastened this time to defer to his wish,

¹ Bust of marble with alabaster chlamys found at Rome under the church of S. Francis of Assisi. (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 50.)

² He also bestowed all honours upon the maternal grandfather of Severus. (Dion, lxxiii. 17.)



and he sent to the new Augustus the senate's decree by the hand of one of the prætorian prefects, who was suspected of meditating assassination under a show of friendliness. But the decree was scornfully rejected and the bearer of it put to death.

Meanwhile, to avoid making Rome the scene of a sanguinary conflict, as in the time of Vespasian, Severus prepared a movement there in his favour. He wrote to the magistrates; he sent edicts which were publicly posted; he named a prefect of the prætorian guard whom the trembling Julianus acknowledged; and he made known to the prætorians that he would pardon them if they would surrender the murderers of Pertinax. As base as their emperor, the guards at once seized the 300 and came to tell the consul Messala that their comrades were in chains. This was the end. "Immediately," says Dion Cassius, "Messala called us together and made known to us what the soldiers had done; upon which we decreed the death of Julianus and gave the imperial power to Severus and divine honour to Pertinax." Julianus was killed in his bed, saying only: "What wrong have I committed?" (2nd June, 193). He had held the Empire sixty-six days,¹ and did not deserve to retain it longer. It was already too much that he should have had the right to inscribe his name on the list of emperors. History must in its turn execute justice upon these adventurers who wish for power only that they may enjoy it; ambition without talents is a crime.

III.—SEVERUS; WARS AGAINST ALBINUS, NIGER, AND THE PARTHIANS.

Once more we have a real man upon the imperial throne; but, harsh to others and to himself, he will make good his name by his inexorable sternness, an administrator of justice after the fashion of Tiberius and Louis XI.

Since the extinction of the family of the Cæsars we have seen upon the throne Italian, Spanish, and Gallic emperors; at last comes the turn of the African. Lucius Septimius Severus was born at

¹ Dion, lxxii. 17. Zonaras (xii. 7) says sixty. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, represent him as killed in battle at the Milvian bridge, which proves great lack of the critical faculty on the part of these historians.

Leptis, April 11th, 146, in a family which had long been decorated with the laticlave, though without abandoning the province where lay their property and their influence and where their renown



Septimius Severus in Cuirass. (Statue in the Museum of Munich.)

had begun. One of its members, however, had acquired notoriety enough at Rome in the time of Domitian to be celebrated by Statius in his verses.¹ But this Severus, quite another man from ours, is called by the poet "the gentle Septimius." Until his fourteenth year the future emperor remained in Africa, studying Greek and Latin literature without forgetting his native speech, whose accent he retained through life, so that Rome was about to have an emperor speaking the language of Hannibal.²

Of this he was not at all ashamed; the great Carthaginian was his hero, and he erected a

marble statue in honour of him. Very credulous, like all his contemporaries, in the matter of presages, he was also very resolute to put himself in a condition to respond to the advances of fortune,³ which is the best way of making dreams come true.

¹ *Silv.*, iv. 5.

² Tzetzes, *Chil.*, i. 27. The emperor's sister could with difficulty speak the Latin language, *vir latine loquens* (Spart., *Sev.*, 15), and his son Caracalla caused many pictures of Hannibal to be made. (Herod., iv. 8.)

³ *Omnibus sortibus nactus* (Spart., *Sev.*, 2), he was accused during the reign of Commodus of having consulted the Chaldeans to know whether he should succeed to the Empire. (*Ibid.*, 4.)

At Rome he studied law under an eminent jurisconsult, Q. Scævola. The gravity of his character appeared in the affection he conceived while attending this famous school for a fellow-student, who was destined later to eclipse the master. The tie of friendship was lifelong, and Papinian's friendship protects, in our minds, the memory of Severus. Three of his uncles had been consuls, and one of them obtained for the young man the office of quæstor and so an entrance into the senate (172). The career of public honours was thus opened to him at the age of twenty-seven; but we shall not follow him in it; this *cursus honorum* is already familiar to us, and we are interested only in the ruler. We need only notice that in 189 he was *consul suffectus* under Commodus.

While Julianus was dying in Rome Severus was approaching the city. The senate sent out a hundred of its members to meet him at Interamna, twenty leagues from Rome, and renew to him their oaths of fidelity.

He received them surrounded by 600 of his most faithful troops, who had the duty of keeping watch upon suspicious persons. Introduced into the centre of this menacing band, the deputies were obliged to submit to search that it might be made sure that they had no weapons. After this affront it is true that each of them received a present of eighty pieces of gold (nearly £80), but this first interview between the senate and the emperor did not inaugurate a reign of mutual confidence; and it will be shown that the rivals of Septimius always found partisans among the Conscript Fathers.

The murderers of Pertinax had been already beheaded; the other prætorians Septimius ordered to come and meet him at a designated place, where the legions of Illyria silently surrounded them, while another band went by unfrequented roads to take possession of the real citadel of imperial Rome, their entrenched camp between the Viminal and Colline gates. When secure of having them at his mercy, he ascends his tribunal; he reproaches them angrily for their perfidy towards the late emperor, then orders them to lay down their arms¹ and accoutrements, even to their military belts. These useless soldiers, just now so vain in their

¹ That is to say, the short sword which they wore at the right side; their fighting arms they had left in the camp, in the *armamentarium*.

splendid array, who had so often brought terror to emperor and senate and people, were thus conquered without the striking of a blow. Degraded amidst the derision of the legionaries, mocked by the people, who saw these formidable giant-killers reduced to their mere tunics, they escaped as best they could to places of refuge; penalty of death was pronounced against any who, after a certain number of days, should be found within the hundredth mile-stone from Rome; and some took their own lives from shame.

The prætorian cohorts were disbanded. But Severus quickly reconstituted them out of different material. Up to his time they had been recruited chiefly from Italy;¹ he decreed that, as a reward for military services, picked men from all the legions should be enrolled there. This was a wise measure; the guards of modern sovereigns are thus composed. Since, for more than a century, the provinces had given emperors to Rome, it was natural that they should also furnish prætorians. Severus employed the new cohorts in all his wars, but he left them the character of a permanent garrison of Rome, and so the danger remained the same. We shall see whether he augmented it, indeed, by raising the number of the prætorians to 40,000.

"At the city's gates," says Dion Cassius, "Severus dismounted from his horse, and laid aside his military dress before entering Rome; but his whole army followed him into the city. It was the most imposing sight I ever saw. Throughout the city were garlands of flowers and laurel-wreaths; the houses, adorned with hangings of different colours, were resplendent with the fire of sacrifices and the light of torches. The citizens, clad in white, filled the air with acclamations, and the soldiers advanced in martial order, as if at a triumph. We senators headed the procession, wearing the insignia of our rank."²

Meanwhile emissaries of the new ruler, scattered through the crowd, related all the signs that had been given him of his approaching honours. Soldiers are fatalists, and have need to be so; Severus firmly believed in presages, but he especially wished

¹ Also they were drawn from Spain, Macedonia, and Noricum. (Dion, lxxiv. 2.)

² Dion, lxxiv. 1. This writer, of more value for this reign than for those preceding it, is now our principal authority. Gibbon has yielded too much to the temptation of employing Herodian's rhetoric in adorning his history.

men to believe in those which were favourable to himself. In his *Memoirs*, which are lost to us, he related with complacency the celestial signs, the dreams and oracles which had predicted his fortune, and he caused them to be represented in pictures which he exhibited in Rome, in order to show the world that the gods themselves had announced, and therefore had decreed, the advent of the new imperial dynasty.

Dion is right in representing to us the entry of Severus into Rome as a triumph. It was in fact the definitive victory and this time the open victory of the military power; but to the honour of Severus it was a victory unaccompanied by tears. Only a small number of guilty persons had perished.¹

The character of the new reign was soon revealed. Vainly did Severus show himself very civil towards the senate,² declare that he should take Marcus Aurelius and Pertinax for his examples, and solemnly promise that he would never put to death a member of the high assembly; the licence of the soldiery proved what these words were worth. Feeling that they were the victors of the day, they treated Rome like a conquered city. They established themselves in the temples and palaces and porticoes as if they were taverns, took whatever they wanted, and when called upon for payment, drew their swords. While Severus, surrounded by his armed friends, was haranguing the Conscript Fathers in the curia, the soldiers with shouts and threats came to demand from the senate 10,000 sesterces apiece. This was what the soldiers of Octavius received, and the army now felt that they had won a second battle of Actium and merited a like recompense. Much as Severus had



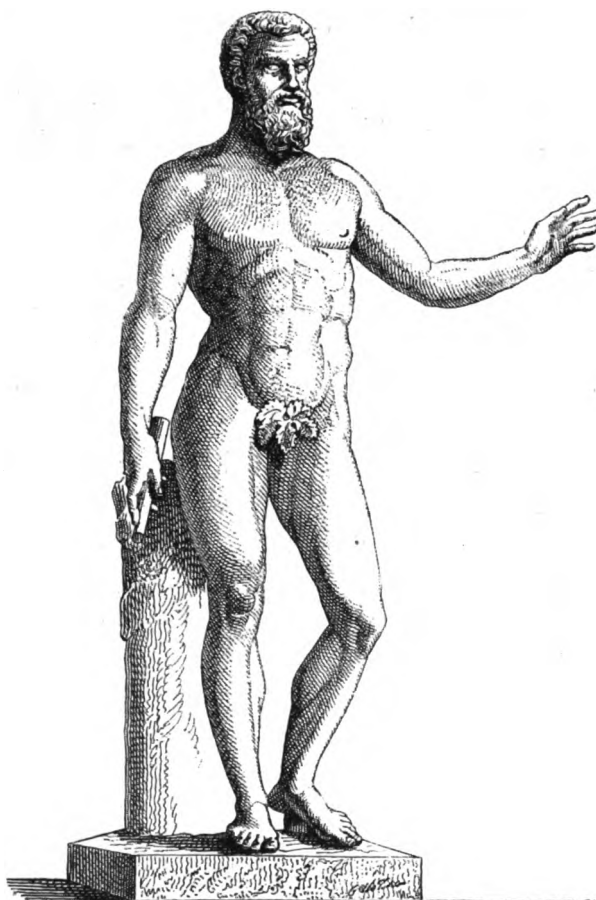
Funeral Pile of Pertinax.
(Large Bronze.)

¹ Spartian says (*Sev.*, 8) that the friends of Julianus, accused in the senate by Severus, were despoiled of their estates and put to death. Dion says only: τοὺς μὲν χειρουργήσαντας τὸ κατὰ τὸν Περτινᾶκα ἔργον θανάτῳ ἐξημίωσε (lxxiv. 1), and speaks of no further executions until those of the civil war. It was probably at that time that the senator Julius Solon perished. (*Ibid.*, 2.)

² Civil he almost always was, at least in words. In the case of a *relatio* which he made later to the senate, on a question of civil law, he said: *cui rei obviam ibitur, patres conscripti, si censueritis* (*Fragm. Vatic. jur. Rom.* of Cardinal Mai, No. 158). Hubner (*de Senatus populi Romani actis*, pp. 75 et seq.) gives the chronological list of the emperor's communications to the senate.

already given them,¹ he was with great difficulty able to content them with 1,000 sesterces apiece.

A few days later funeral honours were paid to Pertinax. Severus had ordered a shrine to be erected to his predecessor, that he should have a statue of gold in the circus, and that in all



Pertinax Deified.²

prayers and oaths his name should be invoked. In the forum an edifice was constructed with a peristyle adorned with ivory and gold, in which was placed the image of Pertinax arrayed in triumphal robes on a couch covered with tapestry of purple and gold. As if he had only been asleep, a handsome young slave kept away the flies from the waxen face with a fan of peacock's

¹ Spart., *Sev.*, 5.

² Statue in Pentelic marble, on which the antique head is set on. (Museum of the Louvre; Clarac, No. 466.)

feathers. "The emperor and we, the senators, with our wives, all arrayed in mourning garments, seated ourselves around this building, the women under the porticoes, we in the open space, and the procession began to move. First were carried the figures of



Procession of the Knights at an Emperor's Funeral.¹

Romans venerated since the earliest times; then followed choirs of boys and men singing a funeral hymn; then bronze busts representing all the conquered peoples in their national costumes. Then were borne the busts of those who had distinguished themselves by their discoveries, then the standards of corporations,² the

¹ Bas-relief from the Antonine column, representing the procession of the knights at the funeral of Antoninus. (Vatican.)

² ἀνδρῶν οἷς τι ἔργον ἢ καὶ ἐξέυρημα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα λαμπρὸν ἐπίπρακτο καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει συστήματα (Dion, lxxiv. 4). This singular passage will be noticed, and the presence in this procession of corporations or trades; these two phrases confirm what we have said of the importance of the humble trades at Rome. In the triumphs of Gallienus and Aurelian in Rome, in the entry of Constantine into Autun, the *collegia*, preceded by their banners (*vexilla*), had their place in the procession. (Hist. Aug., *Gall.*, 8, and *Aurel.*, 34; *Panegyrici veteres*, viii. 8: *omnium signa collegiorum.*)

infantry, the cavalry, the horses of the circus, and lastly, a gilded altar adorned with ivory and precious stones.

"After this imposing procession, Severus ascended the rostra and read a eulogy on Pertinax, which we repeatedly interrupted with our acclamations. At its close we repeated our applause mingled with sobs and groans. The magistrates in charge then took up the funeral bed and gave it to the knights to carry it into the Campus Martius, where the funeral pile had been prepared. Some of us walked in advance; some smote upon their breasts; others sang a funereal chant to the sound of flutes; the emperor came last.

"The funeral pile, in the form of a tower of three stories, adorned with gold, ivory, and statues, bore on the top a gilded car driven by Pertinax. The bed having been placed upon the funeral pile with all that is usually placed near the dead, the emperor and the relatives of Pertinax kissed the waxen image. Then the magistrates with their insignia, the equestrian order, the cavalry and the infantry defiled past the spot (*decursio*); then the consuls applied the fire, and an eagle escaping from the flames rose into the skies. Thus Pertinax was raised to the rank of the immortals."¹

Dion is a poor writer, but we have borrowed from him this page as representing the customs of the time. We remark that at imperial funerals the senators represented the hired mourners of humbler obsequies. This serious people were gratified with cries and gestures, a forced expression of grief or joy, even when neither the grief nor the joy were sincere; and their descendants love them still.

Of the new emperor's two rivals, Albinus and Niger, one had been kept inactive by deceitful promises, and the other, at the head of nine legions and numerous auxiliaries, had been acknowledged by all of Roman Asia, and in the Greek cities was already coining money with Latin legends promising him victory and eternity, *Æternitas Augusta* and *Invicto Imperatori*.² He had even set foot in Europe by the occupation of Byzantium, and his troops were marching upon Perinthus.

¹ Dion, lxxiv. 4 and 5. Cf. the account given by Herodian (iv. 3) of the funeral of Severus.

² Eckhel, vii. p. 154, and Cohen, iii. pp. 213 and 217, Nos. 1 and 26.

Respect for adversaries was not a virtue of the ancients; the rival emperors insulted each other like Homeric heroes before the combat. "He is only a mountebank of Antioch," Severus said of his rival. But in reality he valued the other's abilities very



Pescennius Niger, laurelled.
(Gold Coin.)



The Augustan Eternity.¹



The Invincible Emperor.²

highly,³ and considered him a formidable adversary. Niger, in fact, a soldier of fortune, had passed through all the grades, meriting the praise of Marcus Aurelius, of Commodus, and even of Severus himself. He was a vigilant guardian of discipline. On one occasion he condemned two tribunes to be stoned who had secured some profit out of the commissariat department,⁴ and had it not been for the entreaties of the army he would have beheaded some soldiers who had stolen a fowl. On another occasion his legionaries demanded wine. "You have water," he said to them, "is not that enough?" Never under his command did the soldiery require wood, or oil, or forced labour from the people of the provinces. In Rome, where men remembered that he was an Italian, Niger found partisans,⁵ and his affable manners had made him popular wherever he had held command. Dion doubtless ascribes to the crowd his own sentiments and those of a portion of the senate when he shows the people, after a quarrel with the soldiers of Julianus, calling Niger



*Seculo frugifero.*⁵
(Reverse of a Large
Bronze of Albinus.)

¹ Reverse of a denarius of Pescennius Niger: a crescent and seven stars.

² Reverse of a silver coin of Pescennius Niger; legend: INVICTO IMP. TROPHAEA, surrounding a trophy.

³ Spartian (*Nig.*, 4 and 5) asserts that during an illness at the beginning of the war, Severus wished, if he should die, to have Niger for his successor, and that, after his first successes, he offered the latter *tutum exilium si ab armis recederet*.

⁴ See, later, the letter of Severus to Celsus. Spartian also gives a letter from Marcus Aurelius very honourable to Niger.

⁵ "To the Fruitful Age." Felicity standing, holds a caduceus and a cornucopia.

⁶ Spart., *Nig.*, 3; *ibid.*, 2: *Romæ fautum est a senatoribus*. His father had been *curator* at Aquinum. He himself had begun his career by the rank of centurion.

to the aid of the Republic. In any case, one good sword was of more value than all the wishes of the people-king, and if they expressed any on this subject, they did but irritate Severus without being of use to Niger. Indolence has been ascribed to the governor of Antioch and the effeminate Syrian provinces; but even before his rival had quitted Rome, the prompt and well-judged measures of Niger had assured to him Asia and Egypt, had opened Europe, had guaranteed the neutrality of the Armenians, the succour of the princes and Arab chiefs of Mesopotamia, and even alliances beyond the Tigris.¹ He had not, therefore, in the delights of Daphne forgotten the terrible part which he had resolved to play.



Liberalitas Augusta. (Reverse of a Coin of Septimius Severus.)²

Severus had directed his lieutenants to organize resistance in Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, and a legion sent into Africa guarded for him that granary of Rome. However, he had not a moment to lose; and so, thirty days after his entrance into Rome, he left it, "to reduce to order the Oriental provinces." He left behind him a distrustful senate, but a people glutted with feasts and rejoicing in an abundant harvest.³ For more than a month his troops had been on the march towards the Propontis. They arrived in time to save Perinthus, and drive the enemy back into Byzantium, which was at once blockaded by Marius Maximus.⁴ Negotiations opened by

¹ The Parthian king had promised aid; the king of Atrah had sent him archers; the Adiabeni and some independent tribes had declared for him. (Spart., *Sev.*, 9; Herod., iii. 1.)

² Gold coin; Liberty bearing a *tessera* and a cornucopia. (Cohen, iii. 253.)

³ For this same year, 193, we have coins of Albinus and of Niger with the legend: *Sæculo frugifero, Cerei frugiferae*.

⁴ Upon the question whether this Marius Maximus should be identified with the historian of that name so often quoted in the *Augustan History*, see Borghesi, vol. v. p. 475; Henzen, 5,502; L. Renier, Spon's ed., p. 397; and, for the opposite opinion, Budinger, *Untersuchungen zur Röm. Kaiserg.*, vol. iii. pp. 30-33. The lieutenant of Severus commanded with the title of *dux* a corps drawn from the legions of the two Mœsias. This title, which we meet for the first time under Hadrian, a title which in the time of the Gordians made part of the official hierarchy, designates not an imperial legate at the head of the legions of his government, but a general intrusted with the command of a special expedition, but with no other *imperium* than that which he exercised over his soldiers. Cf. Borghesi, vol. v. p. 462. Under Marcus Aurelius, Candidus, another lieutenant of Severus, had been *præpositus copiarum*. (Orelli, No. 798, and vol. iii. p. 78.) Two other inscriptions, in Gruter (p. 389, 2), and in Marini (*Iscriz. Alb.*, p. 50), give the title of *dux* to Tib. Cl. Candidus and to L. Fabius Cilo in the time of Septimius Severus. No earlier mention of this title is known. (L. Renier, Spon's ed. of 1853, p. 299. Cf. Henzen, *Annali*, vol. xxii. p. 40.) The principal lieutenant of Niger was the

Niger having failed,¹ the rest of the army crossed the Hellespont in the fleets of Ravenna and Misenum, and it does not appear that Niger disputed their passage. A victory was gained by them near Cyzicus, and then a second in the neighbourhood of Nicæa, in which engagement Niger commanded in person.

Five centuries earlier Alexander had conquered near this spot, making himself master of Asia Minor. The double defeat of Niger now threw him back, as Darius had been driven after the battle of the Granicus, across the Taurus. In the gorges of the mountains he made entrenchments at the Cilician Gates, which he believed would be impregnable; but a torrent, swollen by a violent rain, made a breach through which the Illyrians entered. In a third action, near Issus, the Asiatic legions, notwithstanding the advantage of number and of position, could not sustain the onset, and lost 20,000 men. Niger fled to Antioch, and was proposing to seek an asylum among the Parthians when he was seized and beheaded. His head, carried into the camp before Byzantium, was exhibited to the besieged, but the sight did not intimidate them (194). As in almost all engagements between the legions of Europe and Asia, the latter were conquered.

Severus seems not to have been present at any of these engagements, not through fear, but through confidence in his generals, and doubtless in order to remain within reach of couriers from Gaul and Italy who might bring him news of some storm gathering in the west.³



Pescennius Niger.²

proconsul of Asia, Asellius Æmilianus, who was killed at Cyzicus. (Dion, lxxiv. 6. Cf. Waddington, *Fastes des prov. asiat.*, p. 245.)

¹ He demanded a share of the Empire, but Severus would grant nothing except *tutum exilium* (Spart., *Nig.*, 5).

² Engraved stone (red jasper, 31 mill. by 22). *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,099. In the upper part an altar; in the midst of flames, the serpent of Æsculapius. In the field, two inscriptions, thus interpreted by Charles Lenormant: To Æsculapius, Julius Sabinus, diviner, has consecrated (this stone), for the health of the Emperor Cæsar Caius Pescennius Niger, the Just." The intaglio is, therefore, an *ex-voto*. Cf. *Trésor de Numismatique*, *Icon. rom.*, pl. xli. p. 75, and Chabouillet, *op. cit.* pp. 272-3.

³ He seems to have remained for some time at Perinthus, a city well selected under the

Many Eastern cities involved themselves in this civil war, for the purpose of gratifying those local feuds and inveterate jealousies to which all history bears witness. Thus Nicæa, Laodicea, Tyre, and Samaria took sides with Severus, because Nicomedia, Antioch, Berytus, and Jerusalem had declared for his rival.



Coin of the Colony of Laodicea.¹

In Palestine the Jews and Samaritans fought with one another fiercely. In the west Albinus found 150,000 Britons, Gauls, and Spaniards to follow his fortunes, while others followed the fortunes of Severus.

Thus it happened every time that the imperial authority was divided. Without Rome and a unity of command the world would have fallen back into chaos—a truth never to be lost sight of in Roman history and the justification of the Roman Empire.

Niger being overthrown his partisans were punished and his adversaries rewarded, after the customary procedure and in the



Coin of Antioch, in the Name of Pescennius Niger.³

spirit of all ages. Antioch, which had struck coins in honour of the Asiatic emperor, lost her privileges and her title of metropolis, which Laodicea inherited for the entire reign of Severus.² This city, Tyre, Heliopolis or Baalbec, and

others obtained the titles of colonies with the *jus Italicum*.⁴ Severus however pardoned the Jews who had declared for Niger;⁵ but Nablous lost its citizenship, while Samaria obtained the rank and privileges of a Roman colony.

circumstances, whence he could keep watch at once over Europe and Asia. Cf. Eckhel, ii. 41; iv. 440.

¹ SEP(timia) COL. LAVD. METRO(polis), in four lines, surrounded with a wreath of olive leaves. Reverse of a bronze coin of Laodicea under Geta.

² Eckhel, iii. 200. According to Malalas (*Chronogr.*, xii. p. 294), he authorized the inhabitants of Laodicea to take his name, Septimius; he made them very great largesses, instituted gratuitous distributions, *παρίσχευεν αὐτοῖς σιτωνικά χρήματα πολλά*, constructed in their city a hippodrome, a cynegion, hot baths, a hexastoon, and gave the senatorial laticlave, *ἀξίας συγκλητικῶν*, to all of their most notable citizens who survived, *ἀξιωματικοῖς*.

³ AVTOK. KAICAP Γ. ΠΕΚΚΕ. ΝΙΡΡΩ Δ, around a laurelled head of P. Niger. On the reverse: ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ, *the Providence of the gods*, and an eagle. Silver coin.

⁴ *Digest*, i. 15, 1.

⁵ *Palestinis pœnam remisit* (Spart., *Sev.*, 14). Coins exist of Cæsarea and Jerusalem bearing the name of Niger. Cf. de Saulcy, *Numism. de la terre sainte*.

The siege of Byzantium, which lasted about three years,¹ has remained as famous in history as those of Tyre and Carthage, of Rhodes and Jerusalem. Dion describes the massive walls of the city, its towers furnished with formidable engines; its harbour closed by a chain and also made secure from attack by the current of the Bosphorus, lastly, its ships with double rudder which, changing direction without making an evolution, fell suddenly upon the Roman galleys from which they had appeared to flee, and broke their beaks. The superiority of defensive warfare was at that time so great that this city, surrounded by a numerous army and threatened by all the fleets of the Empire, could not be taken by assault. It was necessary to wait until famine forced these brave men to lay down their arms. A great number perished in attempt at escape at the last; the remainder, having fed on all possible food, even to human flesh, opened the gates. The chiefs and soldiers were butchered, the walls broken down, and Byzantium, reduced from its rank of a free city, became a mere village in the territory of Perinthus. A fellow-countryman of Dion, the engineer Priscus, had directed this gallant defence. He was like the rest condemned to death, but Severus pardoned him to attach him to his service.



Coin of Jerusalem, in the Name of Pescennius Niger.²

The friends of the claimant shared therefore in his misfortunes, as they would have done in his success. Niger would not have been more clement, for after the battle of Cyzicus he had ordered his Moorish cavalry³ to sack the cities which had declared for his antagonist. But Severus, still faithful to his oath, put to death no man of senatorial rank;⁴ they were despoiled of their

¹ From the middle of 193 to the spring of 196.

² IMP. CÆS. C. PESC. NIGER IVS(tus) AVG. surrounding the laurelled head of Pescennius Niger. On the reverse: COL. AEL. CAP. COMM(odiana) P(ia) F(elix). The genius of Aelia Capitolina Commodiana (Jerusalem), bearing in the right hand a human head. Bronze coin. (De Saulcy, pl. v. fig. 7.) Coins of Tarsus and Ægæ, in Cilicia, prove that these cities also took the name of Commodus.

³ We have still the epitaph of a Sidonian killed in this "war of the Moors." Cf. de Saulcy, *Deur inscr. de Saïda*.

⁴ Τῶν δὲ δὴ βουλευτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπὸ στείने μὲν οὐδὲνα (Dion, lxxiv. 8). Spartian (*Sev.*, 9) says that one only perished; but as he copies without criticism the information which his reading furnished him, he contradicts himself three times in one passage.

possessions and banished into the islands. Others, who had furnished money, paid a fine of fourfold. Dion accuses Severus of having revived the trade of the informers and of having condemned the innocent. His text, which is extremely mutilated in this place, does not permit us to discuss this fact, which indeed would



Septimius Severus. (Bust found at Porto d'Anzio; Capitol, Gallery, No. 3.)

not have surprised a people habituated by long usage to political vengeance. But another conclusion may be drawn from the following incident. Cassius Clemens, a senator, being called before the tribunal of the ruler, said in his defence: "I neither knew you nor Niger; finding myself in his party, I yielded to necessity, not for the purpose of fighting against you, but of dispossessing Julianus.

I therefore was pursuing the same object as you. If, later, I did not abandon the chief whom the gods had given me, no more would you have wished that those of your party should abandon you and go over to your rival. Examine the matter in itself. Your decision against me will be a decision against yourself and your own friends, for posterity will say that you have made it a crime in us to have acted as you yourself have done." Severus, admiring his courage, deprived him of but one-fourth of his property: a partial justice which appeared a great indulgence. During the struggle he had been heard to say that he would pardon Niger if the latter would anticipate defeat by an abdication; and it is not certain that he would not have kept his word, for he contented himself after the victory with exiling from Rome the wife and children of his rival, and he respected the statues of Niger and their ostentatious inscriptions. "If these praises be just," he said to those who advised him to efface them, "and they are so, it is well to know what an enemy we have conquered." Lastly, he granted an amnesty to the soldiers, and restored to their homes a great number of them who had taken shelter with the Parthians. Severus was not therefore always the pitiless man he is represented in ordinary history. He ended by even granting favours to that city of Byzantium which had so long held his fortune in check. Its site was too remarkable for an intelligent ruler to leave it long in ruins.¹ He aided in rebuilding it, erected baths, a temple of the sun, another of Artemis, an amphitheatre, a hippodrome, etc., being scrupulous to buy, says an old writer, from their owners the houses or gardens he required in his new buildings.² He granted them aid from the army treasury, and permitted the city to take the name of his son. Up to the time of Caracalla's death Byzantium was called the Antonine city.³ The stern judge of the allies of Niger made himself the benefactor of subjects returning to their allegiance.

¹ *situmque loci amœnum contemplatus, Byzantium instauravit* (*Chron. Alex.*, ad ann. 195, and Malalas, xii. p. 291, edit. of Bonn).

² *ἀγορίσας οἰκήματα* (*ibid.*). Malalas and the *Chron. of Alexandria* perhaps go too far in one direction; Dion goes equally far in an opposite direction when he affirms (lxiv. 14) that Severus confiscated the lands of the inhabitants, which cannot be true, since Byzantium continued to exist and he did not send a colony to it.

³ ἡ πόλις Ἀντωνινία (Hesychius Miletus, in C. Müller's *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 153).

Philostratus¹ gives another proof of his spirit of justice, and it was a citizen of Byzantium who profited by it. The siege of the city was still in progress when one of its inhabitants, a famous actor, merited at the Amphictyonic games the prize for tragic

declamation. The judges dared not give it to him, and the matter was reported to Severus, who ordered the prize to be conferred. The matter is a trifle, but among the ancients an act of justice like this was not of common occurrence.



Septimius Severus, on a Coin of Smyrna.²

During the siege of Byzantium, Severus had regulated the affairs of Syria and punished the people of Osrhoene, although they boasted of having murdered the fugitives of Issus who had taken refuge with them.

The Empire kept up a few garrisons on the further side of the Euphrates. To re-affirm in these countries the imperial authority, which had been somewhat impaired by the civil war, and to punish the allies whom Niger had found there, the emperor led his legions



No. 1. Gold Coin commemorative of Victories over the Parthians, Arabs, and Adiabeniens.³



No. 2. Bronze struck in memory of the same Victories.³

into Upper Mesopotamia, where, since the great expedition of Cassius in 165, no Roman army had appeared; and he sent his generals still further, who easily got the better of the Arabs and Adiabeniens on the two banks of the Tigris. It was for his interest to smother the noise of civil war by the resounding clamour of victories gained in foreign lands. But he was too

¹ *Vita Soph.*, ii. 27.

² AV. KA. CE. CEOVHPOC II. (Autocrator Cæsar Septimius Severus Pertinax). Laurellled bust of Septimius Severus. On the reverse: ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑ. ΚΑ. ΤΡΙΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ CMVPNAION (Under the Strategus Claudius Stratonicus, coin of the people of Smyrna). Turreted Cybele seated, the left elbow resting on the tympanum, holding in the right hand two figures of Nemesis; at her feet, a lion. Bronze. (Mionnet, No. 1,342.)

³ Captives at the foot of a trophy, with the legend: PART. ARAB. PART. ADIAB. COS. II PP. The bronze coin has, as usual, the signature of the senate: S.C. (Cohen, No. 537.)

prudent to go far into those remote regions until he had regulated the affairs of the western provinces. He himself went no further than Nisibis, a stronghold which the Parthians had given to the Jews, who were numerous in those countries, and it had been carefully fortified by them.¹ Situated on the lower slopes of Mount Masius, half-way between the Euphrates and the Tigris, Nisibis was destined to be the centre of defence for this region, and at once the bulwark of Syria and of Southern Armenia against the Parthians and Persians.

This war had assumed no very great proportions,² and whatever Dion may say of the occupation of Nisibis, "which costs more than it brings in," the policy was wise. Thus to terminate one civil war on the eve of another which could easily be foreseen was to act as a ruler should who has interests of his Empire well in mind.

Severus was still in Mesopotamia in the spring of 196, whence



Captive Parthian.
(Bas-relief from the Antonine Column.)



Silver Coin giving
Albinus the title of Augustus.
(Cohen, No. 42.)



Coin of Albinus struck at Sidon.³

news of the surrender of Byzantium reached him. This news decided his return to Europe, whither, besides, he was recalled by the anxieties which Albinus was beginning to cause him. He had adopted the latter as his son,⁴ had granted him the title of

¹ Sainte-Croix, *Mém. sur le gouv. des Parthes*, p. 17.

² It gave Severus, however, the four salutations as imperator, which coins and inscriptions indicate for the year 195.

³ C. ΚΑΔΑΙΟC ΑΑΒΕΙΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑ, around bare head of Albinus. On the reverse: CΙΑΗΤΩΝ. Pallas and a female figure, with hands clasped, each holding a spear. Bronze.

⁴ This at least is to be inferred from the name of Septimius which Albinus assumed, and the custom of the emperors when they conferred the title of Cæsar. Hence coins were struck in honour of Albinus at Hippo Libera, Sidon, and Smyrna. (Cohen, vol. iii., *ad fin. Alb.*)

Cæsar,¹ that is to say, of heir-presumptive, and had designated him to share with himself the consulship of the next year. Coins were struck in his honour with this title; statues were erected to him, and sacrifices offered in the name of the two emperors.²



Antique Fragment of a Statue of Clodius Albinus (so-called).³

Before setting out for the East the emperor had written to him: "The State has need of a person like yourself, of illustrious birth and in the prime of life. I am old and suffer from the gout, and my sons are only boys."³ But for three years Albinus had been left out of all important affairs. Severus had reserved for himself alone, even in respect to the smallest matters, the plenitude of the imperial power. It is possible that an inscription relating to works ordered by him, from far off in Asia, in an obscure city of Latium, may not be genuine;⁴ but we

have the text of a rescript which he sent from the shores of the Euphrates to Rome touching the guardianship of the property of minors.⁵ Another conqueror took pleasure in dating his decrees from Warsaw or from Moscow, 600 leagues distant from his own

Eckhel thinks (vii. 165) that, if he had obtained this name of Severus, he had relinquished it after the rupture between them; but this reason does not seem sufficient.

¹ According to Capitolinus (*Alb.*, 2 and 6), Commodus, rendered anxious by the schemes of Severus, had already offered that title to Albinus, which the latter, foreseeing the approaching downfall of the emperor, and saying that Commodus was seeking companions in his ruin, had refused. The silence of Dion and of other writers does not allow us to accept this letter, which is, moreover, of so strange a character.

² For instance, the taurobolus of Lyons in 194. (Or.-Henzen, No. 6,032.)

³ Herod., ii. 48. Caracalla was born in 188; Geta the year following.

⁴ Spon, *Miscell.*, p. 270.

⁵ Torso of Pentelic marble found near Civita Vecchia. The cuirass has a head of Medusa and under it a palladium, as if to say: I terrify and I protect. The statue (restored) is in the Vatican under the name of Clodius Albinus.

⁶ *Digest*, xxvii. 9, 1. It was read in the senate June 13th, 195; others are dated from

capital. Albinus, who retained only useless marks of honour, saw the sons of Severus growing older, and it required but little foresight to understand that these boys, when they became men, would be formidable competitors to himself. His three legions of Britain were devoted to him; those of Gaul and Spain,¹ which alone of all the armies had never made an emperor, must have been desirous to associate themselves with the fortune of a new ruler. At Rome, the former friends of Pescennius, and all those who were distrustful of Severus, turned their hopes towards Albinus. His illustrious birth was spoken of; the gentleness of this Cæsar was contrasted with the harshness of the Augustus; it was believed that under him the senate would recover its authority,² and some of the most important of the senators advised him to take advantage of the difficulties of Severus in the East to lay hands upon Rome and Italy. The letters found later among the papers of Albinus reveal these secret intrigues. Medals even give us reason to think that a certain number of the Conscript Fathers went to join Albinus, and then a counter-senate was established, as formerly

Viminacium (*Code*, iv. 19, 1), and from Eboracum (*Code*, iii. 32, 1); but in the case of the latter there is an error, either as to the date, July 22nd, 205, or else as to the place where it is said to have been issued.

¹ Borghesi (*Œuvres complètes*, iv. 265) counts thirty-three legions, in the reign of Severus, of whom four were in Germany and one in Spain. Which side these five legions took we do not know, but we know that the partisans of Albinus were numerous in Gaul and south of the Pyrenees, since after the battle of Lyons there were still disturbances in these provinces, and, according to Spartian (*Sev.*, 12), *Hispanorum et Gallorum proceres multi occisi sunt*. Severus must in the beginning have attached to his party the legions of Upper Germany, adjacent to his own, and we see that his army entered Gaul by way of Germany. But we cannot doubt that Albinus early began to intrigue with the legions of Lower Germany, so close to Britain, and where he had probably been in command. Cf. Roulez, *les Légats des provinc. de Belg. et de Germ. Infér.*, p. 44. The passage of Capitolinus (*Alb.*, 1) would prove that the legions of Gaul, those, at least, of the Lower Rhine, had made common cause with the army of Britain. Two facts are certain: Severus, at the head of his prætorian guard and the contingents that he had been able to obtain from the twenty-seven legions stationed in the countries under his power, was near failing in the struggle; and for Albinus, who was victorious several times, to have been able at the last moment to put his rival in great danger, it must have been the case that he had, not merely tumultuous levies from Gaul and Spain, but well-organized forces in considerable number. Dion speaks of 150,000 men in array on each side. The figures given by the ancient authors can never be absolutely accepted; but we have the right to conclude from what Dion says that the forces on both sides were equal, and that they were numerous.

² See the discourse, so republican or rather so senatorial, attributed by Capitolinus (13) to Albinus. It is impossible that words like these were ever spoken before an army, but they have been ascribed to Albinus on account of his well-known sentiments in respect to the importance of the senatorial order.

had been done by Pompey in Greece and Scipio in Africa, and as later Postumus did in Gaul.¹

Severus could not be unaware of these dispositions of the Roman nobles, and he must have distrusted them for many years, although Albinus in 195 had sent him large sums of money to aid in succouring the cities ruined by Niger. As he was on his way back to Italy through the valley of the Danube, there reached him,



Septimius Severus and his Eldest Son Caracalla.³

when near Viminacium, news from Britain and from Rome which decided him to precipitate the inevitable rupture:² doubtless the announcement that Albinus had assumed the title of Augustus and was preparing to come down into Gaul. Severus had just emerged victorious from two wars, and had twice traversed

the richest provinces of the Empire; he had given his soldiers military fame and he could give them gold. Therefore he had but little trouble in inducing them to declare Albinus a public enemy, and to proclaim his own son Cæsar and *Princeps Juventutis* under the name of Aurelius Antoninus.⁴ He himself had already taken the designation of the "son of Marcus Aurelius."⁵ "At last he has found a father," men said, hurt at this victory of a parvenu.⁶ But it was no mere taking of a name. The act must

¹ Cf. Eckhel, vii. 165, and Spart., *Sev.*, 11.

² Spartian attributes this rupture to Albinus; Dion, to Severus; in either case, it was inevitable. It occurred earlier than June 30th, 196, for we have a rescript of that date signed Severus and Caracalla (*Code*, iv. 19, 1). The compilers of Justinian's time gave Caracalla the title of Augustus in it. But this is an error which they often committed in the case of this prince. We must use with prudence the dates furnished by the *Pandects*. Eckhel (vii. 387) says, speaking of these laws signed by the emperors: . . . *harum testimonia quam sint infirma, satis compertum*.

³ Intaglio of 27 mill. by 40; sardonyx of three layers. *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,100. Severus and Aurelius Antoninus are both laurelled and wear the *paludamentum*. This engraved stone merits, both by the beauty of the material and the excellence of the workmanship, to be placed beside the cameo representing the family of Severus. See later, p. 69.

⁴ Eckhel, vii. pp. 109 and 173; Dion, lxxv. 7; Spart., *Sev.*, 10. At this time first appeared the formula: *imperator destinatus*. Cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algérie*, No. 1,826.

⁵ A coin of the year 195, in which Severus bears the title of the son of Marcus Aurelius, represents him holding in his hand a victory and crowned by Rome. (Cohen, iii. p. 298.)

⁶ Dion, lxxvi. 9.

have been preceded by a veritable adoption with all legal forms, for Severus insisted that it should have all civil consequences. Naturally there was missing at the ceremony the principal actor, namely, the adoptive father, who had been dead for fifteen years. But in some way or another imperial omnipotence obviated this



Clodius Albinus.¹

difficulty, as Galba had done in the case of Piso, whom he adrogated² without curiate assembly, in virtue of his office of Pontifex Maximus, and as Nerva had done in the case of the absent Trajan, although the presence and the consent of the person adopted were necessary. Severus was also Pontifex Maximus, and

¹ Bust in the Campana Museum, found in the Roman Campagna. (Henry d'Escamps, *Descr. des Marbres du Musée Campana*, No. 103.)

² In respect to the *adoptio* and *adrogatio*, see vol. v. p. 247. After the time of Diocletian the *adrogatio* was made by mere imperial rescript. (*Code*, vii. 48, 2.)

what was legal in the case of a person absent was equally so in respect to one who was dead. Henceforth in the inscriptions of Severus, above all his other titles comes his descent from the Antonines,¹ and his sepulchral urn was deposited in their tomb.

This strange conduct had a double motive. Severus designed to draw upon his family the splendour of the most illustrious of the imperial dynasties, the famous Antonines, whom poets now raised higher than the very gods;² and he also wished, at the same stroke, to seize upon the vast estates that five generations of emperors, following each other in hereditary succession, had bequeathed to Commodus. On the death of this emperor an immense fortune had passed to his three sisters, and Severus, rendered anxious by such great wealth in the hands of private individuals, had taken part of it at once, as political inheritor, and he proposed to secure the rest proximately as civil heir, by making himself the son of Aurelius. Thus in a day the poorest of the emperors became the richest.³

This act had serious results. As long as Severus bore only the name of Pertinax, which was dear to the senate, this assembly, not without some distrust, allowed events to take their course, without attempting, even by the expression of a wish, to modify them. But to call himself the brother of an emperor whom the Conscript Fathers held in execration, and rehabilitate his accursed memory, was to justify his acts and accept also as an inheritance his hatred towards the nobles. From that day fear and anger brooded over the curia, and the senate, in their thoughts, conspired for Albinus.

Was the rupture preceded, as has been asserted, by an attempt

¹ *M. Antonini Pii filius Commodi frater Antonini Pii nepos Hadriani pronepos, Trajani abnepos, Nervæ adnepos.* (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 3,277.) A daughter of Marcus Aurelius, *Vibia Aurelia Sabina*, is called a sister of Severus. (*Ibid.*, No. 2,718.) There has been lately discovered at Lamoricière, in the province of Oran, an inscription in which Severus is called the son of Marcus Aurelius. (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1882, p. 96.)

² Lamp., *Macr.*, 7.

³ Up to the time of his consulship he had had in Rome only a very small house and a little landed property, *quum ædes brevissimas habuisset et unum fundum.* (Spartian, *Sev.*, 4.) The successor inherited the property of the dead emperor, even to legacies which, though made, had not yet been paid. (*Digest*, xxxvi. 56.) In this way the Flavians had inherited the Chersonesus, the property of the first Cæsars. (*C. I. L.*, iii. 728.) To manage that great fortune Severus instituted a *procuratio rerum privatarum* which became permanent. (*Ibid.*, 12.)

at assassination?¹ All men at that time held that a dagger thrust was a good way of simplifying a difficult question, and in this respect Severus felt like every one else. But men who stood exposed to surprises like these were accustomed to guard themselves carefully, and the procedure attributed to the emperor was so easily to be discovered that we may doubt if he employed it. Spartian and Dion make no mention of these emissaries sent with fictitious letters and poison who, according to the confession that torture always extorts, were to attract Albinus to a secret conference and stab him there, or else gain over his cook and have poison mingled with his food. The British Cæsar was too much interested in putting in circulation rumours of this kind for us not to suspect their authenticity.

Severus ordered everything for the approaching campaign with his usual promptitude. Troops hastened to guard the defiles of the Alps, while the bulk of his forces, still ascending the valley of the Danube, turned the mountains on the north and entered Gaul through the province of Upper Germany. He himself made a rapid journey to Rome,² where he caused the senate to confirm the army's declaration against Albinus, and also the elevation of Caracalla to the rank of Cæsar. He then returned to take command in person of his forces, who were advancing divided into two corps. A deputation sent some time after by the senate found Caracalla in Upper Pannonia, where his father had left him, and Severus in Upper Germany.³

Dion relates a curious fact. A humble grammarian of Rome, fired with martial ardour, suddenly closed his school and betook himself to Gaul. He gave out that he was a senator intrusted by the emperor with the duty of levying an army; he raised troops and defeated many corps of the army of Albinus. Severus, under the idea that he was a senator, wrote to him congratulating him. Numerianus scoured the country, levied contributions on hostile cities, and collected over 17,000,000 drachmæ, which he sent to the emperor. The war being ended he presented himself before

¹ Capit., *Alb.*, 7, and Herod., iii.

² Eckhel, vii. 175; Cohen, iii. 275.

³ L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 1,826; *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 163; Henzen, *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1858, p. 88. The deputation mentioned in this inscription took place in 196.

Severus, and made known to him the truth. He was offered whatever he desired, but he even refused to enter the senate, and accepting only a small pension went to live in the country. Here we have a schoolmaster who was at once a philosopher and a man



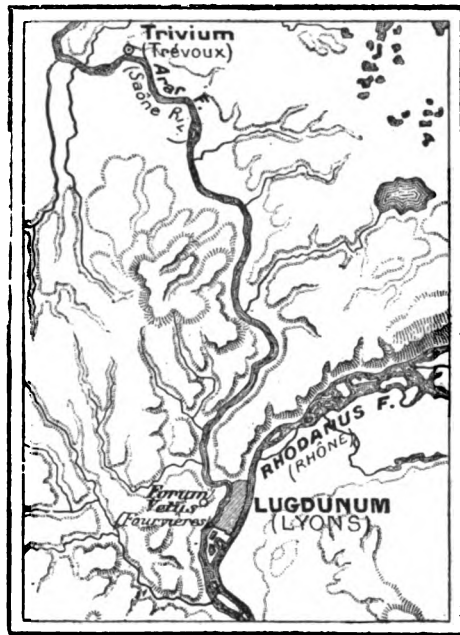
Clodius Albinus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 49.)

of action; but what he was able to accomplish shows the great disorder of the times.

If we may believe Dion, 300,000 men, 150,000 on each side, were ready to join battle in Gaul. Rome with melancholy gaze followed these distant events. "While the world was shaken by this great shock," says the historian, "we remained sad and inactive. The people, even in their wonted amusements, manifested their grief. At the games of the circus I saw an immense multitude, but they paid no attention to the races, there was not a cry,

nor a word of encouragement to the charioteers. Suddenly out of the great silence, one voice cried: 'Peace, for the safety of the people!'" The senate and the city, powerless against these ambitious men, asked only repose under whichever master. It was, in a different form, the sentiment of Asinius Pollio before the battle of Actium: "I shall be the spoil of the victor."

An engagement in which the troops of Albinus had the advantage over the lieutenant of Severus preceded the main action, which took place on the banks of the Saône between Lyons and Trévoux. The army of Severus coming from the north-east faced southward, the forces of Albinus were drawn up facing the north. Since his accession to the throne Severus had directed all military operations from a distance, but this time he himself led his troops to the attack, for all his fortune was staked in this final encounter, and the treason that he was conscious of in his rear obliged him to conquer or perish. He did indeed risk his life, but a cavalry charge by Lætus decided the victory. The



Lyons and its Environs.

conquerors entered Lugdunum pursuing the fugitives. Albinus, on the point of falling into their hands, made an unsuccessful attempt to kill himself. He was taken before Severus, and the latter ordered his head to be cut off. Severus thus remained undisputed master of the Roman world (19th February, 197). Herodian well says: "That one man should have been able to destroy three competitors already in possession of power; that he should have destroyed one of these in his palace in Rome, the second far in the East, the third far in the West—this is a success almost unparalleled in history."¹

¹ Herod., iii. 23. The expedition against Albinus occupied the latter months of 196 and VOL. VI. F

But the moment when Severus attained this fame is also that when he stained his name with blood.

On the news of the first successes gained by Albinus, the senate, believing the emperor ruined, had hastened to coin a silver



Septimius Severus. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

piece bearing the name of the new Augustus and to accord honours to his brother and near relatives.¹ On the part of people so circumspect this was a very great imprudence, which can only be explained by the arrival of some misleading bulletin from Albinus. Severus immediately wrote to them expressing his regret at

the first two of 197. Dion gives us an exact date for the middle point of hostilities, the incident of which he has just spoken occurring on the eve of the Saturnalia, that is to say, December 16th, 196.

¹ Spart., *Sev.*, 11; Capit., *Alb.*, 9; Cohen, iii. p. 227. The senate could only coin copper pieces; to coin silver was therefore a usurpation on their part.

becoming aware of their preference for Albinus. He had liberally provided for the city, he said; he had made many wars for the Republic, and by Niger's death had delivered them from tyranny. He then reproached them for their ingratitude towards himself in accepting as their emperor an adventurer from Hadrumetum who claimed to be of the family of the Ceionii. From this man they expected consulships and commands, a trickster skilful in imposture. To him they no doubt proposed to offer a triumph as to an illustrious conqueror; and he ended the letter with expressions of contempt for the literary claims of his rival.¹ Before subduing him by force of arms, Severus desired to render Albinus an object of ridicule, depriving him of the ancestry which the latter claimed and of the talents for which others gave him credit—two sources of pride which he himself enjoyed.

After the battle of Lyons came a still more terrible message: the head of Albinus set up on a spear in front of the curia, and these words, concluding a threatening letter: "It is thus that I treat those who offend me." Severus himself soon appeared in the senate (June, 197). "He commended the severities of Sylla, Marius, and Augustus, which had saved them, and blamed the moderation of Pompey and of Cæsar, which had been their ruin." He then apologized for Commodus, reproaching the senators for voting the latter infamous,²



Albinus. (Vatican, Hall of Busts.)

¹ Capit., *Alb.*, 12. It is a question whether this letter is authentic. Dion (lxxv. 7) speaks of threatening letters, but quotes none; what we have of the addresses of Severus to the senate give us reason, however, to accept this as veritable.

² According to Dion, we may believe that it was not until this time that he declared the latter *divus*, ἡρωικῶς ἰδιῶν τιμᾶς; an inscription of the year 196, in which Severus is spoken of as "the brother of the divine Commodus," proves that this emperor's apotheosis preceded the battle of Lyons. In assuming the position of son to Marcus Aurelius, at least from

they who themselves for the most part lived in a more infamous manner. At the conclusion of his address, which caused the senate great alarm,¹ a capital process was instituted against sixty-four senators accused of complicity in the designs of Albinus; thirty-five, proved innocent, resumed their seats, and Dion, who is not friendly to Severus, declares that the emperor behaved towards them as if they had never given him cause to doubt their fidelity; twenty-nine being condemned to death were executed.² Among this number was that Sulpicianus whom we saw, after the murder of Pertinax, chaffering for the Empire and kissing the hands stained with his son-in-law's blood. Partisans of Niger who had been spared up to this time now perished, his wife, children, and six of his near relatives: Severus settled all his accounts once for all.

Those seyerities find, not their excuse, but their explanation in the dangers that the emperor had just passed through: before him, a formidable adversary supported by the forces of the Western provinces; behind him, in Italy, treason; in the East, a Parthian invasion and a military revolt, that of the Third Legion of Cyrenaica, which from its camps in Arabia could again set Syria in a blaze and renew Niger's alliance with the perpetual enemy of the Empire. This legion had proclaimed Albinus,³ and in default of this general would doubtless have put forward one of the sons of Niger; and this was the condemnation of the rest of the party. Doubtless we must pity the victims of domestic discords, especially those involved by the fatality of birth. But if we had a little less compassion for the abettors of civil wars who perish by the conqueror's hand, and a little more for those who are sacrificed in these wars in the fulfilment of their duty as soldiers, we should place beside those twenty-nine senators executed at Rome for having played at the terrible game of revolution, the 30,000 or

the year 195, Severus accepted the obligation to rehabilitate the memory of his adoptive brother.

¹ *Μάλιστα δ' ἡμᾶς ἐξέπληξεν* (Dion, lxxv. 7).

² Dion, lxxv. 8. Spartian (*Sev.*, 13) enumerates forty-one persons who were put to death. Severus at first allowed the wife and the two (?) sons of Albinus to live, but later put them to death. According to law and custom all the property of the condemned was confiscated. We find, however, a Ceionius Albinus prefect of Rome under Valerian; the entire family was therefore not involved in the ruin of him who was defeated at Lyons.

³ Spart., *Sev.*, 12.

40,000 corpses of Roman legionaries which covered the Lyonnese plains.¹

Proscriptions were made in the Gallic provinces and in Spain. All who had aided Albinus paid with life or fortune for the crime of not being able to foresee which side would be victorious. One of these proscribed persons begged the emperor to spare him. "If the destiny of battle, O Cæsar, had been against you," this man said, "what would you have done in the position in which I am



The Divine House. (Septimius Severus and his Family.)²

now?" "I should have resigned myself," the emperor rejoined, "to suffer what you are about to endure." And he ordered the man's execution. "To destroy factions," Severus said, "one must once be cruel in order after that to be merciful for the rest of one's life."³ Isolated cases of resistance⁴ there were, especially in the Iberian peninsula, whither Severus sent one of his best generals, Tib. Claudius Candidus, the conqueror of Nicæa, to fight "by sea and land the rebels of the Citerior province."⁵ Another inscription

¹ . . . ἀποτίρωθεν ἀναριθμήτων πλοίωντων (Dion, lxxv. 7).

² *Cabinet de France*, cameo, No. 249, sardonyx of three layers, 61 mill. by 101. One of the most valued of the collection. The execution, without being as perfect as that of the monuments of the first Cæsars, is still very remarkable. The laurel wreath of Caracalla with Geta's bare head fixes the date of this cameo between the years 198 and 209. Severus wears the paludamentum and the radiated crown; Julia Domna, the veil and diadem. Cf. Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³ Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 20.

⁴ *Multi post Albinum fidem ei servantes bello a Severo superati sunt* (Spart., *Sev.*, 12).

⁵ *C. I. L.*, ii. 4,114.

speaks of a tribune serving in the expedition undertaken "to crush the Gallic faction."¹

Lyons had suffered from the great conflict which took place outside her walls; but she quickly effaced the traces of this, and made haste to show herself faithful to the conqueror. Two months and a half after the battle a sacrifice was offered there for "the safety of the emperor, of his son the Cæsar, first designated emperor, of the empress Julia Domna, the mother of the camps, and of all the divine house."



Coin of Vologeses IV.²

During four days religion displayed its most imposing pomps for this solemnity, which sealed the reconciliation between the African dynasty and the Gallic nations.²

In Rome, while twenty-nine senatorial families wept for their dead, the populace and the soldiers kept holiday. The latter had re-

ceived large gifts of money; the former, a congiarium, *fêtes*, and gladiatorial shows,⁴ to compensate them for not having enjoyed the spectacle of so many thousands of Romans butchered in the battles of the civil war.

Severus could now enjoy repose. The Roman world, twice visited and pacified; the Euphrates and Tigris crossed; the Rhine and Danube flowing peacefully beneath Roman standards: all things invited the ruler to turn his indefatigable activity towards the labours of peace. But, during the Gallic war, the king of the Parthians, Vologeses IV., had invaded Mesopotamia and besieged Nisibis, which a general, by name Lætus, had valiantly defended; and the revolt of the legion of Arabia proved that in the East

¹ *C. I. L.*, iii. 4,037. It is proper to say, however, that the date of this inscription cannot with certainty be fixed in the year 197.

² From the 4th to the 7th of May, 197. De Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 36. Later, after the war with the Parthians, another solemn sacrifice was celebrated by the order and at the expense of the general assembly of Narbonensis, *pro salute dominorum impp.* (Gruter, xxix. 12.) In respect to this ceremony, see vol. v. pp. 703-4.

³ Diademed head of Vologeses IV. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΛΛΑΓΑΚΟΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΑΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΔΕΔΑ ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΝ (of the year 464, of the month Apellæus.) Tetradrachm.

⁴ Cohen, iii. 259: *Munificentia Aug.* Severus renewed the prohibition for women to fight as gladiators. (Dion, lxxv. 16.)

the fires of civil war were not yet entirely extinct. Severus again assumed the cuirass, and with extreme diligence made all his preparations. Before withdrawing to so great a distance the principal forces of the Empire,¹ he recommended to his lieutenants vigilance upon the northern frontiers, authorizing them to make prudent concessions for the sake of preventing hostilities. We know, for example, that Lupus, one of his ablest generals, arrested by presents distributed among the chiefs an invasion of the mountaineers of Caledonia. Having taken these precautions Severus embarked on board the fleet at Brundisium and sailed to the Syrian coast; he crossed the Euphrates in time to gain by some victory his tenth salutation as imperator, before the close of the year 197.² A treaty with the king of Armenia, who gave him money and hostages, permitted him to advance without anxiety as to his rear.



Denarius commemorating the Tenth Salutation of Severus as Imperator.

To the Romans of that time the enemy *par excellence* was the Parthian. The heir of the Arsacidæ, the successor of Cyrus and of Alexander, alone in the known world was able to throw a shadow upon the imperial majesty of Rome. The deserts which protected this people, the death of Crassus and Antony's vain efforts, even the ephemeral successes of Trajan, made the Parthian king an inconvenient and hated neighbour. To conquer him was the great ambition of the military chiefs of Rome. We have often explained why this definitive victory was impossible. Severus resolved at least to inflict a rebuff upon this great Oriental empire, and close against it the approaches to Syria by rendering the passage of the Tigris difficult for the Parthian army. Vologeses did not await the emperor, but his generals engaged with the Romans several times, and one of these combats seems to have been a decisive victory for the latter.³ The road to Ctesiphon was open, and Severus advanced.

¹ He took a part of the prætorians (Dion lxxv. 10) with their prefect, C. Fulvius Plautianus (Orelli, No. 934), and borrowed detachments from the armies of Europe (Dion, lxxv. 12, and *C. I. L.*, iii. 1,193), and from Africa (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 1,182).

² Eckhel, vii. 176: *Profectio Aug.*; Momms., *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 1,410. In respect to this war Herodian confuses facts, names, dates, and geography.

³ April, 193. This date is to be inferred from an inscription published by Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 1,727.

Obtaining timber from a forest near the Euphrates, he constructed a fleet to convey his heavy baggage, while his soldiers advanced along the river bank. He arrived in this way at Babylon and Seleucia, no longer great except in name, and seized the royal city of the Parthians, taking away 100,000 captives. This was the third time within the century that the Romans had entered Ctesiphon.

The return through the valley of the Tigris was difficult on



The Parthian King escaping from Ctesiphon. (Bas-relief from the Arch of Septimius Severus.)

account of the scarcity of provisions and forage. Like Trajan, Severus besieged the stronghold of Atrā¹ (El-Hadhr), whose king had made an alliance with Niger, and he failed as did his illustrious predecessor, notwithstanding the machines of the engineer Priscus. In the midst of this desert it was impossible for the besieging army to resort to a blockade, the great method of the

¹ A few days' march westward of the Tigris. Its ruins still exist, not, however, as Herodian says, on the top of a high hill. There are only low hillocks in the region and some calcareous rocks. Cf. Layard's *Nineveh*; this author visited El-Hadhr. Dion speaks of two sieges of Atrā, or rather, of two attacks made upon the town: the one, perhaps, by one of the lieutenants of Severus; the other, by the emperor himself.

ancients for the reduction of a city. After twenty days of sharp attacks, the emperor raised the siege and withdrew through Upper Mesopotamia into the Syrian provinces, about the close of the year 198 or the beginning of the following year.

During this siege, in which the army endured great hardships, there was an instance of insubordination, and it became necessary to make an example. A prætorian tribune had repeated publicly and doubtless commented upon the lines which Virgil puts into the mouth of Drances, the partisan of peace at any price: "They take no account of us, and we perish for the ambition of one man." Severus had caused him to be put to death, and possibly the punishment was merited. Military men who despair, when it is their duty to hope even against all hope, ruin the cause which they are set to defend by sowing discouragement in the hearts of the soldiers. And so before Atræ, the emperor, fearing that his army would no longer obey him,¹ abandoned a last attempt which seemed likely to be successful.



Severus holding a Victory in his hand, and crowned by Rome. (Reverse of a great Bronze.)

Was it at this time that Lætus perished?² At the battle of Lyons, Lætus, at the head of the cavalry, had not charged until after the report had come to him that the emperor was mortally wounded, and this charge had decided the victory. Severus being dead, and Albinus overthrown, Lætus would have taken their place;³ but the emperor was not dead; and that which was perhaps an intended treason became the skilful manœuvre of a great captain. Severus believed this, or allowed it to be said. Dion asserts that being unable to strike at once the man who appeared to have saved him he bided his time, and in Mesopotamia caused Lætus to be slain in a camp tumult.⁴ It is probable that there was neither treachery on the one side nor the instigation of a military riot on the other. Dion was very

¹ . . . τὴν ἀπειθείαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν (Dion, lxxv. 12).

² This Lætus is to be distinguished from the defender of Nisibis, who was in that city at the time that the other Lætus was in Gaul.

³ Dion, lxxv. 6. Spartian says (*Sev.*, 11) that the army, believing the emperor dead, were ready at once to make a new emperor.

⁴ Dion, lxxv. 10. This author contradicts himself, representing Lætus, in the same sentence, as beloved by the army, and then tells us that Severus charged them with the murder, saying that they had committed it *παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ*.

remote from the spot where this tragedy took place, and could only give currency to the rumours which were in circulation in Rome. Now two things in this narrative are absolutely contrary to the known character of this emperor: the long hesitation before striking the man whose death he had resolved on; and the dangerous method he is said to have employed, the instigation of a camp tumult, which no man can be sure of arresting at the desired point. Certain it is that Lætus was killed by the soldiers,



Septimius Severus and his Two Sons.¹

and we know that disorders of this kind were then frequent in the army; he doubtless lost his life in endeavouring to allay one.

At Ctesiphon the emperor had abandoned all the spoils to the soldiery. To thank their chief by gratifying his paternal affection, the army saluted Bassianus with the title of Augustus and proclaimed Geta Cæsar. To the former Severus gave the tribunitian power (198). Caracalla, though only eleven years of age, was then associated in the Empire, honours which were premature and fatal to their object. In this elective empire the tendency towards

¹ *Cabinet de France*, cameo, No. 250, sardonyx of three layers, 25 millim. by 30. Two victories, each standing on a globe, are crowning Caracalla and Geta. The emperor is holding the hand of his second son over a lighted altar. Below it a half-effaced inscription: (ὡς πρὸς τὴν) NEIKHN TON KYPIQN. . . . For the victory of our lords. M. Chabouillet remarks (*op. laud.*, p. 437) that the title of *dominus* or *κύριος*, does not appear on Roman coins until after the time of Diocletian; Caligula, Domitian, and Trajan, had already taken it, or allowed it to be ascribed to them, and it is frequent in inscriptions, especially dating from Severus and his sons.

heredity was irresistible. The father always yielded to this natural sentiment, and his will was always accepted. And yet, with the one exception of Titus, the hereditary succession had given Rome only bad rulers, Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus. "The designated emperor" would soon add to this list a name which is one of the most odious in history.¹

Notwithstanding his unsuccessful attempt upon Atræ, Severus had struck really a heavy blow in the East. The fall of Ctesiphon had resounded even in the most distant provinces, and everywhere was extolled the great conqueror of the Parthians, *Parthicum Maximum*. The Empire had not been materially aggrandized, which



*Pacator orbis.*²

would have been a useless thing; but a salutary terror had been inspired among those who had been accustomed to break over its frontiers, and these nations were reduced to quiet for the next eighteen years in consequence.



*Fundator pacis.*³

Severus therefore merits the title that he received of *propagator imperii*. Many others were given him,⁴ such as *pacator orbis*, *fundator pacis*, etc., for the power attested by such constant good fortune had excited an enthusiasm at once servile and grateful. To this countless inscriptions, especially in the African and Hellenic provinces, bore witness. Athens, which had to obtain pardon for not having been able to foresee the success of the future emperor, signalized herself by the fervour of her zeal, and numberless cities offered the sacrifice of the bull.⁵

Through his wife, Julia Domæa, Severus was half Syrian. Before his accession to the Empire he had commanded the Fourth Scythian Legion in Syria (182-184); after the death of Niger he

¹ Spartian in his memoir of Severus (20) calls the attention of Diocletian to the fact that it was very rarely that a great man left a son *optimum et utilem . . . aut sine liberis viri interierunt, aut tales habuerunt plerique, ut melius fuerit de rebus humanis sine posteritate discedere*. Diocletian, however, had no sons, and this was a consolation that the imperial historiographer took occasion to offer him.

² Reverse of a gold coin of Severus. The legend surrounds the radiate head of the sun.

³ Severus veiled, holding an olive-branch. Reverse of a gold coin.

⁴ *C. I. L.*, ii. 1,669, 1,670, 1,969, etc. Cf. Cohen, iii. Nos. 118-122, 360-5, 610-12.

⁵ Herzberg (*die Gesch. Griechenl. unter der Herrsch. der Röm.*), who collects the minutest details, has not been able (vol. ii. pp. 421 *et seq.*) to derive anything of importance from these inscriptions. See also Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, Nos. 2,159, 2,322, 2,374, 2,466, etc.

remained there more than two years, and after the death of Albinus four years more. He therefore well understood these countries and their needs. But for what purpose did he stay there so long, especially after the Parthian war was at an end? It certainly could not have been pleasure which detained him so long in the Oriental provinces. Gratifications of the senses could have had no hold upon such a man, who had an ambition for great



A Victory sacrificing the Bull of the Roman Triumphs. (Bas-relief in the Louvre.)

things and consequently a contempt for petty ones. His biographer says, speaking of one of the provinces, that Severus made many regulations there, of which the foolish writer does not give us one. We may be sure that he employed his leisure in strengthening discipline among the legions, in fortifying the outposts, in establishing order in the land, security upon the highways, and that he introduced Roman civilization into these provinces that he might the better count upon their fidelity. The few facts revealed by those unexceptionable witnesses, coins and

medals, permit us to conjecture those which official history hides from us.

First, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, he organized Mesopotamia as a province. He gave it for a permanent garrison two legions which he had created during the war, the First and Third Parthian,¹ and he increased the power of these military forces by multiplying in the new province the civil Roman element. Colonists were established at Nisibis, the central stronghold of the country, which received the emperor's name, Septimia; at Rhesæna, where the Third Parthian had its headquarters, between Nisibis and Thapsacus, at the great passage of the Euphrates; at Zaitha, the city of olive-trees,² situated on the same river below Circesium and at the entrance of the high road to Palmyra. The Syrian desert had become Quiritary land.



Coin of Rhesæna.³

On the north-west of the province the king of Osrhoene had given up to the emperor his children as hostages, and had furnished well-trained archers for the campaign against the Parthians;⁴ on the north the king of Armenia had been supported in his fidelity to the Empire; on the south the garrison of Zaitha kept the Arab chiefs in obedience; and on the east the passage of the Tigris was secured by the occupation of Nineveh, where Trajan had established veterans, and where Severus must have left some

¹ The *II. Parthica* was brought back into Italy by Severus; it had its headquarters at Albano, where have been found its cemetery and countless inscriptions due to it. (Henzen, *Annali*, 1867, pp. 37 *et seq.*) It is useless to try to distinguish the measures adopted by Severus in his first and in his second residence in Mesopotamia.

² *Septimia col. Nisibis* (Dion, lxxv. 3; Eckhel, vii. 517). Eckhel, vii. 518. Amm. Marcell., xxiii. 5.

³ Bronze of the Emperor Decius making mention of the *III. Parthica*: CEPHINIKCTYTHP, around a temple, beneath which a river or water-god is swimming, a personification of the Chaboras, the city being situated near the head waters of this affluent of the Euphrates.

⁴ Later this king came to Rome, between the years 203 and 208, to renew his promises of fidelity. Severus received him there with great display (Dion, lxxix. 16). In respect to the Armenians, Saint Martin, in his *Mémoires sur l'Arménie* (vol. i. p. 301), speaks of an invasion of Khazars who, having traversed the gorges of Derbend in the Caucasus, and crossed the Kour, are said to have defeated the Armenians, and slain their king Vologeses or Wagharsh, in the year 198 A.D. These events explain easily enough why Severus had no need of protecting himself against them at the time of his descent upon Ctesiphon. Between the Parthians who threatened them from the south-east, and the barbarians who menaced them on the north, the Roman alliance was a necessity for the Armenians.

to defend this outpost of the Empire.¹ He had therefore firmly established his authority between the two rivers, protected by the Armenian mountains and defended by a whole system of fortresses and colonies; and for centuries to come this province remained the bulwark of the Empire.

After the death of Niger he had united Lycaonia and Isauria to Cilicia, in order to constitute in the neighbourhood of Syria a great province to protect that gate to the East;² for contrary reasons he divided the province of Syria, which had hitherto given hopes of too ambitious range to those placed in command over it: on the north, Commagene and Hollow Syria, that is to say, the valley through which the Orontes flows to Antioch and the sea, making itself a passage between the Amanus and Mount Lebanon; on the south and east, Phœnician Syria, including all the sea-shore, and on the eastern slope of Lebanon, into the very midst of the desert, Heliopolis, Emesa, Damascus, and Palmyra. The two roads which led into Mesopotamia crossing the Euphrates, the one at Thapsacus, the other at Circesium, were thus guarded by two armies,³ and they were well guarded. The emperor intrusted the government of Coele-Syria to one of his ablest lieutenants, Marius Maximus, whom Spartian calls "a very severe general," and there is reason to suppose that Phœnician Syria was given in charge to some other experienced captain. After the battle of Issus Severus had chastised Antioch with great harshness, for the reason that severity was natural to him; this city, however, remained the most important city in the Roman east, and he was too great a ruler to consult his personal rancour rather than the interest of the State, after he had satisfied justice, or what he regarded as justice. Antioch, like Byzantium, therefore, was first punished and after that favoured. On his return from Mesopotamia he stopped in the old Syrian metropolis, not for the purpose of enjoying the delights of Daphne, in the pleasure-haunted shades of the sanctuary of Apollo, but to efface the memory of his former severities. There he gave his eldest son the *toga virilis* (201), and a year later the consulship,

¹ Upon the coins of Trajan's reign Nineveh is called *Colonia Augusta*. Dion, a contemporary of Severus, says of Nineveh: *ἡμετέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀποικος ἡμῶν νομιζέται* (xxxvi. 6).

² Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, No. 1,480. The inscription in No. 616 shows these two provinces united to Galatia.

³ Under Alexander Severus there were five legions in Syria and in Palestine.

which he wished to share with Caracalla. This was treating Antioch as a capital. These solemnities and their accompanying



1.



2.



3.

Plaques of Gold of the Second or Third Century, found in Syria. No. 1, Dionysus; No. 2, Silenus; No. 3, a Box in which the Plaques were kept.¹

festivities had their effect in bringing the frivolous city into friendly relations with the new dynasty, and Severus completed the reconciliation in causing magnificent baths to be built at Antioch.²

¹ *Cabinet de France*. Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 2; and p. 513, a dissertation by Baron de Witte.

² *Chronicles* of Eusebius and S. Jerome, *a l ann.* 202, and Malalas, p. 204, in the *Byzantine Chronicle*.

In Phœnician Syria great public works were undertaken. Four military milestones, which have been found on the road from Sour to Sayda, all bearing the same inscription, dated in the year 198, show the emperor's lieutenant putting in repair the roads in this province; the name of Severus engraved upon another mile-



Roman Bridge in Syria (at Abu-el-as-Waad; Syrian coast).¹

stone in the neighbourhood of Laodicea proves that the same orders had been given in respect to Syria Prima.²

The Syrian region sloping down to the Mediterranean Sea had long been in possession of all the advantages that ancient civilization could bestow. Alexander and his successors had Hellenized these populations of Punic or Aramæan origin, and the colonies that Rome had established there, the garrisons maintained there by her, had introduced her language, which the soldiers were obliged

¹ From the *Album de voyage du duc de Luynes*, pl. 7.

² *C. I. L.*, iii. No. 203. Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 1838.

to employ.¹ Tyre, which had been burnt by Niger's Moors,² was repopled by the veterans of the Third Gallic Legion, and obtained the *jus Italicum*. Berytus, where dwelt the descendants of the legionaries of Augustus, had long enjoyed this right, and the city contained the most important school of Roman law: Papinian, Ulpian, and all those juriconsults whose "judaisms" have been noted in the *Pandects*, were students here. Berytus had at first declared against Severus. We do not know whether the city was punished for this, or whether Papinian appeased the emperor's anger. At any rate, she quickly changed her attitude: an inscription of the year 196 found in the neighbourhood contains the expression of the city's desire for the safety of Severus and Julia Domna, the mother of the camps.³

On the eastern slope of the Lebanon and beyond the Jordan Rome had had much to do. Before Trajan's time Batanæa (Hauran) and Trachonitis (Ledja) were the same that they are to-day, wildernesses traversed by savage nomads. Agrippa, the Jewish king, said to them: "You live like wild beasts in their



Julia Domna, the Wife of Severus.⁴

¹ Upon the statue of Memnon all *proskynemata* of soldiers or officials are in Latin; see Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, ii. 324.

² Herod., iii. 3.

³ Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 1843. Under Caracalla, the Third Gallic Legion cut through rocks (the inscription says mountains) which obstructed the course of the Lycus. (*Ibid.*, 1845.)

⁴ Statue of Luni marble. Museum of the Capitol. This statue has been preserved with the antique head.

lairs.”¹ Trajan and Hadrian had introduced order and life into these regions, where had arisen great and splendid cities; and Severus carried on their work. Doubtless he also visited the province of Arabia, where a Roman legion had not long before revolted. The name of Septimiani, borne by the decurions of Batanæa, connects with his reign, by a tie which unfortunately we cannot trace, the municipal organization of this region. Ruins of cities are found here whose inhabitants had the language, the measures, calendar, and many usages belonging to Rome.² An imperial legate wrote to these Arabs, into whose country the modern traveller now penetrates only at the risk of his life, as he would have written to the magistrates of Spain or Gaul, to guarantee them against the abuse of military billet—a proof that on this remote frontier the Roman administration showed the same care as in the oldest provinces.³ At Bostra, the capital of the province of Arabia, legends on medals in Trajan’s time were Greek; a few years after Severus they were Latin.⁴

It is uncertain whether the forty-two block-houses, whose remains are counted between Damascus and Palmyra, were constructed by Severus or by Hadrian, or even at an earlier date.⁵ We only know that Severus kept them well-supplied with men and provisions, for if we do not find traces of him in any certain

¹ ἡμωλίευσαντες (Waddington, *op. cit.*, 2,329). Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 15, 5, and vol. iii. p. 626 of this work.

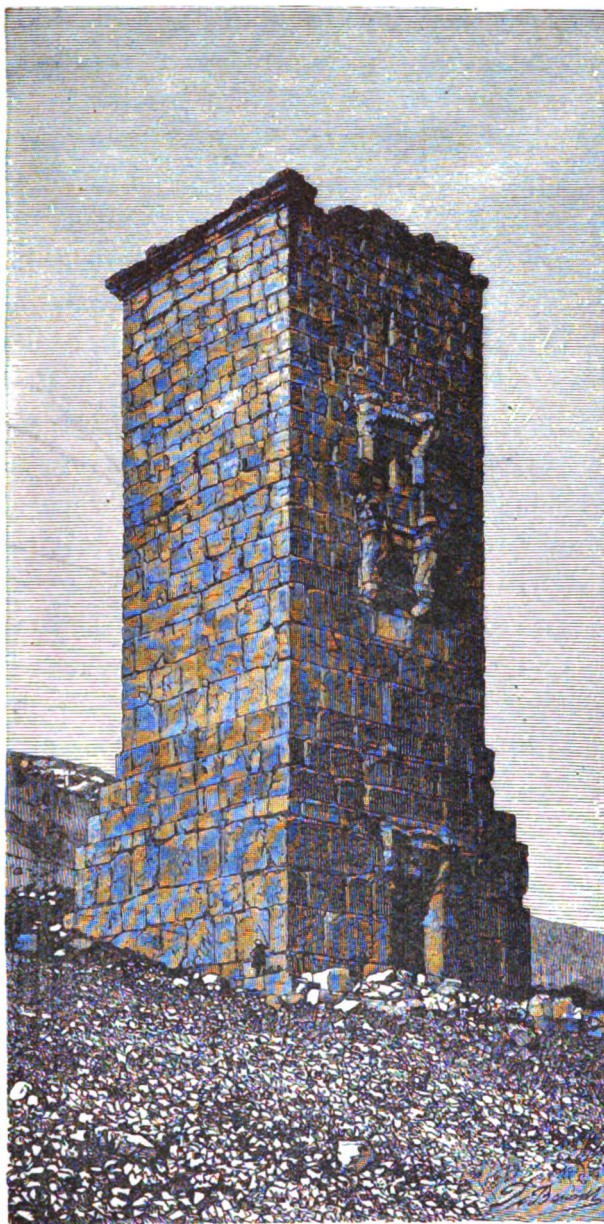
² Cf. Henzen, *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1867, pp. 204 *et seq.* Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2,136 *et seq.*

³ “If any soldier or traveller forcibly seeks lodging among you, write me to obtain reparation. You owe nothing to strangers, and since you have a caravanserai (ξενώνα) to receive them, you cannot be compelled to take them into your own houses. Post this letter in some public place in your city where it may easily be read by all men, so that none can plead ignorance as an excuse.” (Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2, 424.) The author of this letter is a legate of Alexander Severus.

⁴ Waddington, *ibid.*, 460.

⁵ See vol. v. p. 81 of this work. According to Peutinger’s map it was 212 miles from Damascus to Palmyra. Porter (*Handbook for Syria*) reckons it forty hours’ walk from one city to the other. MM. de Vogüé and Waddington have also found relay-stations of Roman soldiers along a road leading from Bostra to Palmyra across a desolate region. Unfortunately the *graffiti* that they have read there give no dates. (*Inscr. de Syrie*, 522.) In the African Sahara the same precautions were taken; cf. vol. v. p. 198 of this work, and *Arch. des Missions*, 1877, pp. 362 *et seq.* When we find the desert everywhere bordered with Roman forts it is easy to understand that the provinces behind them must have enjoyed a prosperity which they lost when the misfortunes of the Empire caused that vigilant police to disappear. An inscription found at Palmyra in 1882 proves that as early as the time of Augustus that city was in some degree dependent upon the Romans. (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, 1882, p. 439.)

manner on the road leading to Palmyra, we do find them at Palmyra itself. This great mart of the desert, this Syrian outpost on the middle Euphrates, had furnished Severus with most useful succour in his expedition against Babylon. Like all commercial cities, Palmyra was cosmopolitan. Parthians and Armenians and Romans were there, also Greeks and a Jewish colony of importance, some of whose members rivalled the most considerable native Palmyrenes in wealth.¹ Accordingly, like Alexandria, the city had a *juridicus* to settle disputes which might arise between foreigners.² The family of the Odainath already held the first rank in Palmyra. One of them, Hairan, doubtless strategus of the city in the time of the Parthian war, so ably seconded Severus by his knowledge of localities and by the supplies that he was able to furnish



Palmyra. Royal Tomb.

¹ De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémit.*, 7, 16, 65 et *passim*.

² Δικαιοδότης. Cf. Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2,606a.

to the legions, that the emperor permitted him to assume the name of Septimius, which from that time became the *gentilitium* of the great Palmyrene family. In the same way Herod the Great had been authorized by Augustus to unite himself to the family of the Cæsars by adding to his own names that of Julius. When sixty years later an Odainath, who had assumed the title of "king of kings," made himself the protector of the Roman Empire in the East, his prænomen Septimius recalled the time when his predecessors were but the clients of the emperor Severus.

The desert cities changed their conditions as the Arab sheiks changed their names: the Tadmor of Solomon's time was at this time a Roman colony, invested with the privileges of the *jus Italicum*; it had duumvirs (στρατηγοί), ædiles (ἀγορανόμοι),¹ and assemblies of senate and people. By its monuments it seems of Greek origin, by its institutions of Roman. It even had its distributions: frumentary tesserae have been found there, and tickets available for corn and oil,² and among its citizens were Roman knights and senators. Severus had already, it is probable, assigned to it for a garrison that body of cavalry which we find there at a later period.³

Then, as now, the wandering Arabs were obliged during the summer to lead their flocks to the springs of Palmyra or to the pastures of Djebel-Hauran.⁴ By strongly occupying these points the Romans made themselves masters of the desert, and preserved order in it better than has ever been done since.

At the eastern extremity of the Hauran, in the midst of what seems an accursed region, rises a volcanic hill at whose base is a Roman camp with walls over six feet in thickness, flanked with towers and protected by a moat: a resolute band within this fort could bid defiance to all the Arabs of the desert. On the summit of the hill an outpost kept watch over this vast plain, where are seen ruins of baths and of houses. "Before us," says

¹ In other Greek and Syrian cities the ædiles bore the name of bishops, ἐπισκοποι, or supervisors.

² De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémit.*, 16, 146-7, and Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2,606a, 2,607, and 2,629.

³ Waddington, *ibid.*, 2,580.

⁴ The chiefs of these nomads were called ethnarchs, strategi, or οἱ ἀπὸ ἔθνους νομάδων. Cf. Waddington, *op. cit.*, p. 511. Certain of these tribes retain the same names they bore eighteen centuries ago. (*Ibid.*, p. 525, No. 2,287.)

M. de Vogüé, "no European had ever disturbed this solitude."¹ But the Romans had been there, and they had brought civilization and security.

Thus a regular form of life was making its introduction into these desolate solitudes. Sheltered by fortified posts which bordered "the land of thirst," cities came into existence in the valleys to which canals brought down the mountain streams;² a municipal rule was developed there, and inscriptions speak to us of strategi and decuriones in places where was lately heard only the jackal's howl. Often from the summit of a mass of ruins the traveller sees in the distance great blocks of basalt placed regularly and framed with a double row of larger blocks which rise above the surface. It is a Roman road which, after the passage of fifteen centuries, makes known that a great nation has been there.³



Coin of Septimius Severus struck at Petra.⁴

At countless points upon this Biblical soil we find the Roman imprint. In extreme antiquity the plateau of Baalbec bore a sanctuary of Baal, the great god of the Semitic tribes; but the magnificent ruins now to be seen on that spot date from the times of the Antonines and Severus.⁵ We must therefore invert the words of Juvenal: it is not now that the Orontes flows into the Tiber; in the second century and at the beginning of the third of the Christian era, the Tiber flows in the desert, bearing the spirit of the Empire and its arts even to the remote city of Petra.

Severus had followed the track of Trajan as far as Ctesiphon; he also followed Hadrian's track in Palestine and Egypt.

¹ *La Syrie centrale*, by M. de Vogüé.

² Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 2,296 and 2,301, *ἡ πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν* of Corn. Palma. The first care of Cornelius Palma, the conqueror of Arabia, had been to furnish a supply of water to the new subjects of the Empire. In pursuing this excellent policy in Algeria the French have but followed a Roman example.

³ "The Roman road from Bostra to Damascus still exists, almost in its original condition," says M. Waddington, "and the remains of many others are found here and there in these regions." The Septimian coins are very abundant in all these provinces, and to this epoch belong the ruins of Heliopolis, the temple of Jupiter having been built by Septimius Severus and the temple of the Sun by Hadrian and Antoninus. The latter building was destroyed by Theodosius. (*Revue archéol.*, April, 1877.)

⁴ *ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗ ΠΕΤΡΑ*. The personified city seated upon a rock. Reverse of a bronze coin.

⁵ See vol. v. of this work, pp. 79-81, 140, and the *Syria of the Present Day*, by Dr. Lortet.

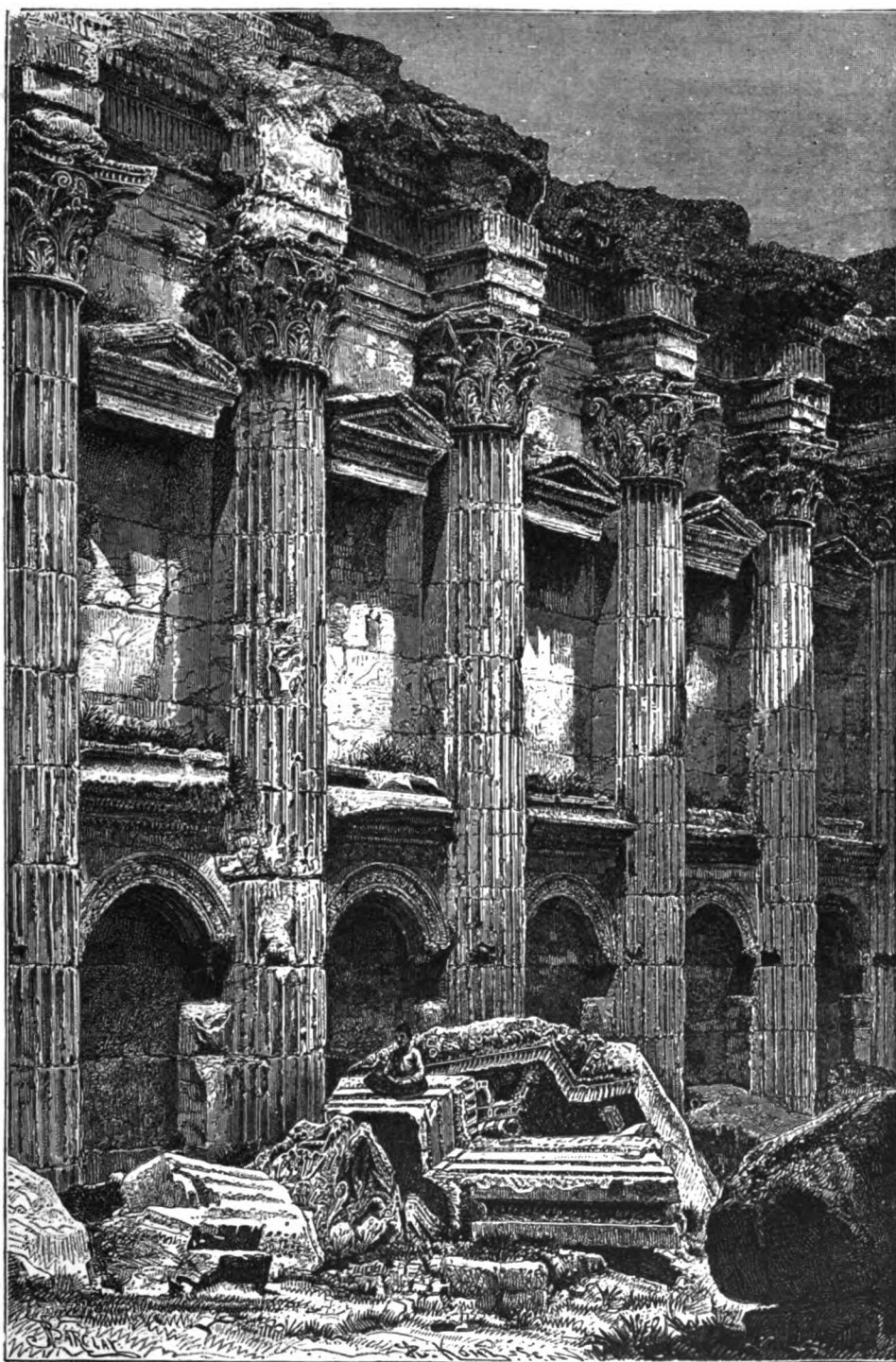
Palestine, as usual, was a prey to disorders. Dion speaks of a certain robber-chief who devastated Judæa and was able to baffle all his pursuers. One day he had the audacity to enter the emperor's camp, and to converse with Severus as though he had been a tribune of the Roman army. No one suspected the rash



Ruins of Heliopolis (Baalbec). Temple of Jupiter.

act, and the chief, who probably only wished to maintain his independence, returned in safety to his mountains. This fact, the story of Bullas, one of the curious legends of Italian outlawry,¹ the history of Maternus, who, under Commodus, pillaged the entire country of Gaul, and of Numerianus, the false senator, of whose exploits we have recently made mention, show what rapid progress

¹ See vol. v. p. 490.



Interior of the Small Temple at Baalbec.

disorganization was making in this great body, the Empire, as soon as Comodi and Juliani succeeded the Trajans and Hadrians. To maintain order in so many countries and amid populations so diverse, it was plainly needful that factious persons, senatorial mischief-makers, ambitious chiefs, or highway-robbers, should feel that there rested upon them the hand of an energetic ruler, a man whose conscience would not be disturbed by any severity however extreme. One of the Odainath of whom we have just now spoken was planning a revolt and had intrigued with the Persians. Rufinus, the Roman general in command, put him to death, and, being summoned before the emperor on complaint of the son of the murdered man, made reply: "Would to the gods that the emperor would authorize me to rid him of the son also!"¹ This justice was summary; but it had the effect of preventing a Persian invasion. Is it safe to say that we ourselves in Algeria or the English in India have never acted in a similar manner? The Roman emperors not infrequently found themselves in the presence of these formidable perils, when what was believed to be the safety of the State appeared the supreme law.

Severus was one of those men who are ready to sacrifice everything to the public tranquillity.² Unfortunately, he included the Christians among the disturbers of the provinces. The Jews and Samaritans had just recommenced in Palestine with weapons in their hands their ancient quarrel. Whether the Christians were involved in it is not now clear. But this rumour of disturbances on account of religious opinions irritated the emperor. The legions struck a few blows, and tranquillity was restored by some executions. Later, the senate saw fit to give these measures taken in the interest of public order the importance of a victory. When the emperor declined to make a triumphal entry into Rome in honour of the taking of Ctesiphon, the senators, to pay his son a compliment and to give Rome a holiday, decreed to Caracalla a Jewish triumph. In order to prevent the recurrence of these disorders, "Severus," says his biographer, "made many regulations during his stay in Palestine." Of these we know but one, renewed

¹ De Vogüé, *la Syrie centrale*, p. 30. This took place in the reign of Severus, between 241 and 251.

² *Fuit delendarum factionum cupidus* (Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 20).

from the old imperial decree which forbade the rabbis to practise circumcision upon men of other races than their own,¹ and forbade the Christians to make proselytes. The same measure was applied to both religions, not with the design of destroying them, but in order to prevent them from extending themselves. Elsewhere we shall see that the results of this edict differed extremely in the two cases.

It was not the intention of Severus that these Jews, shut up by his edict within their religion and their race, should be like pariahs amid their fellow-citizens; he permitted them to aspire to municipal honours, dispensing them from obligations which were inconsistent with their religion.² But national sentiment was stronger than the law; the Jews remained isolated until the time when Constantine, anxious to recruit the exhausted senatorial class, ordered that all who had the requisite landed property should be included in it.³ This however brought in but few recruits, for the Jews, considering themselves as strangers and sojourners in any land save Palestine, bought neither land nor houses; they already had their preference for property that they could carry with them wherever they went.

From Palestine Severus went into Egypt, a fruitful land where the race was as prolific as vegetation,⁴ numbering at this time over 8,000,000, with few slaves, for agricultural labour was carried on then, as now, by fellahs of free condition, and the industrial labour by a multitude of Greeks and Jews. Life was not painful in Egypt, except in the quarries, which were worked only by convicts, and to this industry the emperor caused great activity to be imparted.⁵ At Mount Casius, Severus, like Hadrian, offered a funeral sacrifice at Pompey's tomb, and thence went up the Nile

¹ See vol. iv. p. 728. An edict of persecution against the Jews never was issued: *Judeorum sectam nulla lege prohibitam satis constat* (Constitution of Theodosius, anno 393. *Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 8 and 9).

² *Honores adipisci permisit, sed et necessitates eis imposuit quæ superstitionem eorum non læderent* (*Digest*, l. 2, 3, § 3).

³ *Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 8, 3.

⁴ Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, ii. 16, 4) reckons the population at 8,700,000, a number which, a hundred years later, was even larger. Cf. Letronne, *Journ. des Savants*, 1844, p. 434.

⁵ An inscription of Septimius Severus in Egypt consecrated the discovery near Philæ of new granite quarries, whence were obtained "large and numerous columns." Cf. Letronne, *Journ. des Savants*, 1836, p. 684; *C. I. L.*, iii. 75. The quarries of Djebel Fatereh continued to be worked up to the time of Diocletian.

by the Pelusiac mouth.¹ He visited with interest the pyramids of Ghizeh, finer, or at least more regular at that time, because they had still their facing of stone; the great Sphinx at their feet, a mysterious monument already damaged by the many centuries which had then passed over it, and repaired by Severus; the Serapeum of Memphis, which led to the tombs of Apis, which a Frenchman, Mariette, has rediscovered; the Labyrinth, the marvels of Thebes



The Egyptian Sphinx.

and of Philæ, and the rest. He had explained to him the hieroglyphics which it was still the custom to put on the walls of the temples;² and his name has been read by Champollion at the side of sculptures which the emperor ordered for the pronaos of the great temple of Esne.³ Memnon still spoke, but it was for the last time. In an excess of pious zeal, Severus restored as we now see it this colossus, broken in the time of Augustus; but from the day when the statue no longer offered to the rising sun its wide

¹ Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 487-518.

² The last known hieroglyphic inscription is an offering of the Emperor Decius about the year 250; but Letronne is of opinion that the use of this writing continued as late as the sixth century. (*Journ. des Savants*, 1843, p. 464.) Inscriptions exist in which the Greeks call themselves engravers of hieroglyphics. (Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 475.)

³ *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, p. 86.

cleft of unequal surface, impregnated with the dews of night, the god ceased to utter "his divine voice."¹

"Curious in respect to all things human and divine, even the most secret," Severus informed himself as to the sources of the



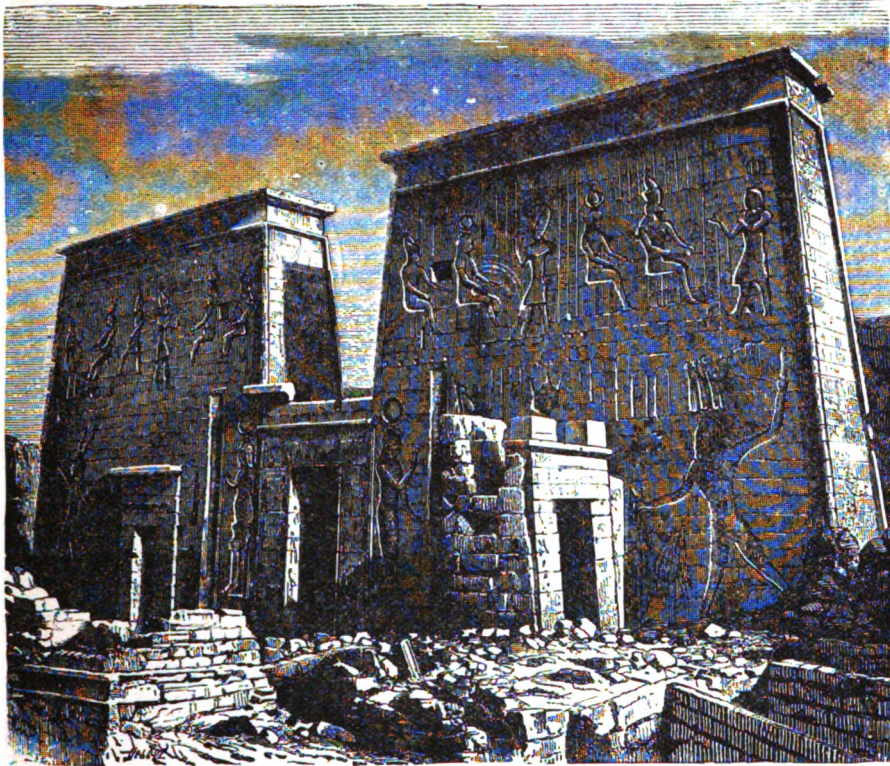
The Temple of Isis at Philæ.

Nile, to which the Romans approached very near.² Dion Cassius speaks of them in mentioning this journey of the emperor, of which he probably heard the story, and, if he is deceived in placing the sources of the river at the extremity of the Mauretanian Atlas, he says nearly the truth when he speaks of it as

¹ See vol. v. p. 97, and the famous paper by Letronne upon the statue of the Pharaoh Amen'otep, who lived about the year 1680 B.C. No one of the inscriptions engraved upon this colossus is later than the time of Severus.

² Mariette's last discoveries at Karnak prove that the Pharaohs had bequeathed to their successors a much more complete knowledge of the valley of the Upper Nile than was believed. The armies of Thothmes III. certainly penetrated as far as Cape Ras-Hafun, south of Cape Guardafui, probably even in the interior going beyond Khartoum, and Ptolemy speaks of three great equatorial lakes. However, Amm. Marcellinus (xxii. 15) declares the sources of the Nile to be undiscoverable: . . . *postera ignorabunt ætates*. Nubian inscriptions state that the Blemmyes and the Axumites were conquered by Severus.

emerging from vast marshes which lie at the base of a high mountain covered with snow.¹ Severus had the intention of penetrating into the upper valley of the Nile, but a pestilence breaking out he relinquished the design and returned down the river to Alexandria. Here he visited the tomb of Alexander, the Museum, always busy



Pylons of the Temple of Isis at Philæ.²

with its useless labours,³ and the library of the Serapeum, one of whose courts was adorned with the famous Pompey's Pillar. The emperor was pleased with this city, or thought it politic to appear so. The Alexandrians had taken sides with Pescennius, and inscribed upon their gates: "This city belongs to Niger, our master." When Severus appeared they said to him: "We did indeed write this, but were well aware that thou wert Niger's

¹ Dion, lxxv. 13.

² See vol. v. p. 87, the restoration of this temple.

³ See vol. v. p. 89. In respect to the *nugæ difficiles* of the Museum, cf. Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 399-400, the inscription of that pensioner of the Museum who calls himself an Homeric poet because he composed *centos* of Homer's verses.

master.”¹ The emperor asked no better excuse to pardon them. He restored to them the senate and municipal magistrates of which Augustus had deprived them, revised their laws,² restricted to voluntary jurisdiction the functions of the Roman *juridicus*, who



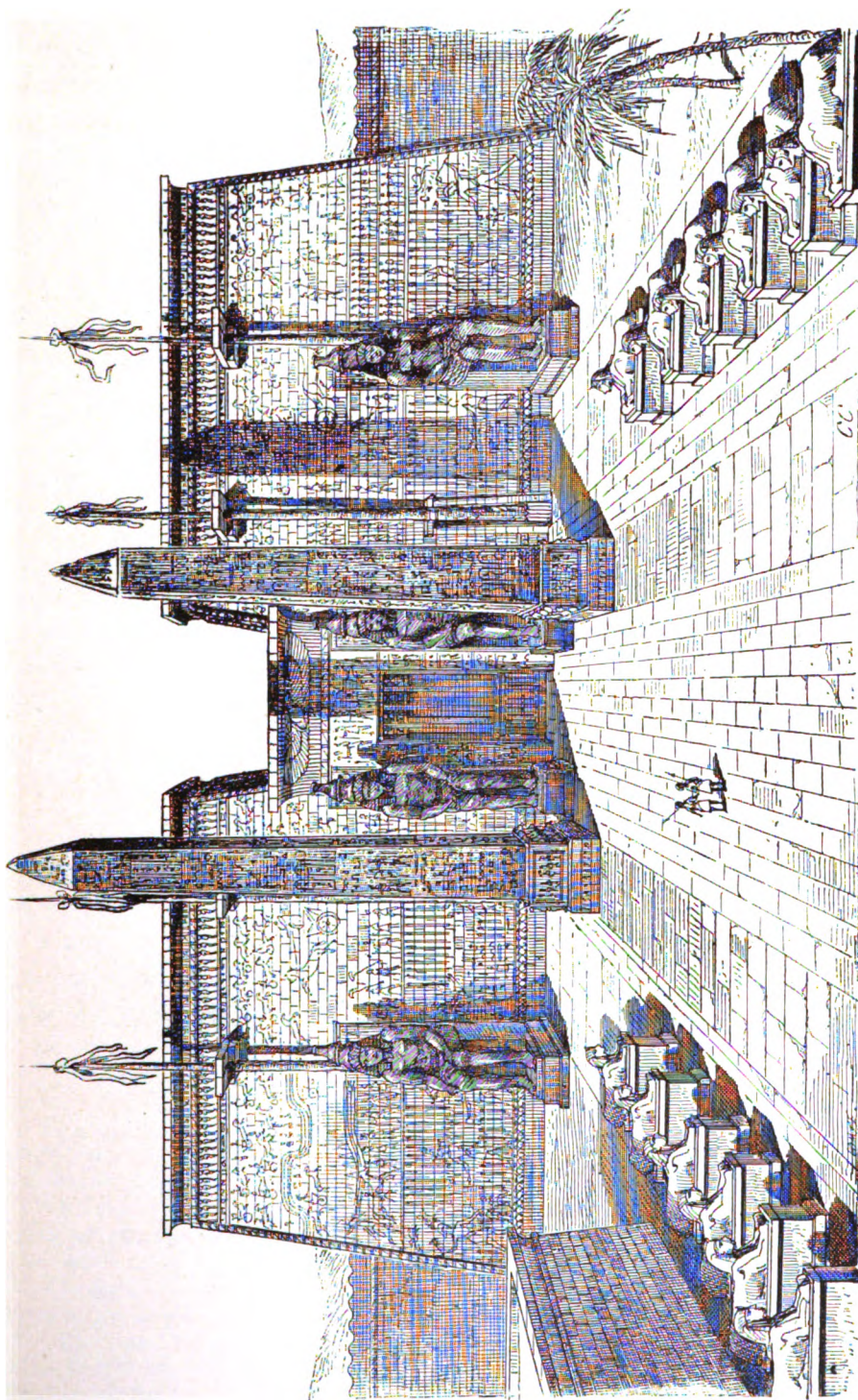
The Pharaoh Amen'otep III. (Memnon). (Basalt Statue in the British Museum.)

had been for over two centuries the supreme judge in Alexandria, and to mark his confidence in this province he cancelled the rule established by the first emperor, that Egypt should have for governor only a prefect of the equestrian order;³ and finally he

¹ Spart., *Sev.*, 17.

² Dion, li. 17. Also Malalas says (xii. p. 293): 'Ἰνδουγεντίας αὐτοῖς παρασχῶν ἰδίξατο αὐτοῖς.

³ *Chronic. Alex.*, ad ann. 202.



Principal Façade of the Temple of Luxor (Thebes). Restoration by Ch. Chipiez (Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Arch.*, vol. i. p. 349).

influenced by an idea of religious syncretism, in giving the name of all the gods to a temple which in his mind he dedicated to the One Divine Principle. Thus took shape this new form of paganism which we have seen coming into existence in the preceding century, which prepared the way for the Jehovah of the Mosaic religion.¹

Notwithstanding his interest in religions, Severus was no more favourable to theological quarrels in Egypt than he had been in Palestine. He removed from all the sanctuaries the books containing secret doctrines, those which kept alive organizations that existed in secrecy and were prolific in seditious schemes. These books he did not destroy, but he shut them up in the tomb of Alexander, so that no person should read them. He was a true Roman, one of those statesmen and soldiers who had no affection for matters which the sword can never settle and by which governments are for ever disturbed. But he was also a man of fine intelligence. Among these books there is one which, instead of proscribing, he certainly admired, the *Book of the Dead*, which we find with the mummies, as it were a voice from beyond the tomb. Here are words like these: "When that divine principle, intelligence, enters a human soul, it seeks to rescue it from the tyranny of the body and raise it to its own elevation. . . . Often it triumphs; then the conquered passions become virtues, the soul, set free from its bonds, aspires to good, and divines the eternal splendours through the veil of matter which obscures its vision.

"When a man dies his soul appears before Osiris, and his actions are weighed in the infallible balance. If it is pronounced guilty, it is given over to the tempests and storms of the combined elements, until it can return into a body, which in its turn it tortures and overwhelms with evils and drives into crime and madness." That is to say, the wicked man is a condemned soul expiating the sins of a former existence.

But heaven opens to the soul which can say to its judge: "I

¹ See vol. v. pp. 690 *et seq.* Severus had already erected in Byzantium a temple and a statue to the Sun, *Deo Zeuxippo*. Malalas, *Chronogr.*, xii. p. 291. Tertullian (*Apol.*, 24) says himself to the Romans: *Nonne conceditis de estimatione communi aliquem esse sublimiorem et potentiorum velut principem mundi . . . imperium summæ dominationis esse penes unum*. We shall see in the time of Aurelian, Constantine, and Julian, the increasing popularity of the worship of the Sun.

have followed what is right and spoken the truth; no man can complain of me; I have cherished my parents; I have been the joy of my brothers and the delight of my servants. I have committed no crime or abominable act. No labourer has exceeded his day's work for me. I have done the slave no ill turn with his master, nor driven the flock away from its pasturage; I have committed no adultery. I am pure! I am pure!"

And again: "I have neither lied nor done evil, and I have sowed joy, giving bread to the hungry, and water to the thirsty, and garments to the naked."

"Then this pure soul rises through the unknown heavens. Its knowledge increases, its strength is augmented, it passes through the heavenly dwelling and tills the mystic fields of Aalu. At last the day of the blessed eternity dawns for it; it is united with the flock of the gods in adoration of the Perfect One; it sees God face to face, and is lost in Him."¹

That which ancient Egypt had so long kept for herself alone was now spreading through the world. This country, of which Bossuet, judging by external appearances, said that all was god there save God himself, was teaching divine unity, the judgment of the dead, and eternal blessedness gained by merit in our earthly life. From Memphis, from Jerusalem, from Palmyra, from even remoter lands, a current of ideas was setting which had a general similarity, and, meeting another current from Athens and Rome, was destined to blend with it. Upon these united streams was to sail, first discreetly and silently, but presently under full sail, S. Peter's bark bearing the triumphant cross.

¹ M. Maspero, *Revue critique*, 1872, p. 338.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

GOVERNMENT OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211 A.D.).

I.—THE COURT; PLAUTIANUS AND JULIA DOMNA.

THE East being pacified and organized, Severus returned to Italy through Asia Minor and Thrace. Like Hadrian, he was in no haste to return to the *fêtes* and intrigues of the capital. It seemed to him more useful to inspect the frontier of the Danube which he had not visited for nine years, and to visit the armies of Moesia and Pannonia to which he owed his throne. "Everywhere,"

says Herodian, "he introduced order throughout the provinces."¹ We admit the assertion as well-founded; unhappily, however, we have not the facts to prove it.



Souvenir of the
Return of
Septimius
Severus to Rome
(*Adventus
augg.*).²

In the middle of the year 202² Severus at last came back to Rome. It was the tenth year of his reign. At this point it had been the custom to renew the imperial powers, *sacra decennalia*; but this fiction had been long since given up. The solemnity was but an anniversary celebrated with great magnificence.

Severus on this occasion added a largess of 50,000,000 drachmæ, which was distributed at the rate of 1,000 sesterces apiece⁴ among the prætorians and all those who received public corn. The ruler had his share: an arch of triumph, which is still in existence, was erected in his honour at the foot of the Capitol. Its proportions are fine, but the extreme amount of carving, which seems the work of artisans rather than of artists, betrays the decline of decorative

¹ Herod., iii. 10.

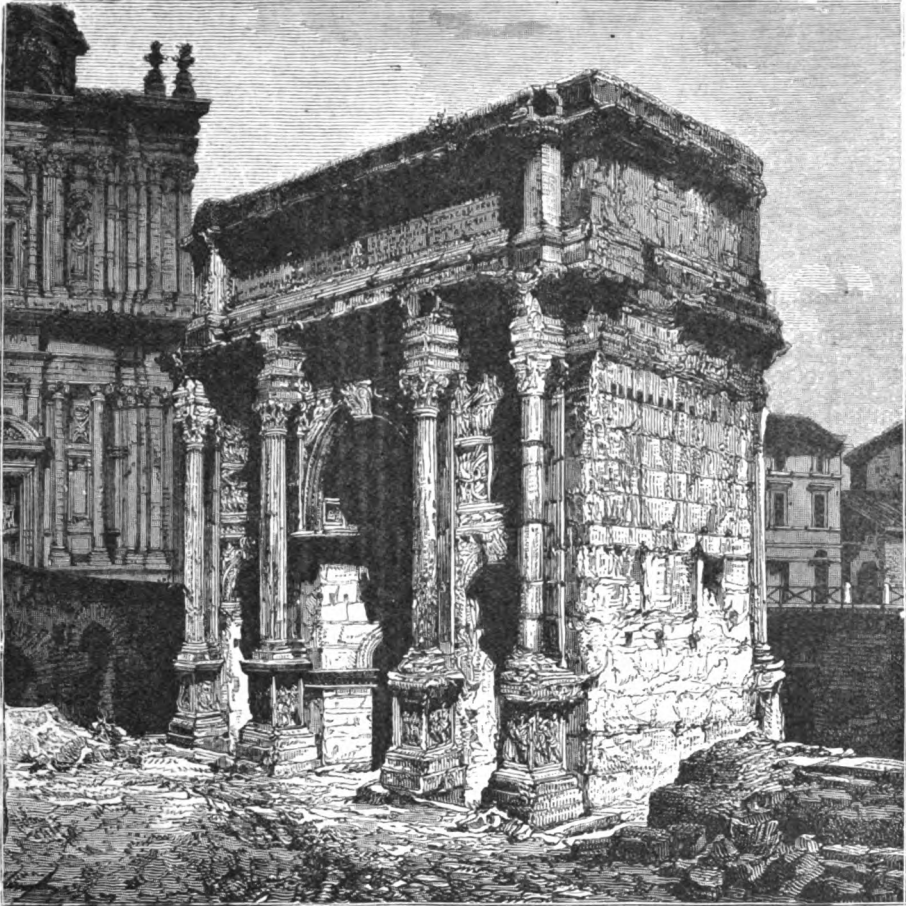
² There exists in the *Code* (ii. 53, 1) an edict dated at Sirmium the 18th of March, 202, and in Cohen (iii. 234) a coin . . . ADVENT. AUG., struck in the third consulship of Severus. An inscription of Lambesa (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 69) gives ground for the supposition that in 203 Severus went to Africa.

³ The emperor and his two sons on horseback, lifting the right hand. (Gold coin.)

⁴ Dion, lxxvi. 1: this largess implies 200,000 persons to receive it. See vol. v. p. 524.

art. A long inscription states that the arch was constructed in honour of the emperor "who has strengthened the State and enlarged the Empire."¹

Two years later were celebrated the Secular games, which



Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome.

brought new gifts² to the people and the soldiers. Heralds went through the city and throughout Italy proclaiming: "Come to these games, which you will never see again." The last ones had been given by Domitian in the year 88. Three generations were allowed to pass between one celebration of these games and the

¹ *ob rem publicam restitutam imperiumque populi Romani propagatum* (Orelli, No. 912).

² Josephus, ii. 7; Herod., iii. 8; Cohen, iii. pp. 254 and 273.

next. That in the time of Severus was the eighth which the Romans had observed.

At this time there was in Rome a man almost as powerful as the emperor himself, Plautianus, the prefect of the city. It will be remembered that Augustus had seemed to divide the authority into two parts, giving up one part to the senate and reserving the other for the emperor; and that he had constituted two kinds of offices, those belonging to the senatorial order and those belonging to the equestrian order. At the head of the former was the prefect of the city; at the head of the latter, the prætorian prefect. This division of authority was not a real one; the truth quickly appeared, and the emperor was politically what he must be in such a condition of society, the sole power.² He absorbed by degrees into his council,³ which was composed of senators, jurisconsults, and the heads of the imperial judiciary, almost all the legislative, judicial, and administrative power of the senate. The latter retained scarcely any other function than that of registering the decrees determined on by the council.



Memorial of the
Secular Games
(*Sæcularia
sacra*).¹

The official who had especially the imperial confidence, since he held the emperor's life in his hands, was the man who gained most by this change. In the beginning the prætorian prefect had no other duty than that of protecting the emperor's person, who, to this end, had invested him with military jurisdiction over all the troops stationed in Italy.⁴ The Greeks called him 'the king's sword,'⁵ and he followed close behind the emperor in all military expeditions. This "sword," however, the emperor employed for all kinds of uses. Was it necessary to arrest a guilty person, to kill an innocent one, or merely to make preliminary investigations, the prætorians were there. They and their chief owed the ruler

¹ Severus veiled, standing, sacrificing at an altar; opposite the emperor, Caracalla, standing; behind the altar, Concord; at the left, a flute player; at the right, a woman playing the lyre. (Gold coin.)

² I mean to say that, in the nature of the case, he inevitably became the political and military head, but he was not obliged to become the sole administrator.

³ See vol. iii. p. 718, and vol. v. pp. 109 *et seq.*

⁴ Except the urban cohorts, which were under the orders of the *præfectus urbi*. (Dion, lii. 24.)

⁵ τὸ βασιλεῖον ξίφος (Phil., *Vita Apoll.*, vii. 16).

a military obedience in whatever he might command. The criminal jurisdiction of the prefect was extended at first from the soldiers to the slaves, and by degrees invaded all classes. He who originally was only the emperor's sword became "the sharer in his labours, his assistant,"¹ and in many cases his representative, *vice sacra agens*, as was the phrase later. He was a member of the council, and, in the emperor's absence, its presiding officer; he shared in the decision and execution of all affairs, assisted the emperor in determining matters, took his place with delegated power even in the civil jurisdiction, and received appeals in his stead. Alexander Severus afterwards gave the sanction of law to the prefect's decisions.² He was, therefore, with undetermined (and, therefore, unlimited) power a sort of prime minister, supreme judge, and in certain respects commander-in-chief of the army, for he filled the office of superintendent of military stores, inspector of arms and arsenals, and of adjutant-general in military operations.³ The practice of composing the active army of detachments selected from the different legions, and placing at the head of these bodies of troops *duces* having no territorial command, had given occasion for this new duty of the prætorian prefects. They are the predecessors of those viziers of the sultan who hold in one hand the emperor's signet and in the other the standard of the Empire.

Such was the authority possessed by Perennis under Commodus, and now by Plautianus under Severus. As it was but a reflection of the imperial authority it is proper for us to distrust the accusations vaguely made against the prefects of the good reigns. Rulers mindful of the public welfare might have permitted great severities, but they would not have authorized crimes. This remark is particularly necessary in judging of Plautianus.

¹ *Socius laborum* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 2) and *adjutor imperii*. Pomponius, in the time of Hadrian, compared the prætorian prefect to the tribune of the *celeres* under the kings and the *magister equitum* under the dictators. (*Digest*, i. 2, 2, § 19.) Herodian (v. 1) quotes a letter of Macrinus to the senate, in which it is said that this office was very near the sovereign power, *τῆς πράξεως οὐ πολὺ τι ἰξουσίας καὶ δυνάμει βασιλικῆς ἀποδεύουσης*, summed up by Lampridius (*Diad.*, 7) in the words, *secundus imperii*. See also what is said by Charisius in the *Digest* (i. 11) and by Dion (lxxv. 14).

² In 235. Cf. *Code*, i. 26, 2.

³ *Hist. Aug.*, Gord., 28-29; *Trig. Tyr.*, 11. Later he had the duty of levying that part of the public tax which served for the pay and support of the army (Zosimus, ii. 32), and already punished financial agents guilty of extortion (Paulus, *Senten.*, v. 12, 6).

Of low birth, but like Severus an African, and possibly a member of the emperor's family,¹ he had followed the latter in all his wars at the head of the guards, and in the intervals between these expeditions he doubtless returned to Rome, where the emperor had need of a man upon whom he could rely. The authority of the



Plautilla, Wife of Caracalla. (Marble Bust in the Louvre.)

office therefore was increased by the absolute confidence which the emperor reposed in him who at this time held it.

On one occasion Plautianus, however, narrowly escaped a fatal disgrace. The order had been given to throw down the statues of the prefect which he had erected to himself near those

¹ His name was Caius Fulvius Plautianus. As the mother of Severus was Fulvia Pia, and his grandfather, Fulvius Pius, Reimar (*ad* Dion, lxxv. 14) concludes from this that Plautianus belonged to the imperial family. In certain inscriptions it is said, *adfinis*, D.D. N.N. (*C. I. L.*, iii. 6,075; v. 2,821); in others, *Augg. necessarius et comes per omnes expeditiones eorum* (*C. I. L.*, v. 1,074). Another inscription, No. 226, includes him in "the Divine House," and his name follows that of the Augusti, the Cæsar Geta, and the Empress Julia.

of the imperial family, and Severus had used the formidable expression, "public enemy," which had been caught up and repeated. But Plautianus had regained the emperor's favour, and the ruler, so severe towards others, seemed to make it his duty to dissipate the memory of his momentary displeasure by loading the prefect with public expressions of regard. An orator having said in the senate: "Before Severus does any harm to Plautianus the sky will fall," the emperor remarked to the senators at his side that this was true. "I could not injure Plautianus," he said, "and I hope not to survive him."¹ The emperor had violated, in favour of his prefect, a rule established by Augustus, twice appointing Plautianus consul,² and with the design of securing his son an experienced guide, had made his prefect the father-in-law of the designate emperor.

Dion relates that he saw the dowry of Plautilla, "the new Juno,"³ carried into the palace, and that it was enough for fifty kings' daughters.



Juno. (Statue in the Museum of Naples.)

¹ Dion, lxxv. 15 and 16.

² Plautianus had really had only the consular ornaments, but Severus counted this honour as if it had been a real consulship. (Dion, lxxv. 15; *C. I. L.*, vi. 220.) The rule of Augustus had already been violated: Clemens, under Domitian (*Tac., Hist.*, iv. 68), and Tatianus, under Hadrian (*Spart., Hadr.*, 8), had been at the same time consuls and prætorian prefects. Alexander Severus decided, contrary to the ordinance of Augustus, that the prætorian prefecture should be a senatorial office.

³ Νέα Ἥρα (Waddington, *Fastes de la prov. d'Asie* (p. 247).

Accordingly, the prefect had a royal retinue, and all ranks of men, the senate, the people, and the army, vied with each other in basely flattering him. Though it was no longer permitted to erect statues to him of equal height with those of the emperor himself, men called him the cousin of the emperor, they made oath by his fortune, and they prayed for him in the temples with all the more fervour because he seemed in no need of their prayers. Did Plautianus abuse this vast power, more dangerous in the hands of the minister than of the master? Dion accuses him of many follies and of every crime, without giving details, or else giving them too exactly. For example, the historian declares that Plautianus had stolen "the horses of the Sun, animals resembling tigers, that were kept on an island in the Red Sea." If we must explain this, it might be said that tiger-horses were zebras. But when he relates that Plautianus snatched from their homes a hundred Romans of free condition, married men and fathers of families, and submitted them to mutilation that his daughter might have a train of attendants in Oriental style, and adds, "the thing was not known until after his death," we are justified in saying that Dion allowed himself to repeat one of those foolish calumnies that gather about great men in their fall. Such an act could not have been accomplished in silence, and the prefect could never with impunity have outraged by this crime an imperial decree¹ in force at the time, or the public indignation which would have been aroused by the complaints of the wives and children of the victims.

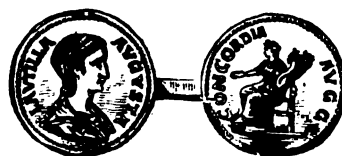
His great wealth caused him to be suspected of great rapine, but Severus, who had seized the heritage of the Antonines, of Niger, and of Albinus, gave a large share to Plautianus in the numerous confiscations of the reign.² This African was no more reluctant to shed blood than was his master. After the victory at Lyons he insisted on the destruction of the family of Niger,

¹ Dion, lxvii. 2. See vol. iv. p. 696. Amm. Marcellinus points out that this law was still in force in the fourth century, and he esteems it very useful, *receptissima inclaruit leg.* (*Dom.*, xviii. 4.)

² Herod., iii. 10. Plautianus did not have, as has been asserted, "procurators of the private domain," like those of the emperor, scattered through the provinces to administer his estates. The *procurator ad bona Plautiani*, whom we find mentioned in the inscriptions (Or.-Henzen, No. 6,920), is a *procurator ad bona damnatorum* (*ibid.*, Nos. 3,190, 6,519).

whom Severus had at first spared. Since the death of Albinus the aristocracy did indeed still murmur and curse the new power in low tones; but it had not the energy to form conspiracies; Plautianus feigned or believed that such there were, and victims fell. It is not easy to see in Severus a weak ruler closing his eyes to crimes committed by his minister. If the prefect ordered unmerited punishments, the responsibility falls back upon the emperor, who, made suspicious by the senate's conduct towards the British Cæsar, approved of everything.

I have already indicated the secret of this favour, it was natural. Severus, whose feeble health warned him to take thought for the morrow, sought to secure to his son and to the Empire the assistance of a man capable of carrying on the work he had himself begun, and he believed that he had raised this man so high that he could have no temptation to seek to rise higher. It was a reasonable plan, but passion defeated it.



Gold Coin of Plautilla Augusta. On the obverse the head of the Augusta; on the reverse, Concord.

The excessive prosperity of "the vice-emperor"¹ dazzled him. Plautianus was guilty of the imprudence of estranging the empress by perfidious insinuations against her conduct, and offending the heir to the throne by the affectation of a paternal affection whose ill-judged advice exasperated this violent youth. The marriage of Plautilla, which seemed to consolidate his fortunes, caused their downfall. It is possible that Julia was averse to this union, and shared her son's feeling against this favourite whose popularity cast into the shade this emperor of fourteen, who, animated with equal hatred against father and daughter, expelled the latter from his bed and the former from his house. Dion does not inform us on this point; but he says that the young Augusta, prouder of her father than of her husband, had rendered herself intolerable to Caracalla, and that Plautianus, extremely exasperated against the empress, tormented her in a thousand ways. These domestic quarrels brought about a catastrophe.

Severus had renewed and strengthened the laws against

¹ "Ὁς [Σεουήρος] οὕτως αὐτῷ ὑπέκειν ἐς πάντα ὥστ' ἐκείνον μὲν ἐν αὐτοκράτορος πύλῳν δὲ ἐν ἐπαρχοῦ μοίρᾳ εἶναι (Dion lxxv. 15).

adultery, and prosecutions of this crime were innumerable in Rome.¹ Plautianus attempted to involve Julia in accusations of this nature, and Dion asserts, which appears strange, that he sought testimony against her even by subjecting women of rank to torture. Incap-



The Empress Julia Domna.²

able of struggling against the all-powerful minister, the empress took refuge among her men of letters and philosophers; but Caracalla did not accept the vexations of his mother with equal serenity, and his hatred of Plautianus redoubled.

Severus, alone of all the imperial household, supported the

¹ Dion, lxxvi. 16. Cf. in the *Digest* (xlviii. 5, 2, § 3) two edicts of Severus on this subject.

² Statue of Pentelic marble found at Bengazzi (Berenice), on the coast of northern Africa. Severus was a native of this region. (Louvre.)

praetorian prefect. Geta, a brother of the emperor, and colleague with Plautianus in the consulship of the year 203, was convinced that the latter meditated the destruction of all the imperial family, and upon his death-bed conjured his brother to save himself. The words of Geta made an impression; this was apparent from the funeral honours decreed to the accuser of Plautianus, and Caracalla believed the moment propitious to destroy the minister. Three centurions suborned by the young emperor came one evening to the palace to declare that Plautianus had employed them to assassinate Severus and his son; and in proof of this produced a written order to that effect, which they asserted they had received from the prefect. Severus, amazed but not convinced, sent for Plautianus. At the door of the palace he was deprived of his guards and entered the imperial presence alone. Severus spoke to him gently: "Why do you wish to destroy us," he said; "who is it that has persuaded you to this?" Plautianus denying the charge eagerly, Caracalla fell upon him, tore away his sword, and struck him in the face, crying out: "Yes, you have sought to murder me." He would have slain the prefect on the spot, but his father prevented it; upon this the youth called upon a lictor to kill Plautianus, and, being Augustus, his word was law; the lictor obeyed. The body of Plautianus, flung out from the palace, was cast into a lane, where it lay until Severus ordered it to be interred (23rd January, 204).¹

In all this matter the emperor plays a wretched part. Through paternal affection he had suffered his friend to be murdered in his presence. On the morrow it was made clear to every one that the emperor did not believe in the pretended

¹ The *Chronicon paschale* places the death of Plautianus on the 22nd of January, 203. But, after having spoken of the prosecution of Raccius Constans, which took place after the return of Severus to Rome, that is to say, in the year 202, Dion (lxxv. 16) says that Plautianus remained in favour for a year longer, which brings us to the middle of 203. An Algerian inscription (L. Renier, 70) shows that he was alive August 22nd, 203. To conclude, it appears from Dion (lxxvi. 3) that the catastrophe took place at the moment when the last spectators of the Palatine games were leaving the palace. These games, we know, began January 21st, and lasted three days (Marquardt, *Handb.*, iv. 429-445). This gives us the 23rd of January, 204, as the date of the tragedy. The story of Herodian (iii. 11 and 12), which supposes a real plot formed by Plautianus, is much more dramatic, but improbable. It tells the story as put in circulation by Caracalla, and inscriptions testify to its currency in the provinces. But Dion was at Rome; he heard everything; he was no friend to the prefect, and would not have failed to narrate the treason of Plautianus had he believed in it.

conspiracy,¹ for, instead of dwelling on the prefect's crime, in his address to the senate, he had recourse to the usual commonplaces of philosophy, deplored human weakness, which could not support too great elevation, and accused himself of having ruined Plautianus by loading him with honours and tokens of affection. It being necessary, however, for the justification of the murder that it should appear that a plot had been discovered, certain of the prefect's most devoted friends were sent to join him in the other world.² His daughter and his son were banished to Lipari, where, at a later period, Caracalla caused them to be slain.

It is not certain whether it was as a friend of Plautianus that Quintillus was put to death. He was a man of high birth, and one of the principal senators, but he lived in the country, far from public affairs and intrigues. He died in the antique manner. Being condemned upon calumnious depositions, he ordered to be brought out the articles he had long before prepared for his interment, and seeing that they had been injured by time: "How is this?" he said. "We have delayed too long." He burned a few grains of incense on the altar of the gods, and gave himself up to the executioner. Other senators accused of various unknown crimes, were convicted, says Dion,⁴ and condemned. But the crimes of that time would not all be crimes in our day, as is shown by the following instance, which exhibits one of the calamities of



Laurelled Caracalla.³

¹ ὅτι οὐ πάντ' ὀφείσι (to the denouncers) πιστεύει (Dion, lxxvi. 5).

² Dion speaks only of the execution of Cæcilius Agricola, and the exile of Coeranus who, recalled seven years later, was the first Egyptian made senator. (lxxvi. 5.) Macrinus, the future emperor, was the steward of Plautianus, and the emperor took him into his own service.

³ Engraved stone, amethyst of 12 mill. by 9, in the *Cabinet de France*.

⁴ After debate, ἀπολογησαμένους καὶ ἀλόντας (lxxvi. 7). Cincius Severus, who perished under accusation of wishing to poison the emperor (Spart., *Sev.*, 13) may have been of this number. Spartian speaks of him as an innocent man.

that form of government and social organization. Apronianus, governor of Asia, was accused of employing the resources of magic to discover if the fates did not intend for him the imperial power. The thing is possible, for magic was the mania of the time. Legislation held it in such fear that such practices were made a capital crime, and Tertullian esteems it only just, since this rash curiosity supposes in all cases evil designs.¹ Apronianus was condemned. The interest of this prosecution is not in its result for the accused, but in the scene that Dion relates. "When we had read all the proofs, we found among them this deposition of an eye-witness: 'I saw a bald senator leaning forward in order to see.' At these words we were in a terrible fright, for neither the witness nor the emperor had mentioned the name. Fear was extreme among the senators whose heads or even foreheads were bald. We looked about us with anxiety, and we said: 'It is this man;' or, 'It is that.' I will not deny that my anxiety was so great that I tried with my hand to draw my hair forward over my head. The person reading, however, went on to say that this senator was clad in the *prætexta*. All eyes then turned to the ædile Bæbius Marcellinus, who was completely bald-headed. He rose, and coming forward, he said: 'The witness will of course recognize me if he has seen me.' The informer was called in, and looked about for some time, until at last on a slight hint from some one he pointed out Marcellinus. Thus convicted of being 'the bald man who had looked on,' he was led out of the senate and decapitated in the forum, before Severus had been informed of his condemnation."²

If he had known, would he have approved it? He had not designated Marcellinus in the papers which he had sent in to the senate, and perhaps he would have remembered that he himself, under Commodus, was in great peril by reason of a similar accusation.³

¹ *Apol.*, 35.

² Dion, lxxvi. 8-9. This narrative, which I have been obliged to abridge, brings to light the method of procedure: it shows that a secret written investigation was first made by the imperial secretary *a cognitionibus*; that the report contained the name of the official who had directed the investigation, the names of the witnesses, the results of the inquiry, and the statement that it had been submitted to the emperor and was by him transmitted to the senate. Cf. Cuq, *le Magister sacrarum largitionum*, p. 124.

³ Sent by Commodus to the prefects of the prætorian guard, he was acquitted by them. (*Spart., Sev.*, 4.)

But what we have to observe is this terror in the senate; this joy in directing towards a man probably innocent the blow suspended over the heads of all; this haste in causing instant execution to follow upon the sentence; this depriving the accused of all the guarantees of a fair justice, and the condemned of the benefit of that law of Tiberius requiring a delay of ten days. By this we see that more fatal than the despotism of the Cæsars was the base servility of those who surrounded the ruler, and who, not making use of existing laws to restrain him, left men no other resource against him but that of conspiracy.

Were there conspiracies under Severus? Certain witnesses assert that there were. His life was often in danger, says Ammianus Marcellinus,¹ and inscriptions contain thanks to the gods for having protected the emperor and his family against the guilty machinations of the enemies of the State. Ammianus Marcellinus names one only of these plots, the one attributed to Plautianus, and it is difficult for all the inscriptions (one of which is dated 208) to be explained as referring to one event.² Defended by the devotion of his prætorians and his legions, having two sons grown to manhood whom a conspirator must also strike at the same time with their father, Severus had nothing to fear. Between the death of Plautianus and the departure of the emperor for Britain, Dion mentions no other condemnations than those of which we have just spoken. As this historian does not believe in the treason of Plautianus, and mentions no others, we are authorized in believing that there were none, and that this source of the greatest iniquities was dried up.

Severus, however, has a very bad name, and he merits it by reason of the executions which he caused to follow each civil war,

¹ xxix. 1. He mentions, it is true, but one (and that a questionable) fact, the order given by Plautianus to a centurion to assassinate the emperor.

² Guérin, *Voyage archéol. en Tunisie*, vol. ii. p. 62: . . . *ob conservatam eorum salutem, detectis insidiis hostium publicorum*. Inscr. of the year 208. Another (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 2,160), which seems to allude to some plot happily discovered, is expressed in nearly the same words. In No. 5,497 of Orelli, we read: *Quod . . . Domini nostri . . . sustulerunt omnes parricidiales insidiatores*. It is impossible to say to whom Tertullian's language applies: . . . *qui nunc scelestarum partium socii aut plausores quotidie revelantur, post vindemiam parricidarum recematio superates* (*Ap.*, 35). Do these remnants of "parricidal" conspiracies refer to accomplices of Niger and Albinus, or other guilty persons? In any case, we see that Tertullian has no compassion for these victims of civil wars or plots, and regards them as criminals.

and the condemnations that he allowed to be pronounced in virtue of odious laws—such, however, as our modern world has also known. But if we examine closely the vague accusations of writers not contemporary with Severus, we shall no longer find



Septimius Severus. (Bust found at Otricoli. Vatican, Hall of Busts, No. 290.)

that gloomy tyranny which the name of this emperor suggests. Spartian, for example, reproaches him with many murders in the interest of his cupidity; Dion, on the contrary, expressly says that "he put no man to death for the sake of money."¹ Another

¹ lxxvi. 16; but he reproaches the emperor with having been unscrupulous in respect to methods of enriching himself, which is confirmed by no known fact, save his insisting on adoption by the Antonines.

ancient writer¹ speaks of confiscations only "in case of the wicked who had been condemned," and the great Christian apologist of that day considers all these unhappy wretches as justly condemned. Have we not besides witnesses more credible than the miserable scribes of Diocletian,² men who by the mere fact that they worked with Severus testify in his favour? When we find Paulus and Ulpian sitting in the imperial council³ and Papinian in the prætorship, we have a right to say that there was wisdom in the government and justice in the administration.

The ruler who selected such servants was himself as good a jurisconsult as he was an able general. In his council men spoke freely: Paulus argued learnedly against the emperor, and when he published his collection of the imperial decisions he criticized them with a freedom that does honour both to the councillor and to the ruler. By common accord he is represented as simple in his dress, sober in his habits, with dignity in his life,⁴ a respect for himself and for his rank. While legate in Africa he ordered one of his fellow-citizens of Leptis, who had embraced him in the open street, to be beaten; and when emperor he seems to have so lived that he could prosecute offences against morals without any man having ground to reproach him for being less indulgent to others than to himself. There have been made against him no charges, except one in early youth, which has been proved false,⁵ and another of later date, equally unworthy of credence.

He permitted no influence to the Cæsarians, that is to say, his freedmen and the imperial household, even to his brother, who expected to enjoy a large share of power, but was promptly sent away into his province of Dacia: it was a rare case of prudence

¹ Zosimus, i. 8: *περὶ τοὺς ἀπαρτίστους ἀπααίρητος*, etc.

² Spartian and Capitolinus wrote by order of Diocletian.

³ Two other eminent lawyers, Tryphonius and Arrius Menander, were also members of the council. (*Digest*, xlix. 14, 50, and v. 4, 11, 2.)

⁴ Spartian says (*Sev.*, 4) that during his government in Lugdunensis, *Gallis ob severitatem et honorificentiam et abstinentiam tantum quantum nemo dilectus est*. The same writer speaks of an accusation of adultery made against him and judged at Rome by the proconsul Didius Julianus. A proconsul, however, could not judge at Rome, and the error on one point throws doubt upon the other.

⁵ Höfner, who discusses this question in his *Untersuch. zur Gesch. des . . . Severus*, pp. 49-51, says: *Die ganze Geschichte wird nichts anderes sein, als eine gehässige Erfindung*, the reasons assigned by him and M. Roulez seem decisive. Concerning his upright character, see *Hist. Aug., Tyr. Trig.*, 5.

in an absolute ruler, and was the more valued on that account. The courtiers, an inevitable evil, had no chance with this emperor, scornful of the pomp of power, who rejected most of the honours which the senate decreed to him, saying: "Have in your hearts the affection for me that you parade in your decrees." After his Parthian campaign he refused the triumph under pretext that the gout rendered him unable to sit upright in the chariot; but if it were a question of inspecting an army or a province he traversed the whole Empire. He was insensible to the evil that was said of him, and thus could see and act with calmness. A senator whose biting wit had more than once been employed against the ruler, dared to say to him, when Severus caused himself to be inscribed in the family of the Antonines: "I congratulate you, Cæsar, on finding a father." The epigram was transparent, but Severus appeared not to understand it, and its author retained, as before, the imperial favour. Another, a pitiless satirist, had been for his sharp tongue's offences held under arrest in his palace, somewhat as in France, after the prosecution of an editor of a newspaper for libel, the criminal is confined in a private asylum. He continued to attack all men, emperors included. Severus commanded him to be brought into the imperial presence one day, and swore to him that he would cut off his head. "You can cut it off if you choose," said the incorrigible offender; "but I swear to you that so long as it remains on my shoulders neither you nor I can be its masters." The emperor laughed, and the mocker, who ridiculed himself also, was set at liberty.¹ Easy-tempered towards his adversaries when his own safety and public order did not require severity, he was a faithful and devoted friend towards those who had gained his affection; he loaded them with gifts and honours, cared for them if they were ill, and kept a supply of the expensive remedies that Galen prepared for him to distribute among them. He thus cured Antipater, his secretary for Greek letters, the son of one Piso, and the matron Arria.² Conduct such as this does not reveal a savage disposition.

¹ Dion, lxxvi. 6, 9, 16, and lxxvii. 10.

² Galen, *Theriaca*, vol. xiv. p. 218, of Kuhn's edition. This supply of remedies found in the palace after Caracalla's death gave rise to suspicions. The drugs which were believed to be poisonous were solemnly burned, and Macrinus regarded the son of Severus as a poisoner.

All his time was devoted to the public service, for he was anxious to neglect nothing which was necessary to the success of his enterprises.¹ Dion gives us the employ of his day: "At daylight he began his work, interrupting it only to take a walk, during which he conversed on public affairs with those whom he called to accompany him. The hour arriving for the sitting of his tribunal, he went thither, unless it were a holiday, and remained until noon. He allowed to the parties all the time that they needed, and to us who sat with him he allowed great liberty of opinion. After the hearing was over he went out on horseback or took exercise in some other form, and then took his bath. He dined alone or with his sons, then slept awhile, causing himself to be awakened to walk accompanied by Greek and Latin scholars. In the evening he took a second bath, and supped in company with those who chanced to be present, for he specially invited no one, and reserved sumptuous entertainments for days when he could not avoid them."² This well-regulated life shows a man who must have loved order in everything.

The empress was worthy of him. She was the daughter of Julius Bassianus, priest of the Sun at Emesa,³ and was living in that city at the time when Severus commanded a legion in Syria, and perhaps the recollection of her beauty, as well as the fact that an astrological prediction had declared that she was to be a sovereign's wife, decided him to ask her in marriage. There is ascribed to her an adroitness which, in her masculine intellect, was allied to audacity. It is she, we are assured, who decided Severus to assume the purple.⁴ In return, he showed her great respect. He took her with him on his expeditions, and as he

The murderer of Geta's 20,000 partisans had no need of this discreet method of being rid of his adversaries; but succeeding governments always believe that the dishonour of the dead is to the advantage of the living.

¹ ἐπιμελής μὲν πάντων ὧν πράξαι ἤθελεν (Dion, lxxvi. 16). Herodian (iii. 32 and 43) shows him very assiduous in his public duties.

² Dion, lxxvi. 17.

³ She was born in 170, in modest circumstances, ἐκ δημοτικοῦ γένους (Dion, lxxviii. 24). The priesthood of Elagabalus at Emesa was, however, hereditary, and its high priests had been called kings up to the time of Vespasian (Dion, liv. 9). Domitian was the emperor who began the imperial coinage at Emesa. Jamblichus, a neo-Platonic philosopher of the fourth century, claimed descent from this royal house.

⁴ At least Capitolinus (*Alb.*, 3) says of Severus: . . . *illorum* (Albinus and Niger) *utrumque bello oppressisse, maxime precibus uxoris adductus*.

allowed himself to be called *dominus noster*, "the master," she called herself *domna*, "the mistress,"¹ and the further title was



The Empress Julia Pia Domna. (Bust found at Rome. Vatican, Rotunda, No. 554.)

given her "mother of the camps," and of the senate and the country, and even the whole Roman people.²

This empress has had in history the sad notoriety of being the mother of Caracalla, and later authors, collecting the evil reports current among this people, "whose tongues were ever in

¹ The Romans were able to give this meaning to the word *domna*, but, according to Suidas (s. v. Δόμνος) the word was a Syrian proper name, and everything seems to confirm this opinion of Suidas.

² Orelli, No. 4,945, and L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg., passim*. Herzberg (*Gesch. Griechenl.*, vol. ii. p. 422) shows by many inscriptions the popularity of Julia Domna among the Greeks, who honoured her as "a new Demeter." In respect to coins, see Cohen, vol. iii. pp. 333 *et seq.*

revolt,"¹ have reproached her with many immoralities; but they also accuse her of conspiring against the emperor. Dion speaks of neither accusation, and the absurdity of the second throws doubt upon the former, even though it were not considered that her elevated mind, her four children,² and her rank ought to have



Julia Domna,
"Mother of the Camps."⁴

protected her from going astray. She had an inquiring mind, directed towards the great problems of life, for she was ill-satisfied with the ideas and beliefs at that time current in the world. In the palace she had gathered about her a circle³ of intellectual men where all



Julia Domna, Mother
Augusta, Mother of
the Senate, Mother of
the Country. (Reverse
of a large Bronze,
Cohen, No. 168.)

subjects were discussed, and whence a contemporary perhaps derived the idea of his Banquet of Learned Men (*Deipno-sophistæ*).⁵ She was not offended to be called Julia the Philosopher.⁶ There is reason to believe that Diogenes Laërtius dedicated to her his history of Greek philosophers,⁷ and it is certain that she employed Philostratus to write for her the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, to whom the son of Severus consecrated a *heroon*.⁸ All-powerful

¹ Tertullian, *ad Nationes*, i. 17, and *Apol.*, 35: *Ipsos Quirites, ipsam vernaculam . . . plebem convenio, an alicui Cæsari suo parcat illa lingua Romana.*

² Her two sons, and the two daughters of whom we know nothing. Eckhel, vii. 195: . . . *tulit quoque liberos sexus muliebris*, "whom Severus gave in marriage after he became emperor." (Tillemont, vol. iii. p. 592.)

³ . . . τοῦ περὶ ἀνέκλον (Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, i. 3). . . . τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν γεωμέτραις τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις (*ibid.*, ii. 30).

⁴ The empress veiled, holding a patera over an altar; in front of her, three military standards. (Cohen, No. 176.)

⁵ This sort of work was of ancient Greek origin; Plato gave an example of them, which Lucian followed. It is not certain, therefore, that Athenæus was inspired by what passed at the court of Severus. At the same time, among the guests in the work of Athenæus are Ulpian and Galen, two intimates of the imperial palace, and the entertainment is represented as taking place in Rome, where it is given by the wealthy Larensius.

⁶ . . . τῆς φιλοσόφου Ἰουλίας (Philostratus, *ibid.*, ii. 30).

⁷ The book was dedicated to a woman who greatly admired the Academy, but the dedication, which contained her name, is lost, and we are at liberty to choose between Arria and the Empress Julia.

⁸ Dion, lxxvii. 18. Many cities in Greece and Asia had already made a divinity of Apollonius (Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, i. 5), and Aurelian erected altars to him (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 24). The Christians themselves believed in his miracles and in the oracles given by his statue;

during her son's reign, she still philosophized while ruling the Empire,¹ and preserved her intellectual tastes until her death; and these tastes lingered upon the Palatine after her time: a half century later the empress Salonina took pleasure in conversing with Plotinus.

With Julia Domna were her sister and her two nieces, also famous for their beauty: Julia Mæsa, who later was able with her own hand to avenge her race by overthrowing an emperor, and twice caused the purple to be conferred on boys whom she had selected; Julia Soæmias, who is represented on coins as the Heavenly Virgin, but whom Lampridius accuses of mundane frailties, a reputation due perhaps to her son Elagabalus; and third, the high-minded Mamæa, doubly mother to Alexander, by blood and by the education she gave this young prince, in whom men delighted to recognize a new Marcus Aurelius. Deeply interested in the great movement of the intellectual world of her time, Mamæa desired, when she heard of Origen, to know the most learned Christian of his time; and just as the empress ordered to be written for her the marvellous history of that Pythagorean ascetic called in those days an incarnation of the god Proteus, Apollonius of Tyana, so her niece wished to learn from the "man of brass"² those strange doctrines which led men rejoicing to martyrdom.

Into this circle of superior minds we have the right to introduce three men whose names posterity never mentions but with respect: Papinian, a relative of Julia Domna, who either owed to her his fortune or else made hers;³ Ulpian, a fellow-countryman of the illustrious Syrian ladies of the imperial household; and

this is explained by the theory of demons. See, after the list of S. Jerome's works, the twenty-sixth question and its answer.

¹ . . . μετὰ τούτων ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ (Dion, lxxvii. 18).

² Ἀδαμάντιος (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, vi. 14). This was the name which his contemporaries gave him. In respect to his relations with Mamæa, see the same author (*ibid.*, vi. 21).

³ . . . et, ut aliqui loquuntur, ad fin. (Spart., *Car.*, 8). Papinian, like Julia, was a Syrian, and from his youth one of the emperor's friends. The marriage with Julia was made . . . *interventu amicorum* (Spart., *Sev.*, 3).



Apollonius of Tyana, on a Medallion in the Cabinet de France.



Julia Mamæa.
(Gold Coin.)

Paulus, who together with Ulpian was a member of the supreme council.¹ In the pre-



Julia Mæsa.⁴

sence of the empress, these grave personages forgot the courts of law, and remembered only what of their profound learning was suited to an intellectual conversation. Sometimes verses of Oppianus were read aloud, which the emperor had paid for by their weight in gold,² or those which Gordian, himself afterwards an emperor, was writing in these days to extol the Antonine³ house, in which the new dynasty sought for its ancestors. Philostratus, a frequent visitor, recited in the palace his *Heroicos*, representing Caracalla as Achilles; Ælian, famous in that time

for the sweetness of his style and for his profound piety, doubtless was admitted to relate some of his *Varia Historia*,⁵ and Galen,

¹ It cannot be affirmed that Ulpian and Paulus were great friends. The former never quotes the latter, and Paulus mentions Ulpian only once in the *Digest*, xix. 1, i. 43. Fragments from Ulpian, however, form a third part and those from Paulus a sixth part of the *Pandects*.

² The poem on the chase is dedicated to Caracalla τὸν μεγάλην μεγάλῳ φντήσατο Δόμνα Σεβήρῳ (*de Venat.*, i. 4).

³ In thirty books, called the *Antoniniad*, he had sung of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius. Capitolinus says (*Gord. tres*, 3): *declamavit audientibus etiam imperatoribus suis*.

⁴ Statue found at Rome near the Porta Capena. (Capitoline Gallery, No. 56.)

⁵ The empress took Philostratus with her on her journeys. Ælian was established at Rome permanently; and his reputation of writing Greek with great purity gave him the name of Μελιγλωσσος, which must have opened to him the gates of the Palatine, where Greek was

whose noble words we have already quoted,¹ words certainly more than once repeated in the imperial circle, discoursed there with charming enthusiasm on science and philosophy, especially when he



Julia Soëmias as Venus. (Statue in the Vatican.)²

encountered Serenus Sammonicus, one of Geta's friends, who dipped into medicine, and could draw many curious facts from the 62,000 books of his library.³

more in favour than Latin. Cf. Lampridius, *Alex.*: *nec valde amavit Latinam facundiam* (3) *et librum in mensa et legebat, sed Græce magis* (34).

¹ Vol. v. p. 724.

² Marble statue found at Palestrina (Præneste) on the site of the forum. The hair seems to be fitted to the head like a wig. The Amor placed beside the Venus is stretched upon a dolphin. (*Museo Pio Clem.*, vol. ii. pl. 51.)

³ Sammonicus wrote in verse on the subject of medicine and dedicated some of his treatises to Severus and Caracalla. (Macrob., *Saturn.*, III. xvi. 6.) Geta read his books assiduously, *familiarissimos habuit*. (Spart., *Geta*, 5.)

The emperor took pleasure in these intellectual discussions, for the rude soldier loved letters and desired to understand all



Galen, Physician and Philosopher.⁴

learning.¹ Before attaining the imperial dignity he had passed in the schools of Athens, *causa studiorum*, a period when he was in disgrace at Rome,² and Galen tells us that the emperor had a special esteem for a great lady at Rome "because she read Plato."³ This Arria must also have made one in the imperial circle. Was it not like one of those Italian courts of the fifteenth century where Plato lived again, and the greatest ladies were pleased to listen

to learned dissertations on a world which was also seeking to regenerate itself? But at Florence men were entering into full day, while in the Rome of Severus, notwithstanding equal mental curiosity, men could but wander in the midst of confusing twilight.

¹ *Philosophiae ac dicendi studiis satis deditus, doctrinae quoque nimis cupidus* (Spart., *Sev.*, 18 and 1); . . . *cunctis liberalium deditus studiis* (Aur. Vict., *de Cæs.*, 20). *Civilibus studiis clarus fuit et litteris doctus, philosophiae ad plenum adeptus* (Eutropius, viii. 19).

² Spart., *Sev.*, 3. He took pleasure in hearing all the famous sophists of the time (Pseudostratus, *Vita Soph.*, ii. 27, 3).

³ Galen's *Works*, vol. xiv. p. 218, Kuhn's ed.

⁴ Visconti, *Icon. grecq.*, vol. i. 1st part, p. 168.



Gold Coin of Sogemus.

II.—LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION; PAPINIAN.

A ruler is judged also by the counsellors he selects. I have mentioned Papinian among the intimates of the palace. The great jurisconsult had been the friend of Severus since the youth of both, and after the latter's accession to the Empire he appointed Papinian *magister libellorum*.¹ This office obliged the Chief Secretary to settle the doubts of judges, to reply to questions from governors, and to attend to petitions of private individuals. The *rescripta*, in such cases issued frequently, formed exceptions to the common law. They enlarged previous legislation, and interpenetrated it with that spirit of justice which we have seen the jurisconsults exhibit. Those of Papinian have this character especially.² His was a clear and sure intelligence, an elevated mind in which law and equity were combined, and he was an elegant writer whose works became classic and were text-books in the schools of law.³ The code published two centuries later (439 A.D.) by two Christian emperors, places him above all the other Roman jurisconsults.⁴

After the death of Plautianus, Severus gave to Papinian the office of prætorian prefect, reverting at the same time to the often interrupted but very ancient custom of sharing this very great duty between two or even three persons.⁵ This usage, contrary to

¹ . . . amicissimum imperatori (Spart., *Car.*, 8). *Digest*, xx. 5, 12 pr.

² See vol. v. p. 687. Tertullian (*Apolog.*, 4) recognizes this openly: *Nonne et vos quotidie, experimentis illuminantibus tenebras antiquitatis, totam illam veterem et squalentem silvam legum novis principalium rescriptorum et edictorum securibus rustatis et cæditis*. This is the same legislative labour which England, heir of the Romans' practical sense, is carrying on in India, where she prudently waits, before making laws, until interested parties claim their rights and experience reveals needs. In one of his books, for instance, Papinian restrains the testamentary authority of the father, refusing him the right to put into his will a clause *quam senatus aut princeps improbant . . . nam quæ facta lædunt pietatem, existimationem, reverentiam nostram et, ut generaliter dixerim, contra bonos mores fiunt nec facere nos posse credendum est* (*Digest*, xxviii. 7, 15). Besides Ulpian, Paulus, and Marcian, there were at this time living, Callistratus, of whose works ninety-nine fragments are contained in the *Pandects*, and two members of the council, Cl. Tryphonius and Arrius Menander, who also contributed to the *Pandects*. The reign of Severus, with still another renowned lawyer, Tertullianus, continues, therefore, the flourishing period of Roman jurisprudence.

³ For students of the third year, "Papinianists." Spartian (*Sev.*, 21) calls it *juris asylum et doctrinæ legalis thesaurum*.

⁴ *Cod. Theod.*, i. 4, *lex unica de responsis prudentium*.

⁵ Herod., iii. 8. In the reign of Caligula we find two prætorian prefects (Suet., *Cal.*,

all the military institutions of the Empire, was required by the importance of the office and the variety of talents it required.

Papinian had for colleague a soldier, Mæcius Lætus; and when we see at the head of the army the valiant and able defender of Nisibis,¹ and at the head of the civil administration the jurisconsult of whom an old writer says, "his love for justice and his understanding of it were equal," we must feel sure that the State was well served by these two men who, for eight years, remained as much the friends as the ministers of the emperor. Unfortunately, we have but little information in respect to their labours.

The legislative work of Severus was, however, considerable: the fragments of his rescripts surpass in number those of his most active predecessors. "He made many excellent laws," says Aurelius Victor, and Tertullian adds, "useful laws;" for he congratulates the emperor, calling him "the most conservative of rulers,"² on having reformed the Papian Poppæan Law, "which was almost a whole code in itself."³ Unfortunately, there exists scarcely anything of this legislation, and most of the rescripts of Severus which are left to us are merely applications of early law which served the jurisconsults in defining jurisprudence.⁴ In respect to the history of Roman legislation, these rescripts, therefore, have little importance; but they have much in reference to political history, for they show in what spirit this emperor caused the laws to be executed, and this spirit is one of benevolent equity, which we are bound to keep in remembrance: *benignissime rescripsit*, says a jurisconsult. He himself marked this character of his administration, when, in a speech which he caused his son to read to the senate, he called upon the Conscript Fathers to soften the rigour

56), and also two in the time of Nero (Plut., *Galba*, 8; Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 2) and under Antoninus.

¹ See p. 70. An inscription of May 28th, 205, shows them both prætorian prefects. (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,603.)

² *Legum conditor longe æquabilium* (Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 20). *Constantissimus principum* (Tert., *Apol.*, i. 4).

³ The Christians desired the suppression of this law, which was decreed by Constantine (*Code*, viii. 58, 1).

⁴ Many imperial rescripts may be compared to the decrees of the French Court of Cassation, whose dates do not determine the date of the legislative provision sanctioned by the decree, nor even that of the commencement of jurisprudence in respect to the point in question, but attest that this provision and this jurisprudence were in force at the period where history meets them, and this suffices to justify our citations.

of the laws.¹ If a man, says one of the great legal authorities of the time, be accused of crimes which fall under two different penal ordinances, one milder, the other more severe, it is the former which shall be applied in the case.² And acts corresponded to words.

To put one's treasures in a secure place, it was the custom to deposit them in a temple, and a theft from the sacred building brought with it the penalty of sacrilege; Severus granted only the *actio furti* against those who, without touching the sacred objects, had carried off the possessions of a private person. At the same time he condemned to exile the son of a senator who had caused to be carried into a temple a chest in which a man was concealed, in the intention that when night had come and the doors had been closed the latter might steal at leisure.³

In cases of treason the public treasury inherited the property either present or future of the condemned; the emperor decided that the sons of the criminal should retain the rights which their father had had over his freedman; and this was esteemed a great indulgence.⁴ While he did not abolish the unjust, but profoundly Roman, law of confiscation, at least he modified its rigour, and his councillors wrote, in all cases, that the fault of the father should not fall upon the son; and that illegitimate children, those born of adulterous or even incestuous connections, should not, on account of the stain on their birth, be excluded from public honours.⁵ One of his rescripts established a new mode of confiscation against which there can be no objection made: "The husband," he said, "who does not avenge his murdered wife shall lose whatever of her dowry would fall to him."⁶ He condemned to temporary exile the woman who, by practising abortion, deprived her husband of the hope of children.⁷

¹ *ut aliquid laxaret (senatus) ex juris rigore* (*Digest*, xxiv. 1, 32 pr.). It was on a special point, namely, of gifts between married persons; but the same spirit is found in other rescripts. In one of Alexander Severus we read: *quæ a D. Antonino, patre meo et quæ a me rescripta sunt, cum juris et æquitatis rationibus congruant* (*Code*, ii. 1, 8).

² *Mitior lex erit sequenda* (Ulpian, *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 32).

³ *Digest*, xlviii. 13, 12.

⁴ *Digest*, xxxvii. 14, 4, and xlviii. 4, 9. In speaking of this rescript Marcian uses the expression: *benignissime rescripsit*.

⁵ *Digest*, l. 2, § 2: *ne patris nota filius macularetur*. *Ibid.*, l. 2, 6: *non impedienda dignitas ejus qui nihil admisit*.

⁶ *Digest*, xlix. 14, 27.

⁷ *Digest*, xlvii. ii. 4.

To sell a statue of the emperor or to strike it with a stone was a *crimen majestatis* which had cost many men their lives; he authorized the sale of unconsecrated statues, and admitted the excuse of accident.¹

No sentence was to be pronounced against an absent man: equity forbidding that a judgment should be given until both sides had been heard.²

If the accuser should desist, he was forbidden to resume his accusation.³ The same is the law in France when the prosecuting officer abandons the case.

The accused person should be brought before the judge of the place where the crime had been committed; ⁴ there also he was to suffer the penalty, ⁵ so that the witnesses of the offence might also witness the expiation; and modern law makes the same provision.

In the case of banishment the penalty existed after death, and the corpse of the criminal was condemned also to be exiled from the paternal tomb. Severus did not repeal this law, but he frequently granted a dispensation from it.⁶

Wards were frequently robbed by faithless guardians, and he prohibited the latter from alienating the property of minors without authorization from the urban prætor or the governor.⁷ We have similar prohibitions.

Let us also remember to his honour the rescript which allowed the Jews to be candidates for municipal honours without renouncing their religion.

It is not certain that Severus greatly ameliorated the condition of slaves; but certainly after his time they were much more secure in the possession of the advantages they had already obtained, in consequence of the application which he made in certain circumstances of provisions favourable to them.

¹ *Digest*, xlviii. 4, 5, § 1: *lapide incerto*.

² *Digest*, xlviii. 17, 1. Absence did not prevent, however, a favourable verdict, at least in some cases. Thus the prætor could declare a slave free to whom liberty had been given by testament, even when he did not present himself to claim it. *Senatus-consultum* of the year 182, under Commodus. (*Digest*, xl. 5, 28, § 4.)

³ *Ibid.*, 16, 15, § 4.

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii. 2, 22.

⁵ *Digest*, xlix. 16, 3 pr.

⁶ *Digest*, xlviii. 24, 2: *multis petentibus indulget*.

⁷ *Digest*, xxvii. 9, 1. This important matter of wardship was regulated in all its details by an *oratio Severi*, read in the senate on the ides of June, 195.

It was forbidden to a master to set on foot an action against his freedman by reason of a fault which the latter had committed while in the state of servitude; it was also forbidden to all to reproach a woman with the wages of disgrace which she had been forced to earn before her enfranchisement; it was also forbidden to women to fight in the arena.¹

If a slave owed his liberty to a forged *codicillum*, he should keep his freedom, but should pay twenty *solidi* to the heir:² a decision which satisfied at the same time both law and equity, leaving to the slave the benefit of a lucky error and compensating the heir for the diminution of his inheritance.

The emperor even gave access to public office to the children of mixed condition: "Let not Titius, the son of a free woman and a father yet in slavery, from attaining the decurionate in his city."³

A man condemned was said to be *servus poenæ*. What was to be the condition of the slave sent to the mines, when the emperor's pardon took him thence? The condemned man, said Severus, was the slave of the penalty; the penalty being suppressed, the man is free.⁴ The method of enfranchisement is curious: a capital sentence resulting in giving the slave his liberty! The slave's penal sentence had, it was considered, placed the State in the master's position towards him; and the master could not recover his rights by the fact that the emperor had pardoned the *servus poenæ*. This was a rigorous application of principles, but it must be that these principles were sometimes violated, and that the

¹ *Digest*, iv. 4, 11; iii. 2, 24; Dion, lxxv. 16.

² *Digest*, xl. 4, 47.

³ *Digest*, l. 2, 9 pr.

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 8, § 12. This rescript belongs to the reign of Caracalla, who in his civil laws followed out the spirit of his father's legislation. Ulpian, who reports this rescript, adds: *rectissime rescipit*. Alexander Severus applied the same principle to the son, who, under similar conditions, was set free from the *patria potestas* (*Cole*, ix. 51, 6). The following are also rescripts of Caracalla: The slave cannot be enfranchised until after he has given account of his stewardship (*Digest*, xl. 12, 34. See vol. v. of this work, p. 308). The patron who does not maintain his freedman loses his rights over him (*Digest*, xxxvii. 14, 5, § 1. This rescript is possibly of the reign of Alexander Severus). Banishment involved the confiscation of property. Two persons about to be exiled asked permission to levy each upon his and her individual property which was about to be taken from them enough to secure, the mother to the son, and the son to the mother, the bare necessities of life, *ad victum necessaria*. "I cannot change a law," the emperor replied, "but your request is a pious one; it shall be done as you desire." (*Digest*, xlviii. 22, 16.) He condemned to be beaten with rods and sent into exile for three years those who pillaged shipwrecked persons. (*Digest*, xlvii. 9, 4, etc.)

emperor being asked for his opinion on the subject, confirmed them anew.

The prefect of the city had now the entire criminal jurisdiction in Rome and as far as the hundredth mile, excepting over



Septimius Severus. (Museum of the Louvre.)

senators, who were amenable to the senate. Severus ordered him to receive the complaints of slaves against their cruel or profligate masters, and to keep watch that none should be compelled to a life of shame.¹

¹ *officium præf. urbi datum ut mancipia tueatur, ne prostituantur* (*Digest*, i. 12, 1, § 8) *ut serros de dominis querentes audiat si sævitiam, si durtiam, si famem, qua*

There were, especially in the army, many slaves belonging to several masters at once. Severus decided that if one of the latter enfranchised the common slave, the co-proprietor or proprietors should be obliged to sell to him their share at a price fixed by the prætor, so that the freedman might thus obtain his full liberty. This rule lasted until the time of Justinian. Contrary to Hadrian's rescript, he did not allow the common slaves to be put to the torture in case of a prosecution of one of the masters; and calling to mind that the law did not permit, save in certain defined cases, confessions against the master to be extorted from the slave by torture, he added: so much the more are their denunciations of their masters not to be received.¹ This principle of domestic discipline having been so often violated under bad emperors, we must set it down to the credit of Severus that he made its legal authority clear.

In fiscal prosecutions it had been usual to compel the accused person to prove that his fortune had been legitimately acquired; Severus decided that it was the business of the informer to prove the justice of his accusation. This also is one of the rules of our legislation. Lastly, he uttered this principle, that whenever there were doubts in regard to the meaning of the law, precedents should be examined, or custom, which in such case, should have the force of law. Local custom, therefore, had not been abolished at the beginning of the third century.²

Severus, who took pleasure in directing the law towards milder constructions, was rigorous towards all forms of disorder. He augmented the severities of the Julian law in respect to cases of adultery, but without great profit to public morals, which cannot be corrected by articles of a code.³ But neither was he indulgent

eos premant; si obscenitatem in qua eos compulerent vel compellant (ibid.). The slave, however, could not publicly accuse his master. Severus wished to constrain the latter to humanity, while not destroying domestic discipline (*Digest*, xlix. 14, 2, § 6). An ordinance of Commodus had decreed that the enfranchised person who did not come to the help of his patron in sickness or destitution should be given back into slavery (*Digest*, xxv. 3, 6, § 1). In article 12 of the *Digest*, book i., Ulpian gives a summary of the letter of Severus, which is, so to speak, the constituent charter of the urban prefecture.

¹ *Code*, vii. 7, 1; *Digest*, xlviii. 18, 17, § 2; *ibid.*, § 3: *Plurium servum in nullius caput torqueri posse*; *Code*, ix. 14, 1; *Digest*, xlviii. 18, 1, § 16.

² *Digest*, xlix. 14, 26; *ibid.*, i. 3, 38; see vol. v. of this work, p. 326.

³ When he became consul, Dion found 3,000 accusations entered on the lists. See vol. v. p. 644, n. 1.

towards his own interests: he rejected any legacy where the simplest formality had been omitted, using those words which are so honourable in the mouth of a ruler whom the constitution exempts from all laws: "It is true that I am above the laws; but it is with and by the laws that I desire to live."¹

The law forbade public officers to take a wife, or even suffer their sons to marry, in the province where they were on duty. However, marriages of this class had taken place. To prevent all pressure upon provincial families by reason of interested marriages, Severus decided that an official who had taken to wife a rich heiress living in his province should not inherit from her.²

Billeting of military and civil functionaries was a burden to the provincials and often there was much abuse under this head; Severus therefore recommended the governors to observe the rules strictly.³

Many of these provisions were not new;⁴ but Severus made them his own by repeating them, and some of them prove that the Roman world was steadily effecting by itself the greatest social evolution of antiquity: the slave ceasing to be a thing and becoming a person.

We must notice, on the other hand, the decline of the municipal *régime* which was now beginning. The kind of heredity established by Augustus in respect to the senate at Rome had by degrees extended itself over the Empire. Certain sons of decurions, doubtless in limited number, *prætextati*, sat in the local senate, but did not vote until after their twenty-fifth year, after having occupied some public office, and when death or some sentence of punishment had made a vacancy.⁵ Paulus, one of the emperor's council, wrote about this time: "He who is not a member of the curia cannot be appointed duumvir, because it is forbidden to plebeians to aspire to the honours of the decurionate." On the other hand, his eminent contemporaries, Ulpian and Papinian, admitted that a man of the people might arrive at the senate, not

¹ *Licet legibus soluti sumus, attamen legibus vivimus* (*Inst.*, ii. 17, § 8).

² *Digest*, xxxiv. 9, 2, § 1, and xxxiii. 2, 57, 63.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 16, 4, *proœm.*

⁴ See p. 114.

⁵ At Canusium, in 223, there were twenty-five *prætextati* to a hundred decurions. (Papinian, in the *Digest*, l. 2, 6, § 1.)

by the *lectio*, which no longer made the quinquennial duumvir, but by the *cooptatio*. But for these authorities also the sons of the decurions formed a privileged class.¹ We are at a period of transition, therefore, when the early liberties were becoming effaced without having completely disappeared. The curia is not yet closed to new men, but the municipal aristocracy was drawing itself closer and the movement of concentration accelerated. Already Ulpian is of opinion that the decurion who abandons his city should be brought back to it by the governor of the province, that he may fulfil the duties which are incumbent upon him;² and Septimius Severus proscribed to all his agents to act with extreme circumspection in the imposition of new municipal taxes; and to his proconsuls and legates to keep rigorous watch over public works and over illegal associations.³ "There is nothing in the province," said the councillor of Severus, "which cannot be executed by the governor."⁴ Centralization was gaining at the expense of local vitality. But later we shall see it was less the rulers who encroached than the towns which made the encroachments necessary.

As we read all these rescripts, and there are many others of which I have not spoken, we are forced to acknowledge that if Septimius Severus was not the reformer for whom the Empire had been looking since the death of Augustus, he was at least a ruler attentive to the needs of the time.

Of all these needs the most imperious—after the horrible confusion which began under Commodus and continued five years after his reign had ceased—was public order. To have done with civil wars, with military revolts, with armed brigandage, and to put every man and everything in the proper place, required no

¹ *Digest*, l. 2, § 2, and 7, §§ 2-7.

² *Digest*, l. 2, 1. Rescripts of Severus exist forbidding the cities to lay too heavy burdens on the rich; but also to constrain to the execution of their promises those who had made a formal engagement to construct some work of public utility or decoration (*Digest*, l. 12, 6, §§ 2 and 3); in respect to the recall of the doctor or professor appointed by the city (*Digest*, xxvii. 1, 6, §§ 6, 9, and 11); concerning the age requisite for municipal office, from twenty-five to fifty-five years (*Digest*, l. 2, 11); in regard to peculating magistrates (*Digest*, iii. 5, 38); on the extent of the responsibility of the magistrates' surety (*Code*, vi. 34, 1, etc.).

³ *Code*, iv. 62, 1; Ulpian, in the *Digest*, i. 16, 7; *ibid.*, i. 12, § 14, and Marcian, *ibid.*, xlvii. 22, 1.

⁴ *Nec quicquam est in provincia quod non per ipsum expediatur* (*Digest*, i. 16, 9, 1).

common energy, but this was what Severus accomplished. "He corrected many abuses," say Spartian and Aurelius Victor;¹ "he was terrible to the wicked," says Zosimus; according to Herodian, he re-established order in the provinces; and all agree that he was unsparing towards governors who were found guilty,² "since he knew that the great robbers produce the less."³ An Egyptian prefect, accused of counterfeiting, suffered the penalties prescribed by the old Cornelian law *de falsis*. But Severus took care to have rare occasion to punish, being extremely careful to choose wisely, which is for a sovereign the art *par excellence*, and then loading with honours those who fulfilled their duties worthily.⁴

Herodian, and, following him, modern authors, reproach Severus with a relaxation of discipline, a strange charge against a man like this. It arises from a remark brought back by Dion⁵ from Britain, but very possibly fabricated at Rome. On his death-bed the emperor is reported as saying to his sons: "Enrich your soldiers and you can defy everything." The expression is brutal in form, and that very brutality has made it famous. But who overheard this dangerous confession of a dying man? Besides, the words, like many other pretended historic sayings, have a certain truth if they are reduced to the simple terms of what may well have been the emperor's conviction: "Keep the army content, that it may be devoted to you"—that is to say, pay your soldiers well, and honour them, for they are the one power in the State. What he thus advised he had himself done, giving the generals immense estates; the prætorian tribunes were excused from acting as guardians even in the case of their comrades' children; the veterans, from personal obligations towards their city;⁶ the legionaries received larger pay, a ration of better corn, more frequent largesses, and the

¹ *Implacabilis delictis* (Spart., Sev., 18). . . . *ne parva latrocinia quidem impunita patiebatur* (Aur. Vict., de Cæs., 20).

² *Accusatos a provincialibus iudices, probatis rebus, graviter punivit* (Spart., Sev., 8).

³ Aur. Vict., de Cæs., 20.

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii. 10, 1, § 4. *Ad erigendos industrios quosque iudicii singularis* (Spart., *ibid.*, 18). . . . *homo in legendis magistratibus diligens* (Capit., Alb., 3). *Strenuum quemque præmiis extollebat* (Aur. Vict., de Cæs., 20).

⁵ Herod., iii. 25; Dion, lxxvi. 15: . . . *τάδε λέγεται τοῖς παῖσιν εἰπεῖν*. Later Alexander Severus said: *Miles non timet, nisi vestitus, armatus, calceatus et satur et habens aliquid in zonula* (Lamp., Alex., 52).

⁶ *Digest*, xxvii. 1, 9. *A muneribus quæ non patrimonii indicuntur veterani . . . perpetuo excusantur* (*Digest*, l. v. 7). In respect to the *muncera*, see vol. v. of this work, p. 375.

right of wearing a gold ring, a mark of honour which thereafter made part of the uniform. The depreciation of the precious metals and the need of attracting the Roman population into the army made these measures necessary. We modern nations act in the same manner in respect to pay and rations and the military medal, without thinking that we corrupt our troops. And these expenses did not exhaust the treasury, for the finances were never in a more flourishing condition.¹ Herodian says further that he authorized the legionaries "to dwell with their wives."² This was a measure of morality. Since the establishment of permanent armies it had been the rule that the soldier should not marry. "The law does not permit it," says Dion; "to certain veterans the emperor gives the right to contract legitimate marriages," adds Gaius,³ designating the soldiers who obtained the honourable discharge. In the beginning of the third century Tertullian refers to this principle.⁴ But nature asserted her rights; profligate women followed the armies, and in the villages which by degrees gathered about the encampments were countless families which the law did not recognize.⁵ The emperor, who had increased the severity of the penalties against

¹ We have the proof of this in the immense resources which were allowed to remain in money (Herod., iii. 49, and Spart., *Sev.*, 12: *Filiis suis . . . tantum reliquit quantum nullus imperatorum*), and in supplies of all sorts. Severus established the rule, or perhaps renewed it, following Trajan (Lamp., *Elag.*, 26), that there always be seven years' supply of corn in Rome; this was better than the old French *greniers d'abondance*, but in an economic point of view it was a very bad measure.

² γυναιξὶ τε συνουσιῶν (iii. 8). Marriage is permitted in the English army, but with restrictions which greatly reduce the disadvantages of this custom. Those designated as "non-commissioned officers holding the rank of first or second class staff-sergeant," etc., may marry. Among the non-commissioned officers three out of four or five, four out of six or seven, six out of ten, according to the grade, and among the soldiers four per cent. (formerly seven) can obtain this permission. These married couples have a right to a furnished room in barracks; the wife and the children receive half and quarter rations; or, when the family does not accompany its head into the colonies, an indemnity of sixpence a day for the wife and twopence for each child. (Circular of the War Office, April 1st, 1871.) These expenses of pay and lodging are possible in the case of a small army like the English; but they would have imposed tremendous burdens upon the Roman government, and the more since the authorization granted by Severus did not contain those unjust restrictions which, in the English army, make marriage a premium reserved for only one soldier out of twenty-five.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 22; Dion, lx. 24; *Inst.*, i. 57. The veterans of the legions had no need of this authorization, being all citizens, but it was necessary for the veterans of the auxiliary troops, who were not so.

⁴ *Exhort. ad Cast.*, 12.

⁵ When the soldiers in the camp of Emesa rose in insurrection against Macrinus they called in their wives and children from the adjacent towns to shelter them behind the fortifications of the camp. Many of these families had been legitimated by Severus.

adultery, was extremely displeased at this immorality.¹ Domitian had already granted to the veterans, without discharging them, the *jus connubii*. The soldiers took advantage of this new right to establish their families near the camps and to live with them; from this resulted disadvantages which a firm hand and some simple regulations of the service would have been able to prevent. Severus had the necessary firmness, but his successors had not, and the discipline of the army was impaired.

The religious observance of the military oath, to which the armies of Trajan and Hadrian were still faithful, had been much weakened at the accession of Severus. We have seen under Commodus the insurrection of the legions of Britain; upon his death, of the prætorians; and later of all the armies. Severus himself in the beginning had to subdue in his own camp two seditions; in Rome a third;² and a fourth in the province of Arabia. He restored discipline at first by giving the example of military virtues; at Lyons he fought as a common soldier; in Mesopotamia the army suffered with thirst and would not drink the foul water of a marsh: in sight of all men he drank a great cupful of it.³ Then he would not allow a fault-finding spirit to make its way among the troops: a tribune of the prætorian cohorts expiated by death some cowardly words.⁴ Finally, he banished disorder and indolence from the camps. More than one governor, it is probable, received from him a letter similar to this which he one day sent to a legate in Gaul: "Is it not a disgrace that we cannot imitate the discipline of those whom we have conquered? Your soldiers roam about the country, and your tribunes are at the bath in the middle of the day. . . . They eat in taverns and sleep in houses of debauchery. They spend their time in eating and drinking and singing; their whole occupation is gluttony and

¹ The wives of soldiers who had accompanied their husbands, absent on service for the State, did not incur foreclosure when they had allowed the legal delay to pass before entering on a temporary action. (Rescripts of the year 227. *Code*, ii. 52, 1-2.) At this date the legal condition of the soldier's wife was therefore well-established, and the rescript of Severus was in full force.

² Spart., *Sev.*, 7 and 8. On the day after his entry into Rome, at the Red Rocks, and at Atræ.

³ Dion, lxxv. 2.

⁴ See p. 73. He condemned to exile again the deserter who after five years ventured to return. (*Digest*, xlix. 16, 13, § 6.)

drunkenness. Should we see such things if any feeling of the ancient discipline prevailed? Let the tribune be first corrected and then the soldiers. So long as you fear them they will not fear you. Niger must have taught you this: for the soldier to be obedient his officers must be worthy of respect.”¹

These last words do honour to the man who spoke thus of Niger after having conquered him; but, in the presence of this letter, what becomes of the charge that Severus neglected the discipline of the army? A cowardly or indolent ruler may let the reins hang loosely; but never did a general whom five years of war had placed in possession of the supreme power feel that disorder in the camps was an advantage for him, and Severus, who so energetically maintained civil discipline, must have been least likely of all men to feel this. An ancient writer² expressly bears him witness that he established excellent order in the armies, and Dion proves this when he shows that the troops broke into insurrection against Macrinus when the latter sought to enforce anew the military regulations of the first African emperor.

Severus increased the army by three legions, to which he gave the name Parthicæ. The first and third of these guarded the new province of Mesopotamia; the second, composed, no doubt, of soldiers on whose fidelity he could specially rely, was, contrary to usage, brought back to Italy and quartered near Albano,³ to keep perpetually before the Romans the memory of the Eastern victories, and also to be a faithful force in reserve in case of a popular riot or some prætorian sedition. Severus could certainly rely upon his new guard; but he was too prudent to forget the part this corps had played in the recent catastrophes, which brought back the recollection of earlier ones. The second Parthica was a precaution against the possibility of a surprise. Herodian says, however, that he quadrupled the number of the prætorians; this is not at all probable, and could not have been done without seriously disturbing the whole military organization of the Empire. Dion and Spartian say nothing of it, and we shall follow their example.⁴

¹ Spart., *Nig.*, 3.

² Zosimus, i. 8: . . . διαθείς επιμελῶς τὰ στρατόπεδα.

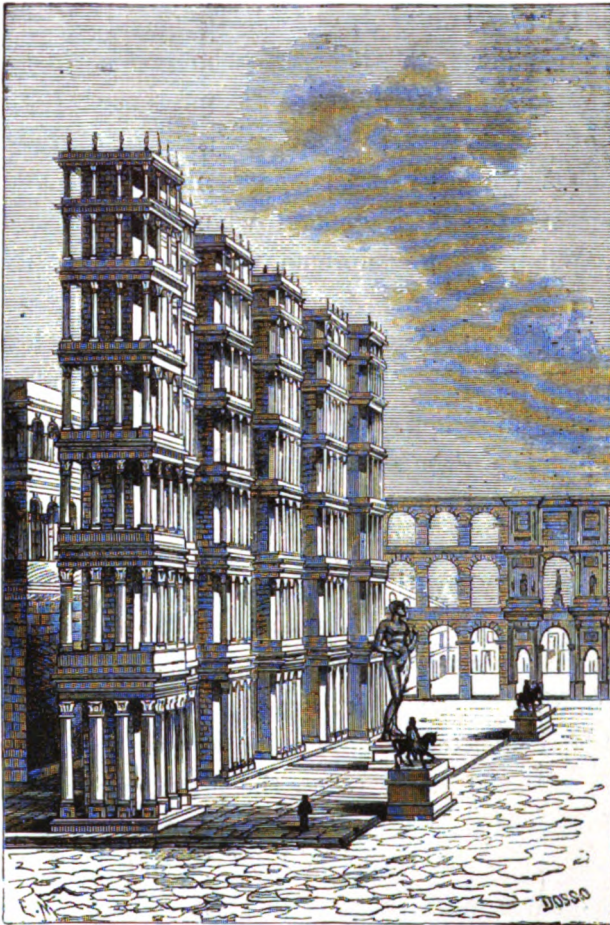
³ Dion, iv. 24; Henzen, *Annales de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1867, p. 73-88.

⁴ The author has discussed this question in the *Revue archéol.* of 1877, pp. 299 *et seq.*

Was it the emperor who employed Menander, a member of his council, in writing four books *de Re militari*,¹ that is to say, preparing a sort of military code? We can at least believe that he encouraged this enterprise, and we know that later it was com-

mon to speak of "the regulations of Severus in regard to the army."²

In the number of his military measures we may count the division of certain of the provinces which were too large. Serious wars had lately sprung up in Syria and in Britain; he divided each of these countries into two commands; he did the same in Africa, where Numidia, comprised since 25 B.C. in the proconsular province of Africa, formed finally a province by itself.³



The Septizonium. (Restoration by Canina.)

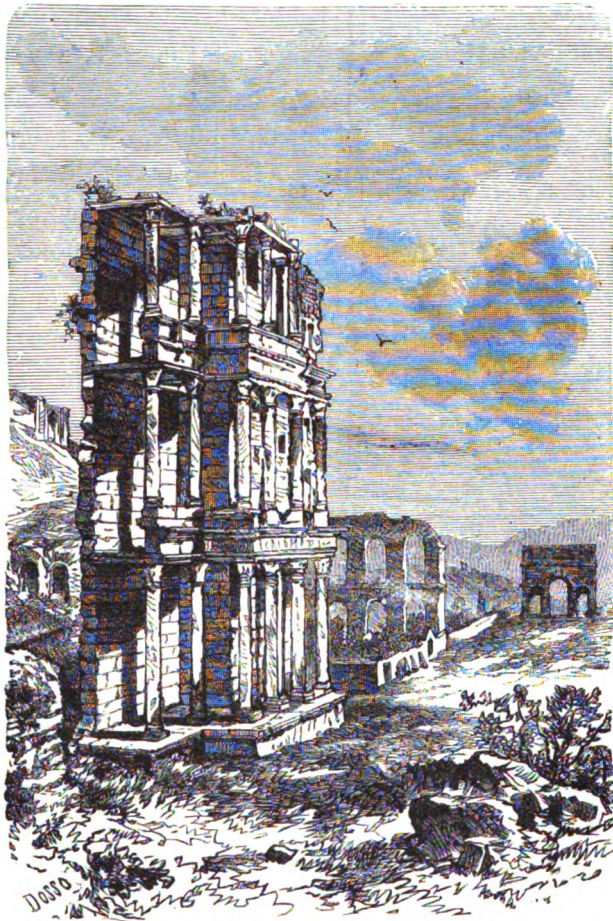
At Rome the emperor kept the people content and peaceable by largesses amounting in his reign to the sum of 220,000,000 denarii, and by the regularity of the distributions. In his time the State granaries had always corn enough for seven years and

¹ This work of Arrius Menander seems to have been more important than those of Paternus, prepared in the time of Commodus, and of Macer under Caracalla; for it is from Menander that the *Pandects* most largely borrow. Cf. *Digest*, xlix. 11.

² Dion, lxxviii. 28.

³ See the Memoir of L. Renier upon the inscription of Velleius Paterculus in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. d'inscr.* for 1876, p. 431, and Marquardt, *Handb.*, vol. iv. p. 310.

oil for five. He built a great temple to Bacchus and Hercules, hot baths, of which nothing now remains, and the Septizonium, a portico with seven stories of columns which would have made a vestibule, perhaps magnificent, certainly singular, to the palace of the Cæsars, on the side of the Appian Way, if the augurs had not declared that the gods forbade changing the entrance to the Palatine. For himself he built upon the slopes of the Janiculum, where now stand the Corsini palace and the Farnesina, a villa whose gardens descended to the Tiber and went up to the top of the hill. A gate opened near this spot, in the wall of Aurelian, still bears its name, the *porta Settimania*. Severus also repaired all the public buildings which had suffered injury,



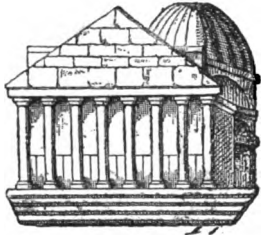
Ruins of the Septizonium. (From Canina.)¹

among others, the Pantheon of Agrippa² and the theatre of Ostia. Dion is of opinion that the emperor expended too much money in these works; but public constructions are a necessary and at

¹ Canina, *Storia et topogr. di Roma ant.*, vol. v., *Gli edif. di Roma*, pl. 267. As late as the sixteenth century some ruins of this portico were in existence which were seen by Dupérac and designed in his work, *delle Antichità di Roma*, pl. 13. Cf. *l'Antichità di Roma*, by V. Scamozzi, 1583, pl. 23 and 24. Some of the columns of the Septizonium were employed by Sixtus V. in the Vatican. Cf. Montfaucon, *l'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, vol. v. p. 122. He believes that the structures forming the immense ruins of Rabbath-Ammon, on the sterile plateau of Moab, and those of Er-Rabbah, are of the same date.

² *Pantheum vetustate corruptum cum omni cultu restituerit* (C. I. L., vi. 896).

times an honourable expense, and the economy that Severus insisted upon in the palace permitted him to spend large sums for useful purposes. There still exist some interesting remains of the little arch which the traders of the *Forum boarium* erected, and many fragments have been found of a plan of Rome, which appears to have been engraved on tablets of marble in this reign; the whole size must have been over 300 square mètres.¹



Souvenir of the Restoration
of Agrippa's Pantheon in
the year 202.²

The provinces felt the benefits of this liberality. We have seen what was done at Byzantium, Antioch, Alexandria, and throughout Egypt.

In Syria, the emperor built at Baalbec (Heliopolis) the temple of Jupiter, at the right of the hillock on which Antoninus had



Front.



Back.

Altar found in 1880 on the site of the Theatre of Ostia, rebuilt by Septimius Severus.³

erected a temple of the Sun, on the site of the enormous sanctuary built there by the Phœnicians at a remote period. The ornamentation of this work marks, with its lavish profusion, as does the Septimian arch at Rome, the decline of decorative art. The architects of that time had no longer the calm serenity of the

¹ Jordan, *Forma Urbis*, with illustrations. See later the arch of the *Forum boarium*.

² From an engraved stone (transparent amethyst) found at Constantine. (*Gazette archéol.* of 1880, p. 92.)

³ *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità*, May, 1880, and April, 1881.

early masters. Their imagination had run wild, and they tormented their materials as the philosophers of the time tormented theirs. This period, which loved to make everything colossal, had lost the power of simplicity together with the feeling of true greatness. But, seen from a distance, what a magnificent whole is formed by these vast edifices of Heliopolis, whose mere ruins oppose to the threatening grandeur of the desert an image of the prodigious activity of the men who once filled these solitudes with motion and noise and wealth.

"Many other cities," his biographer adds, "owe to him remarkable public edifices."¹ Carthage, Utica, and Leptis Magna received from him the *jus Italicum* or exemption from the land-tax.² The last-named of these cities was his native place; he probably did not fail to embellish it, but no trace is left of any such works,³ nor of his paternal house, which the city had carefully preserved and which Justinian caused to be rebuilt.⁴ Severus had provided against the most urgent needs, in compelling, by military executions, the nomadic tribes who desolated these regions to respect the frontier. In gratitude for the security thus restored to it, the province made an engagement, which it kept up to the time of Constantine, to furnish to Rome every year a fixed quantity of corn and oil. "To the Africans," says his biographer, "Severus was a god." The arch of triumph of Thevesta (Tebessa), finished under Caracalla in 214, had been commenced in honour of his father.⁵



Reverse of a Coin of Septimius Severus, struck at Carthage. Cybele seated on a lion. Large Bronze.

He adopted for the provinces some of the regulations proposed by Niger to Marcus Aurelius, and made certain others himself which showed his care to prevent even the smallest abuses: he prohibited any man, taking a wife in a province where he held office, from

¹ Spart., *Sev.*, 23. Zosimus says also: "He adorned a great number of cities," and Eutropius (viii. 8): *Multa toto Romano orbe reparavit.*

² *Digest*, l. 15, 8, § 11. We have seen already what he did for the cities of Syria.

³ The coin here given bears the legend: *Indulgentia Augg. in Carth.* But we know not in memory of what favour granted to this city the coin was struck. (Eckhel, vii. p. 183.)

⁴ Procop., *de Edib. Justin.*, vi. 4.

⁵ Inscriptions, whose number increases yearly, proves the active impulse given by Severus to public works in Roman Africa. See Renier's *Inscr. d'Alg.*, and many numbers of the *Bull. de corr. afr.*

receiving anything from her by will;¹ he forbade the soldier to buy property in the district where he was in service, and the governor to allow military or civil quarterings to become a burden



Ruins of the Arch of Thevesta.

to the provincials.² Lastly, he completed for the benefit of the cities the reorganization of the imperial post which Hadrian had commenced.³ Ulpian has preserved for us one of the rescripts in which the legislator did not disdain to be epigrammatic. The

¹ *Digest*, xxxiv. 9, 2, § 1.

² *Digest*, xlix. 16, 9; *ibid.*, xxxiv. 9, 2, § 1; xlix. 16, 9, and 1, 16, 4 pr.: . . . *ne in hospitiiis præbendis onerit provinciam.*

³ *Spart., Sev.*, 4. The extent of the reform made by Severus is not known. Augustus had organized this service, *vehiculatio*, and imposed on the landowners heavy burdens, from which Nerva exempted Italy. Trajan developed this institution and corrected the abuses which had been caused by too easy concession of rights of travelling. The assistance furnished by the cities remained, however, considerable, although it appears that magistrates using the *cursus publicus* had to pay something, since Hadrian released them from this, *ne magistratus hoc onere gravarentur* (*Spart., Hadr.*, 7). Antoninus introduced some relief, and Severus granted at the expense of the imperial treasury a reduction by which those profited who had the duty of collecting these taxes: *vehicularium munus a privatis ad fiscum traduxit* (*Spart., Sev.*, 14). But after his time the whole expense fell upon the municipalities.

Roman world was very fond of presents; many and forced ones were made to the governors under the Republic, and some were still offered to those of the Empire. Consulted by one of them on this subject, Severus replied to him: "An old Greek proverb says: 'Neither everything, nor always, nor from all;'" and the ruler added: "To refuse from all men would be uncivil; to accept at random is contemptible; to take everything would be avaricious."¹ One thing, however, was worth more than the best rescripts—good governors—and the old authors all acknowledge that he took care to make an excellent choice. One of them, the prefect of Egypt, having been guilty of an offence, was sent into exile.²

The soldiers, meanwhile, continued, wherever there was need, to be at the service of peaceful labour, but without letting the sword be too far distant from the pick and the trowel.³

Accordingly tranquillity was never once seriously interrupted at the foot of the Atlas, nor on the banks of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Tigris. In the presence of this vigilant ruler, whose hand was so heavy, the barbarians remained in a timid repose. Under this reign we find soldiers established in certain fixed posts in all the provinces to hunt down the bandits of the neighbourhood.⁴ Was this an original measure of this emperor whom his biographer calls "the enemy of robbers in all places"?⁵ The long impunity of brigands in Spain and Gaul and Syria, even in Italy itself, in the time of Commodus and during the period of the civil wars,⁶ proves that, even if this institution was anterior to Severus, it had fallen greatly into disuse, and that he was obliged to reorganize it. This ruler, implacable in respect to disorder, must surely have desired that security should be as well-guarded in the interior as on the frontiers. In view of rendering the repression more energetic and more prompt, he decided that

¹ *Digest*, i. 16, 6, § 3: *quam rem (seniorum) D. Sev. et imp. Ant. elegantissime epistula sunt moderati*, etc.

² *Digest*, xlviii. 10, 1, § 4.

³ Cf. Or.-Henzen, 905 in Syria; 937 in Rhætia; 3,586 in Lower Germany; 4,987 in Pannonia, near Buda; 6,701 in Britain; in Africa, the *via Septimiana*, constructed by the Third Augustan legion. (L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 4,361, etc.)

⁴ Tertull., *Apol.*, 3: *Latronibus vestigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur*.

⁵ . . . *latronum ubique hostis* (Spart., *Sev.*, 18).

⁶ *Digest*, i. 12, 1, § 4; xlviii. 10, 8; xxii. 6, § 1.

the prefect of the city should have cognizance of all crimes committed in Italy, with power to sentence to the mines or to deportation.

III.—SEVERUS IN BRITAIN; HIS DEATH (208-211 A.D.).

To remove his sons from the dangers of Rome, Severus remained there but seldom; he made long sojourns in his Sabine and Campanian villas, but without being able to subjugate these fiery natures. Geta, as well as Antoninus, rushed madly into pleasure. Both fled from the learned society with which their mother surrounded herself, and their father's grave friends, to seek the society of gladiators and the charioteers of the circus. Even in their sports they hated each other with bitter rivalry: one day, on the race-course, they disputed so hotly for victory that Antoninus was flung from his chariot and had his thigh broken in the fall. Severus resumed the cuirass, and took them away with him into Britain (208).¹

There were no perils to be encountered at that extremity of the Empire, that the old emperor, gouty and infirm, should be obliged to undertake the long journey and to remain absent for so considerable a time. Julia Domna and Papinian accompanied the emperor. There was not a single battle fought, for Fingal and Ossian, the legendary heroes, did not emerge from their rustic palace of Selma; and still the emperor lost many troops in surprises, which were the chief warfare of these savages. But their densely-wooded hills, over which an army could advance only by cutting its way with an axe, their marshes, whose yielding soil required a whole forest to be thrown into it, did not hinder the heavily-armed legions from reaching the extremity of the island, where these men of the south beheld with amazement days that were almost without intervening night.

Severus remained three years in this country, where the enervating luxury of Italy was a thing unknown. After the victory over Albinus he had divided it into two provinces, that the action of the imperial government might be more efficacious there and

¹ Coins of the year 208 bear the legend: PROF. AVGG.

the influence of the individual governor less to be dreaded. Geta, to whom the dignity of Augustus had now been given and the tribunitian power, administered the southern province. Antoninus led the army in the north and negotiated with the Caledonians, while the emperor, established in the city of York, superintended the restoration carried forward by his soldiers of Hadrian's wall.¹

In 210 the submission of the barbarians seeming to be secured by a treaty which obliged them to yield a part of their territory, he added to the titles given by his victories in the East that of Britannicus, which Antoninus also took. In memory of this last triumph of the African conqueror, the senate caused a medal to be struck representing two Caledonians bound to the trunk of a palm-tree.

While he designedly lingered at this extremity of the Empire, the loungers of Lake Curtius² imagined news at will. Sometimes the story ran that a barbarian woman, extremely well-informed, it appears, in respect to Roman life, had given a lesson to Julia Domna, contrasting with the depravity of the Roman ladies the far too virile manners of the women of Caledonia. Now it was a little drama, in which the emperor was the actor and the



Geta in a Toga, wearing the *Bulla*.³

¹ *C. I. L.*, vii. No. 912c, and pp. 99 *et seq.* See vol. v. of this work, p. 41. Spartian is the first author who speaks of a wall constructed by Severus to the north of Hadrian's wall, an opinion now abandoned.

² A little grove which was a rendezvous of the *ardeliones* (Phædrus, II. v. 1), the "reporters" of the time, . . . *garruli* . . . *supra Lacum* (Plautus, *Curcul.*, IV. i. 16).

³ Marble statue in the Grey collection. (Clarac, *Musée*. pl. 966, No. 2,486A.)

soldiers the audience: his eldest son had sought to gain over the troops; the sedition being reduced to order, the emperor had caused himself to be borne to his tribunal, and had said to the mutinous soldiers who now implored his clemency: "Do you see at last that the head commands and not the feet?"¹

They represented him as uttering specious platitudes, suited to a monk and quite out of place in the mouth of a ruler who was not counting, as Charles V. did, on the compensations of the other world: "I have been everything and nothing is of value," or these words, perhaps more truthful, addressed to the urn which was to contain his ashes: "Thou shalt hold that which the world itself has not been able to hold." Some related that to make an end of cruel suffering he asked for poison, but it was refused him; others, that his eldest son had endeavoured to persuade the physicians to poison him. But a secret poisoning does not afford proper tragic effect. More expert story-tellers showed Caracalla riding upon horseback behind his father with drawn sword ready to kill him; the old emperor, warned by the cries of horror of his escort, looks around, he sees the naked weapon, and the parricide dares not complete his crime. Then we have contradictory scenes such as the declaimers of the time delighted in: in one, Severus, in his tent, deliberates with his prefects whether the guilty son shall be put to death; in another, he calls for Caracalla, gives him a dagger, and says: "Strike, or bid Papinian strike; he will obey you, for you are his emperor."

All this is very dramatic and highly improbable. Caracalla doubtless showed an impatience to reign which obliged the emperor



Coin of Septimius Severus, representing the Bridge over the Tyne.²



Coin commemorative of the Victories of Severus in Britain.³

¹ The epigram became famous; we meet it again sixty-four years later in an official document, the proclamation of the emperor Tacitus: *Acclamationes senatus: . . . Severus dixit, caput imperare, non pedes.*

² P. M. TR. P. XVI. COS. III. PP. Bridge ended on each side by a tower with four columns; under the bridge, a vessel. Gold coin.

³ VICT. BRIT. P. M. TR. P. XIX. COS. III. PP. SC. Two victories placing a buckler on a palm-tree, under which are seated two captives. Bronze. (Cohen, No. 644.)

to remind him that the true master was "the white-bearded king,"¹ and he was quite capable of conceiving the designs attributed to him. But, if he held them, why did he not execute them? Nothing could have been easier for the man who in Rome itself murdered another emperor, his brother, in their mother's arms. At sixty-six years of age, Severus, whom a distressing disease had long undermined, was at his life's end, and Caracalla had no need to hasten the work of destruction which nature was accomplishing. But the great idle city welcomed whatever could amuse it; and the imagination easily created in those remote regions tragic adventures, which, after the death of Geta, appeared to all men to be realities.

To these doubtful legends we shall prefer the truly imperial words of the old emperor: "It is to me a great satisfaction to leave in profound peace the Empire which I found a prey to dissensions of every kind;" and the last order given in his dying moments, an order so characteristic: "Go, see if there is anything to be done." Chateaubriand says in his *Études historiques*: "The officer of the guard having approached to obtain the countersign for the day the emperor gave him this: 'Let us work,' and with that fell into eternal rest." (February 4th, 211 A.D.) This adieu to life of the valiant soldier, his last counsel to those about him, has become the motto of humanity: *Laboremus*.

Julia Domna.²

¹ *incanaque menta*
Regis Romani

(Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi. 810.)

² Cameo in agate onyx (two layers) hung to a collar found in 1809 at Naix (Meuse), the ancient Nasium, capital of the Leuci.

Severus had written the history of his life, and it was doubtless his will that, after the example of the Testament of Augustus, a summary of it should be engraved on marble. At least, in the time of Spartian, it was to be read upon the portico built by Caracalla.

For the next eighty years no succeeding emperor died, as did Severus, in his bed. That Severus had this good fortune was due to great wisdom on his part, and to the State it was a great advantage; for this reign of eighteen years ending quietly proves how thoroughly he had introduced order everywhere.

He was lacking in gentleness, a quality charming in the individual but often tending to weakness in the ruler. When Julian compares the Cæsars in the assembly of the gods, Silenus cries out at sight of Severus: "Of that man I shall say nothing; I am afraid of his savage and inexorable temper." Severe on principle, he struck heavy blows, so that he might not have to strike often,¹ and in his autobiography, which the old writers believed authentic,² he justified his severities. But these heavy blows have resounded so far that posterity still hears them, and Severus remains the man of his name.³ Contemporaries judged differently,⁴ and he was greatly lamented. Let us read his history, remembering that the principal duty of an emperor of that century was to secure order to 100,000,000 men, and we shall say of him more truly even than it was said of Louis XI. of France: "All things considered, he was a king."

¹ *quo deinceps mitius* (Aur. Vict., *de Cæs.*, 20).

² *abs se texta, ornatu et fide paribus composuit* (Aur. Vict., *de Cæs.*, 20).

³ *Imperator vere nominis sui, vere Pertinax, vere Severus* (Spart., *Sev.*, 14).

⁴ *Judicium de eo post mortem magnum omnium fuit ac multum post mortem amatus* (*ibid.*, 19). . . . *ab Afris ut deus habetur* (*ibid.*, 13).

⁵ Silver coin, with the legend: PROFECTION AVG. (Cohen, No. 343.)



Septimius Severus on Horseback holding a Lance.⁵

CHAPTER XC.

THE CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

I.—GENERAL CONDITION OF MINDS; TENDENCY TO MYSTICISM; THE ALEXANDRIANS.

THE third century is the heroic age of the Christian society which we have seen forming in obscurity and gaining growth in silence. At this period it possesses all its means of action, and the mortal struggle begins between it and the Empire. The moment has come then to measure the forces of the two combatants. We are acquainted with those of the one, the State; let us look at those of the other, the Church.

In the preceding volume¹ we have shown that the human mind takes different directions according to epochs, and that it forms as it were great currents of ideas, in which flows the best of the national life.² The lawyers and administrative officers, the architects and generals, the artists and moral philosophers, had been the strength and glory of Rome in the second century. In the third, law has still some eminent interpreters, but the last representative of the ancient science, Galen, has just died and left no successor. Art, and letters properly so-called, disappeared. For twelve centuries³ humanity will not hear again that hymn of beauty which Greece had sung so long, and whose echoes had resounded in the Rome of Lucretius, Horace, and Virgil. The

¹ Vol. v., the beginning of the chapter entitled: "The Spirit of the Age."

² Hegel has said in his *Philosophie de l'histoire*, p. 9: *Jede Zeit hat so eigenthümliche Umstände —ist ein so individueller Zustand, dass in ihm aus ihm selbst entschieden werden muss, und allein entschieden werden kann.* It is a law of history; and to be thoroughly acquainted with the special character, or what may be termed the dominant tone of an epoch, is the first requisite of historical criticism. The *influence of the environment* is so great upon the intellectual life that there can be no just judgment of men and things except by replacing them in their environment.

³ On the literary poverty of the third century, see Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, pp. 835–875. Of science there is no longer any question; as to the arts, see below, chap. xcv. § 5.

new spirit proscribes earthly magnificence, *la bellezza del mondo*,¹ which man is nevertheless called to delight in. "Why have they fallen?" was the doleful cry of some sacred writers, referring to certain heretics. "Aristotle and Theophrastus are the objects of their admiration; Euclid is continually in their hands. They neglect the science of the Church for the study of geometry, and, absorbed in measuring the earth, they lose sight of heaven."² Another, scoffing at the man who was esteemed the most learned of his century, Ptolemy, wrote with reference to the exact sciences: "O frivolous labour, which serves only to inflate the soul with pride!"³ The highest eulogium at that time was to be "diligent in divine things."⁴

This is the language heard among philosophers as well as among Christians. While the author of the letter to Diognetus condemned every doctrine which had not for its object the invisible, Plotinus wrote: "Why does not man arrive at the truth? Because the soul is continually drawn away from the perception of divine things by external impressions." And it was his desire that, deaf to all sounds from without, it should hearken only to the voice from on high.⁵ Then occurred this phenomenon, unusual in the western world: men become oblivious of the earth, so long the object of their love, that they may lift their heads toward those ærial palaces of which the imagination is the sole sovereign.

The sons of old Italy, a sluggish race, would not have had these aspirations after the unknown which are an honour to the human mind; but Italy, in her turn, has experienced an invasion more terrible than that of Hannibal and of the Gauls:

All Egypt's monsters now in Rome their temple find.

The men and the beliefs of Asia had taken possession of the land where formerly simplicity of ideas and of morals prevailed. The mind of the Orient dominated that of Rome, and the ardent soul of those visionaries from the banks of the Orontes and of the

¹ The expression is Da Vinci's.

² Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 28.

³ *Philosoph.*, iv. 12.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 10.

⁵ ἀκούειν φθόγγων τῶν ἄνω (*Enneads*, v. 12).

Nile, lacking the ballast of science, roamed at will through the thousand systems of abstract thought and philosophy. New gods were desired, and crowds flocked to the strange worship of the Syrian goddess and of Sabazius, or to the monotheistic religions of Mithra and Serapis: the latter having a remarkably pure moral doctrine,¹ and the former presenting in its dogmas and its ceremonies more than one instance of agreement with Christianity.²

In this way, and along every channel, the current of the



Mithra sacrificing the Bull in the Grotto.*

century conducted human thought towards religious questions: seductive but insoluble problems, some of which, however, must be held as demonstrated, even when a demonstration of them is impossible. As at Athens they formerly philosophized at every street corner, now they dogmatize in each petty village of the Empire. It is the fashion to appear devout, to call oneself pontiff of some divinity, and the municipal curiæ are full of priests hitherto unknown there.⁴ In the century of Pericles, on

¹ See above, pp. 97 *et seq.*

² Mithra was a *mediator* between the supreme deity and man, a representative of the love of the creator for the creature. He was also a *redeemer* who purified souls and remitted sins. Hence Tertullian (*de Corona*, 15) attributed to a device of the evil one those relations, which he could not help recognizing, between this ancient Assyrian religion and the new religion of Christ. See vol. v. p. 751.

* *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,031. Intaglio on chalcedony, $\frac{83}{100}$ in. by $\frac{72}{100}$ in. Behind the bull is a priest, wearing, as the god does, a Phrygian cap (tiara) and holding two inverted torches. Above the principal group, the sun, the moon, and the prophetic raven.

⁴ This is seen even in the inscriptions. Among the 164 decurions of Canusium in 223, not a priest is found, while of the seventy-one names of the Album of Thamugas, in the following

the day when the ephebi received their arms from the State, they took this oath: "I swear never to dishonour these sacred arms, to fight for my gods and my hearth, either alone or with all, and to leave behind me my country not impaired but strengthened." This heroic oath the ephebi had kept at Salamis and Marathon, when they there preserved with their liberty the civilization of the world. In the third century of our era they still took this oath, but as one repeats a prayer in an unknown tongue. The Athenian ephebeia was now merely a religious college, and this transformation had certainly been effected in the numerous cities which had possessed the ephebic institution.¹ The pythoness of Delphi and the prophetic oaks of Dodona, mute in Strabo's time, had recovered



Serapis. (Bronze Statue in the Florence Gallery.)

century (from 364 to 367), we count two *sacerdotes*, thirty-six *flamens* for life, four pontiffs, four augurs, that is, two-thirds of the members who are or have been invested with religious functions. Whatever hypothesis may be adopted to explain the presence of so many priests in the curia of Thamugas (see *Ephem. epigr.*, iii. p. 82), the fact will still remain that the greater part of the members of this municipal council had a sacerdotal character, or were indebted to the priestly office which they had filled for the honour of being inscribed upon the Album after the *duumviri* in charge, but before the other magistrates. M. Dumont has established the same fact in reference to Athens (*Éphébie attique*, vol. i. p. 137); it was general. See in the *Philopatris*, included in the works of Lucian, the ridiculous characters of which are caricatures of actual persons.

¹ Alb. Dumont, *Éphébie attique*, vol. i. pp. 9, 36, and 39; and Collignon, *de Colleg. epheborum*.

their speech.¹ Alexander even, the personification of war, had assumed a religious character: he is at this time invoked as the beneficent genius who rescues from witchcraft.²

This turn of mind is seen all through Roman society. The provincials, who had replaced in the senate and official positions the sceptical aristocracy of the last century of the Republic and the early days of the Empire, wished to believe in something. The Syrian princes had their minds filled with religious visions. In the third century the emperors added to their titles that of Pious, *Pius*;³ the empresses were styled the "most holy," *sanctissimæ*, and at court as well as in town, the histories of Philostratus and of Ælian, replete with miracles, and the marvellous *Lives* of Apollonius and Pythagoras transformed into divine incarnations, found readers.⁴ They were no longer content with the ebon door from which old Homer, half smiling, caused dreams, sleep, and death to issue forth: they sought for that dread passage in order to rend the veil which closed it, and there find something other than the monotonous pleasures promised by the Græco-Roman polytheism. They pretended "to penetrate the secrets of the inmost life of God," by



Septimius Severus
the Pious.
(Gold Coin.)

¹ Strabo, vii. p. 327, and Pausanias, I. xvii. 6.

² See, in the reign of Caracalla, the species of worship of which Alexander was the object, and in that of Elagabalus "an apparition of this genius."

³ In the case of Severus and the princes of his house, it was a proper name borrowed from Antoninus the Pious, or more properly from Commodus, whose adopted brother Severus declared himself to be. Beginning with Macrinus, it is a qualification which all the emperors of the third century assume. An inscription of Gallienus (Orelli, No. 1,007) says of him: *cujus invicta virtus sola pietate superata est*. Another (1,014) styles him *sanctissimus*. Julia Mæsa (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,515, and Eckhel, vii. 249), and the wives of Gordian III. (Orelli, No. 977), of Philip (C. I. L., iii. 3,718), of Gallienus (Orelli, No. 1,010), are *sanctissimæ*. Victorina, mother of the usurper Victorinus, is called *piissima* (*ibid.*, No. 1,017). I am aware that *sanctus* in classic Latin signifies pure, chaste, inviolate; but I believe that in the third century the idea of sanctity was added. The imperial house, *domus divina* (in an inscription of the year 202, Wilmanns, 985), affirmed its pagan faith the more in proportion as that was attacked by the Christians. The word *sacer* will become synonymous with imperial, and will soon be applied to all the functions which devolve on a prince. The cities and individuals do as the princes: the curiæ of Lyons (Boissieu, pp. 24, 80, 160), of Volcei (Mommson, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 218), etc., are called *ordo sanctissimus*, that of Brixia (C. I. L., v. 4,192) is *piissimus*. The same qualifying epithets are found in the third century in many inscriptions of unimportant persons, for instance, on the monumental slabs of Carthage.

⁴ The *Lives* of *Pythagoras*, by Porphyry and Iamblichus, are as marvellous as that of *Apollonius*, by Philostratus. They were not written as yet, but the legends already circulated everywhere.

determining his nature, his attributes and will. All eminent minds joined in the quest of the divine: some by the way of Christianity, others by the neo-platonic school in which the philosophic effort of the pagan world had resulted. Thus, under the passing breeze, the ears of the ripening harvest bow in the same direction.

This condition of minds is susceptible of explanation. After centuries of combat, which had won for itself the earth and its wealth, Roman society had for two succeeding centuries feasted in pleasures and become surfeited with delights. Seneca, Epictetus, and the moralists of the Antonine epoch have pictured it to us, wearied with the long travail for its grandeurs and arriving at satiety, at disdain of the useful and the real. All the great motives were gone. In this Empire, too vast to be one's country, the lofty sentiment which had inspired the hearts of the citizens of former times had now no sustenance: hence there was no patriotism for the Empire. Nor was there any political life. The grand stream of poetry which Greece had poured forth to the world had dried up in traversing the Roman wastes: the artists were mechanics, the poets arrangers of words; the Virgil of the time, Oppianus of Syria, sang of the chase.¹ Nothing of that which only a century before constituted the fulness of life now filled the void of their souls. This people, violent when in action, sat down and dreamed.

Besides, around them the world seemed to be growing old;² on all sides the horizon will soon be threatening: without, the barbarians are becoming formidable; within, continual revolutions, of which Rome will no longer be the sole theatre and victim; everywhere the economy of life profoundly disturbed and the State foundering. Confronted by such misfortunes, which seemed the penalty of its past happiness, this society so long tranquil and joyous gave itself up to more serious thoughts: it had the anticipation of death which besets old age. In the time of Septimius Severus, without reckoning the jurists, pagans and Christians produce only philosophers and religious writers or theurgists: for

¹ A writer without taste or originality, who must not be confounded with another writer of the same name, Oppianus of Cilicia, author of the *Halieutica* or marine fishery, who lived under Marcus Aurelius, and whose work, in 3,506 Greek verses, is one of our best didactic poems. See Bourquin, *la Chasse et la pêche dans l'antiquité*, 1878.

² This is an expression of S. Cyprian to Demetrius, *sensuisse jam mundum*.

the first, Ammonius Saccas, Plotinus, Porphyry, with the subtle doctrines discovered by them in that higher world of mind which Plato had laid open; for the second, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and Cyprian among the Latins, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen among the Greeks—six men who, in other times, would have been the honour of profane literature and who have continued to be the glory of the Church.

Religion as a sentiment will ever elude the grasp of science, because it is indestructible; besides, the two do not pertain to the same world, and do not proceed in the same manner in the formation of ideas. But science may inflict incurable wounds on established creeds; the Roman society not possessing it, the supernatural had preserved its power, and a religious reaction had swept away the superficial scepticism of the philosophers, as would have been the case with that of our eighteenth century had it not found an auxiliary in "the satanic sciences." From Lucretius to Lucian many had doubted; from Athens to Alexandria, from Rome to Jerusalem, all now believe: here, in the God-man of the Christian faith or in the *hypostases* of the Alexandrians; there, in the ancient deities who retained their place in the sanctuaries, or in the new gods which the East was continually giving to the Romans.

In speaking thus, we of course leave out of account the crowd which follows without thinking—that which Lucian in his *Jupiter Tragedus* has called "the vile mob"—to consider those who think and who, even under the tunic of the slave, conduct themselves like Epictetus and Blandina. These are the elect souls who influence others and by whom moral revolutions are accomplished; they are consequently those who must be studied.

Those who are styled the Alexandrians attempted an impossible compromise between religion and science; between the spirit of ancient Greece and the Oriental spirit, they would have wished to believe and to know; commencing with dialectics, which can furnish only abstractions incomprehensible to the vulgar, they ended with mysticism, that is to say, in the midst of clouds, where the multitude could not follow them. With reference to the great question of the divine unity, for instance, they arrived at an abstract and sterile conception, a being for ever separate from the world. While the God of the Christians is seen, touched, and enters into daily

communion with man, their god is without form, attributes, or name; he is the *unnameable*, he is even without intelligence, for intelligence, which supposes a division between the subject comprehending and the object comprehended, would forbid admitting the absolute unity of being in itself. "The gods are impassive," says Porphyry, "and cannot be turned aside by invocations, expiations, or prayers, . . . since what is impassive can be neither moved nor constrained." This was the god of Epicurus, devoid of hate, without love and without power: and, it must also be said, that of Plato in the *Philebus*, and still more that of Aristotle, dwelling apart from the world which he ignores.

As the Christian has the Trinity, three persons in one God, they have their three hypostases, in which we may see the absolute principle of the Eleatics, the *demiourgos* of Plato, and the god of Aristotle, *immovable motor* of the world: and of these they essayed to form a divine unity.¹ But that which is profound is obscure, and the people pay no regard to it. This Unity which thinks itself without producing, this Intelligence which comprehends the world and does not make it, this Movement which gives life and cannot have cognizance of it, what is this, in its effect upon the multitudes, when placed by the side of Jehovah whom Moses saw face to face, of the Holy Spirit who descends in tongues of fire upon the heads of the apostles; what is it, above all, when compared with Christ who treads the rugged pathways of life, enduring all the miseries, all the griefs of humanity; who at Golgotha ransoms it with his blood; who in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea rends the stone of his sepulchre to teach men that they, like him, are immortal as well in their flesh as in their spirit?

Thus, to escape the anthropomorphism which had been the ruin of the pagan religions, the Alexandrians had suffered themselves

¹ The idea of the Trinity is one of the oldest beliefs of humanity. It is found in Egypt, in Chaldea, among the Etruscans, the Scandinavians, the Germans, and strange monuments exhibit it to us in the Gallic triads. This myth consisted in the conception of a god unique in his essence, without being unique in his person. "This god," says Maspero (*Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, p. 28), speaking of the Egyptian triad, "is *father*, simply because he *is*, and the power of his nature is such that he *begets eternally* without ever becoming enfeebled or exhausted. . . . He is at once the *father*, the *mother*, the *son*. Begotten of God, born of God, without issuing from God, these three persons are God in God, and so far from dividing the unity of the divine nature, all three contribute to his infinite perfection."

to be led by dialectics to an impersonal God, having no relation with the earth. But it had indeed been necessary that from this abode of the absolute, of immobility and consequently of death, they should again come down to the world of life; and they returned with allegories and symbols to produce a revival of popularity for the old mythology, which had lost even the poetry of ruins.

Their moral tone is elevated, their life was pure, they had restored to a position of honour the Pythagorean abstemiousness, and they had institutes in which the most austere rules of monastic observances were enforced. "When the soul came forth from the hand of God," said they, "it was a fall which must be redeemed by holy acts. The work regarded as especially pious consists in conquering the body, the principle of all the passions, the gross garment in which the soul is captive. Let it, at least in this prison, lead an angelic life, *βίος ἀγγελικὸς ἐν τῷ σώματι*." "What matters the body to me?" said another: "it is my soul that I shall take away with me when I die." S. Paul was never more harsh towards the body, and Origen, who committed partial suicide, repeated: "Who will deliver me from this wretch?" The spirit of struggle against the flesh is the same on both sides.

And what reward did the Alexandrians promise themselves for these austerities? Annihilation in the infinite Being. "To die is to live," they said with Plato. But this life of an unconscious particle lost in the great All was real death; while faith gave to the Christian the certainty of personal immortality. Besides, they possessed neither a creed having the authority of the divine word, nor an organization to preserve and extend it, nor discipline to maintain its authority. They had a philosophy and sought the higher knowledge of things; they had not a religion, a faith, an absolute rule of conduct and a promise of redemption. Now to move and hold the multitude the most subtle reasonings are useless; feeling and passion are required. These powerful means of acting upon souls were to be found on that road to Calvary marked with the sweat of blood; they were not found in the tranquil gardens of the Academy. This is why humanity deserted one of these ways for the other, in which, nevertheless, for the same reasons some will long continue to walk.

It was the very year of the accession of Severus that Ammonius Saccas, or the porter, opened that school of Alexandria which for two centuries disputed with Christianity the spiritual supremacy. When Plotinus had heard him he exclaimed, "This is the man whom I have been seeking." He was far superior to him and was the veritable founder of that school at once rational and mystical, which, combining contrary principles, could never exert the victorious influence of a simple and ardent faith. Being eclectics, the Alexandrians accepted everything on condition of interpreting all things. Priests, philosophers, and poets seemed to them to murmur the same thought in different tongues, and this broad comprehensiveness rendered them at the same time superstitious and sceptical. Being logicians, they placed above reason the dangerous faculty of illumination or ecstasy, in which man believes he participates in the divine intelligence and sees that which reason is unable to show. Being idealists, with their God inaccessible and solitary above the summits of human thought, they became pantheists by their system of emanations, which made of all beings—bodies or spirits—"an effluence of the divine substance," as light is an irradiation from the sun. And it is by prayer, by love, that they lift up themselves to this absolute, incomprehensible, ineffable being, from whom everything proceeds and to whom all returns. Faith, according to these strange dialecticians, is far superior to all human wisdom. It leads to theurgy, and that to supernatural inspiration, to ecstasy, which is the ideal of the pagan devotees, because "in ecstasy," said Plotinus, "man possesses all good and lacks nothing; he feels neither pain nor death." We shall find the same words again in the mouth of Tertullian, and the same sentiment in the martyrs. The Alexandrians then are in many points akin to the Christians. S. Augustine has recognized this; but on coming out of the ecstasy of their subtle reasonings the former fell back into bleak allegories, the latter into living reality.

Porphyry, the successor of Plotinus, formulating the Platonic doctrine of demons, admits souls intermediate between the Trinity and man, *archontes* representing the forces of nature, angels, divine messengers bearing to heaven our prayers and bringing down gifts of grace, even baleful genii who impel us to evil. Later, the school will pretend to become a Church: Iamblichus, and Proclus,

who will style himself "the priest of nature," will be visionaries or thaumaturgists performing miracles, and a rivalry will spring up between these men who contend for the world. A great work of Porphyry against Christianity was the signal of the war to the death which Diocletian declared against it; but Constantine burned the books of the philosopher,¹ and Proclus was obliged to escape by voluntary exile the persecution of the Christian emperors.

This school, which is called that of Alexandria, was scattered over the entire surface of the Roman world, since Plotinus taught



Christ and the Twelve Apostles.²

in Rome, Porphyry in Sicily, Amelius in Syria, others at Ephesus, at Pergamus, and at Athens, where their disciples struggled to the last moment against Christianity. It was a noble effort of religious philosophy and its adepts deserve respect for their pure morality. They exhibit, in certain respects, what we shall find among the Christians: contempt of the body and of earth, divine love, union with God by ecstasy and all the mystic ardour. Singular condition of souls, which is the moral characteristic of that age of

¹ See, in the *Cod. Just.*, i. 1, 3, 3, a constitution of the year 449 which condemns all books contrary to the doctrine of Nicæa and Ephesus to be burnt, and decrees the penalty of death against those who preserve or read them. Justinian (*Nov.*, xlii. 1, § 2) renewed these penalties, and this abominable legislation lasted fourteen centuries. The triumph of the Mussulman theologians in the thirteenth century also resulted in the persecution of the philosophers. The progress of Arab civilization was checked, and night overspread that East, whence, for three centuries, had gleamed a quickening light which brought back life to the West. (See G. Dugat, *Hist. des philosophes et des théologiens musulmans*, 1878.)

² Martigny, *Dict. des Antiquités chrétiennes*, p. 54. Bottom of a glass bearing this legend: *Petrus cum tuis omnes clares* (hilaris) *pie xses* (a Greek word taken from the verb ζᾶω, to live). This mixture of the two languages was not uncommon.

the world, and which can be terminated only by a religious revolution! But it is not to the profit of the Alexandrians that this revolution will be effected. "You bring nothing new," they said to the Christians, "unless it be your contempt of the gods and of philosophy." They spoke truly. But this very contempt was that which was to assure victory to the members of the new alliance, to the redeemed of Christ. Let us turn then to these, since the future is theirs.¹

II.—TRANSFORMATION OF THE MESSIANIC IDEA.

In the midst of the confusion of systems and rites Christianity had already, in the time of Severus, made for itself a large place. Born in a country which had been for centuries condemned to every misery, it proceeded at once from despair and from hope. Since the captivity the Jews had always awaited the mighty hand which should restore the house of David. But, in face of this Roman Empire which was for them impregnable, the Messianic idea had been compelled to undergo a transformation. Cursing the present, they had directed their gaze into the future, in the only direction by which, as it now seemed to them, this future could arrive, toward the heaven which would raise up a Messiah saviour. The conqueror of the earth, vainly expected, had given place to the conqueror of souls: the new Jerusalem became a celestial Jerusalem.

The masters of the Roman world gained nothing by the transformation of Jewish ideas into Christian, by this new conception of the expected Messiah. The prophets had announced to all the mighty that they should fall under the sword of Israel; the sibyl and S. John condemned them to perish, with their gods of wood and their magnificent luxury, in the flames kindled by the wrath divine, while the conquerors of demons received the promise of immortality.² Yet, in a political point of view, this promise disengaged Christianity, in the first phase of its existence, from all

¹ On the school of Alexandria, see the two learned books of MM. Simon and Vacherot, and the more recent one of Zeller, *die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*.

² Lactantius (*Div. Inst.*, iii. 12) terminates his search for the sovereign good by these words: *Id vero nihil aliud potest esse quam immortalitas*.

earthly ambition. It seems as if the propagation of it, with its principles of human equality and community of goods among the disinherited classes, must have introduced the spirit of revolt. But by a fatal exaggeration of the doctrines of indifference, taught for two centuries by all the philosophies,¹ the primitive church added to its fundamental dogma of redemption contempt for the present life.

Pre-occupied with heaven and the rewards in reserve for his



Jesus between two Apostles in the Attitude of Adoration.²

faith, the Christian did not envy the prosperous on earth their riches and their enjoyments. He left the things of earth as he found them, because existence here below was to him only a life of trial, the earliest termination of which would be the best, while the other, that beyond the tomb, was the true life and ardently desired. "Let him fear to die whom hell awaits," said S. Cyprian, "but the Christian inhabiting a house whose walls are tottering and whose roof is trembling, passenger on board a vessel which

¹ Indifference to civic duties and disdain for the good things of this world were the lessons given by the new Academy and Zeno, by Pyrrho and Epicurus. "Christianity will combine all these dislikes, will show itself still more disdainful of political action, will preach indifference with greater ardour, will crown all its contempt by despising the very philosophy which had already taught to despise all the rest, and, the better to take souls captive on earth, will offer to them only the good which is not of this world." (Martha, *Lucrece*, p. 200.)

² After a sarcophagus at Arles which serves as altar-front in the church of S. Trophimus. Christ seated upon a *scabellum*, his head surmounted by the cruciform monogram, is giving the law (in the form of an unrolled volume) to the two apostles. Cf. E. Le Blant, *Études sur les sarcophages de la ville d'Arles*, pl. xxvii. and p. 44.

the waves are about to engulf, why should he not bless the hand which, hastening his departure, restores him to heaven, his own country?"¹ Christianity did not change then the conditions of life, but it changed the conditions of death; and this new solution of the terrible problem was of itself the greatest of revolutions.

Despite the temptation which always exists to demand of death its secret, the ancients had contented themselves with admitting, without a great deal of metaphysics, a vague existence beyond the grave.² In those old days life was rude; to lose it was often to gain rest and peace, *requiem æternam*, and the Church repeats it still. It is the time when Greece represents death under the form of a beautiful child fallen asleep, whose drooping hand held an inverted torch. But mind becomes developed; conscience is enlightened and projects gleams of light into the darkness of the tomb. Thither justice is made to descend, which society, in becoming civilized, seeks to establish upon the earth. Rewards for the good are placed there, and chastisements for the wicked, as is the case in the Forum before the prætor; and that judgment of the dead which Homer reserved for the heroes is extended to all men. The city of shades is peopled, enlarged, and civilized, like the city of men. The life elysian is submitted to the moral laws of recompense, and its pleasures, retraced on funeral monuments, continue those of the life on earth. It is to this point of equality between the two existences that the Græco-Roman philosophy had brought the eschatology of the pagans.

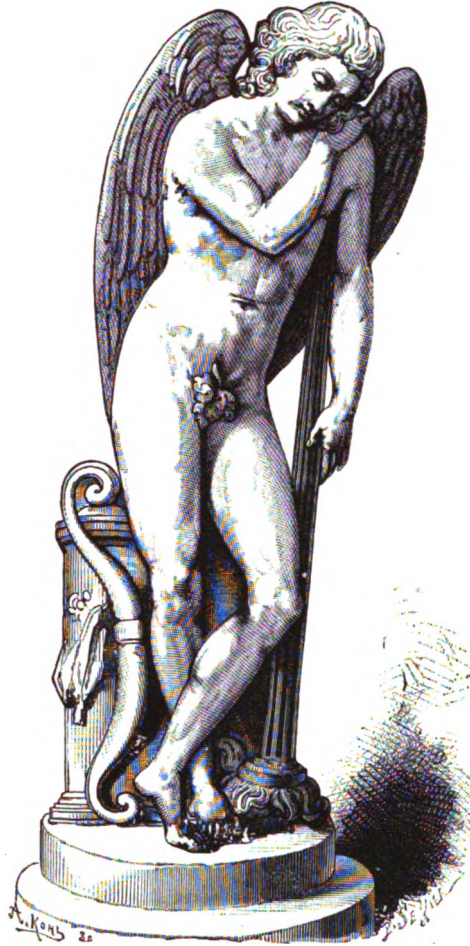
But the movement once begun does not stop. The development of religious thought pursues its course, and the equilibrium between the two existences is reversed: heaven prevails over earth, the

¹ *De Mortalitate*, 25.

² To the present day, man has been able to find but three solutions to the problem of death. The soul, the vital spark, returns and loses itself in the centre of universal life: this is the *Nirvâna* of India and indifference to personal existence; or it goes to enjoy with delight the same pleasures which it has made use of upon earth: this is the love of physical life, the Græco-Roman and Mussulmanic solution; or else, in an eternal rapture, it will contemplate God face to face: this is divine love, but also a sort of annihilation in God. Science fashions a different dream: since nothing is lost, thought must subsist as force; separated from the body, its imperfect organ, it will endure, and intelligence will arrive at the knowledge of all things. This will be for humanity that which takes place in the individual: the need of knowing succeeding the need of loving. But perfect science is the perfect knowledge of the true, the good, and the beautiful, that is, of God himself, and unto that he will attain in the higher life who shall have made the greatest effort to approach to it in the present life.

future life over the present—the latter, condemned and cursed; the former, glorified and awaited with impatience.

After having sought for God, as it were blindfold, in the religions of Greece, Phrygia, Egypt, and Phœnicia, the Romans had seen coming to them a new God who went to the hearts of the refined and the afflicted. There were many souls whom the gross naturalism of the official religion offended, and in spite of the mitigation of servitude, slavery was still to this society a bleeding wound in its side. And now, behold hope is brought to these "desperate classes," as Pliny calls them.¹ But not that of earth. The old abode which sunlight and life once made so beautiful, has become the vale of tears which the divine vengeance is about to fill with lamentations; and the



Genius of Sleep or of Death.²

¹ *Coli rura ab ergastulis pessimum est et quidquid agitur a desperantibus.* We have seen what was the condition of the *humiliores*, and for the immense class of the freedmen, the constitution of Commodus. (See above, p. 129.) In the middle of the third century Origen regarded as an honour to Christianity the reproach which Celsus and the pagan of the *Octavius* made against it, of recruiting itself among men of low condition. "Yes," said he, "we go to all those disdained by philosophy—to the woman, to the slave, even to the robber." In doing so the Christians were faithful to the pure doctrine of the Master, who became so great only because he loved the little ones. In the fourth century S. Jerome said again: *Ecclesia Christi de vili plebecula congregata est* (*Opera*, iv. 289, ed. of 1693). The paintings of the catacombs prove the very humble condition of the artists and of the dead who had ordered them.

² Oxford, *Marm. Oxon.*, pl. 15. See vol. v. p. 280, the Genius of Death of the Louvre.

pious souls shall dwell eternally. "The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven. . . . They shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And He shall send forth His angels . . . and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. . . . Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished."

The generation passed and the earth was not rent asunder. But the sibyl and the prophets of the *Apocalypse* constantly renewed the fearful menace, which was a promise of endless torments for the haughty masters of the earth and of eternal bliss for their victims.¹ These unfortunate men, says a writer of the time, speaking of the Christians, fancying to themselves that they are immortal, despise punishments and voluntarily give themselves up to death.² The love of heaven led them to hatred of earth; they henceforth had before their eyes only God and Eternity, with their tremendous majesty.

The true character of the revolution which took place in the obscure depths of Roman society is in this new view of our destiny much more than in moral reform, since humanity had already, as we have shown,³ been put in possession of all the precepts which serve to regulate this world's existence. Life was purified, but became gloomy in the living tomb, where those confined it who pushed this revolution to its logical consequences, and the Roman magistrates, not being able to see beyond its outward manifestations, found in them the two things which form the grand drama of persecutions: contempt of society and its laws, which raised up executioners, and love of death, which made victims.

The hatred of the flesh which the ancient Jews had not known, but which philosophy taught, this aspiration after death, so contrary to the conception which paganism had formed of life,

¹ S. Matthew, xxiv. 29-34; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vii. 9.

² Lucian, *Peregrinus*, 13. See in vol. v. p. 215, what Marcus Aurelius said of the Christians. Epictetus, Galen, and the advocate of paganism in the *Octavius* say the same.

³ In vol. v. chap. "The Spirit of the Age." M. Reuss, in his *Histoire de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, says very justly (p. 650): "The main point is that the originality of the Gospel does not so much consist in the novelty of certain dogmas or of certain moral precepts as in the novelty of the basis which it gives to the religious life."

could not have been produced except in a small number of stricken and suffering souls. But the heaven resplendent with light, which Christianity opened to their gaze; its teachings, which addressed themselves to the noblest instincts of the conscience; the penetrating sweetness of the parables and the grand poem of the Passion, won all those in whom were found the two most potent faculties of our being—sentiment and imagination. And, along with these allurements, what terrors were prepared by these men whose words appropriated the terrible beauty of the prophetic singers of the old dispensation or the apocalyptic threatenings of the new!—when they announced the speedy coming of the last days; when they portrayed empires destroyed, worlds reduced to dust, the trumpet of the judgment resounding in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and man endowed with eternity, either for happiness or for tortures!

Never had the world known such sanctions of moral action,¹ and they were produced at an epoch when the unvarying order of nature was regarded as the plaything of angels and demons who hovered about man, scattering his pathway with temptations or prodigies which he beheld with the eyes of a spirit dazzled by faith or fear.

Under Diocletian a farce was played entitled, *The Testament of the Defunct Jupiter*; we know only its title, but a poet of our day has represented the god, who had so long made heaven and earth quake with his thunderbolts, as broken down with age, decrepit, yet with a remnant of majesty, and banished far from mankind on a desert island, where he tries in vain to warm his shrunken hands before a pitiful fire of briers and thorns. The poet and the philosopher, who know how to estimate the grandeur of the fall, have at least a word of compassion for the outcasts of heaven; religions, less generous, pursue with lively hatred those whom they have conquered; they take from them their power for good and give them that for evil. The Christians still believed in the existence of the gods of paganism and in the prodigies performed in their temples; but they transformed these masters of

¹ The *Apocalypse* has created a new kind of oratory, by placing at the disposal of the Christian priest the terrors of hell and the bliss of paradise. Paganism never had anything like this.

the old world into demons infuriated for the destruction of the new. To conduct this war against humanity they gave to these fallen divinities a chief whom no one had as yet known, except among the Chaldeans, in Persia, and to some extent in Judæa.¹ Satan, who was going to play so important a part in the Middle Ages, commenced his reign; he turned to evil the most legitimate pleasures, concealed a snare in all the magnificence of nature, and spread terror over the earth, now become his kingdom. That which is within us—these frailties and vices which an energetic will keeps in restraint, which a vacillating will suffers to develop—this was made external and the universe filled with malignant beings who were really but part of ourselves. Humanity saw its *double*, and trembled before it; and the Christian who believed himself surrounded by temptations pernicious to his safety, said with S. John: "He that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal."²

This doctrine of despair is as living as that of hope, because humanity will always have its woes and its diseased minds who can see only the sorrows of existence, and will never comprehend a Providence which permits evil to fall upon the innocent. For many centuries the votaries of Çâkyamuni have taught in the East to countless multitudes that life is an evil, and the Alexandrians had just repeated that one ought to aspire to death as to deliverance.³ The books of the Jews had also uttered this melancholy cry, which finds response in one of the chords of the human soul: "All is vanity;" and this cry has found echoes in all times: in the Middle Ages, in the full tide of the century of Louis XIV., and even in the midst of our clamorous and busy life. We have the poets and philosophers of malediction, Leopardi and Hartmann,⁴ at the same time that the Carthusians and the

¹ Satan is hardly mentioned thrice in the Old Testament. The book of *Wisdom*, in which he appears in his true character, was written shortly before the Christian era at Alexândria. [This is not true in the case of Job.—*Ed.*]

² xii. 25. These words are still according to the spirit of the Church and are frequently repeated. I heard them recently in a sermon.

³ The singular analogies which exist between the doctrine of Plotinus and the Buddhist *Nirvâna* have frequently been pointed out; fortuitous analogies which do not result from imitation, but from the same condition of spirits.

⁴ Without mentioning René, Werther, and Manfred, which have brought into fashion a morbid sadness which their originators, Chateaubriand, Goethe, and Byron, did not share. I hardly dare mention the strange sect of the Russian Skoptzi which proceeds from this spirit.

Trappists represent to us, under a religious form; weariness or ignorance of the world, the spirit of hatred towards the flesh, and that poetry of solitude at once bitter and sweet. To them, whether philosophers or recluses, the sombre bride is always beautiful, and, from contrary reasons, they find sweetness in death: *la gentillezza del morir*.

III.—THE CHRISTIAN DOGMAS.

However, thoughts like these do violence to human nature, and though the Roman Empire might extend to those countries where exertion and the struggle for existence easily become a source of suffering, the doctrine of rest in God would have had, amongst the more virile populations of the West, only a transient duration, if the beliefs which had produced it had not been, so to speak, incarnated in the most strongly constituted sacerdotal body which ever existed. With a marvellous instinct for the government of souls, and by means of a labour of organization which has never ceased, the Church restrained and gave stability to that faith which, without her, would have been dispersed and lost, like precious perfume which evaporates.

With the Platonic theory of the *Logos*, or of the Holy Spirit sent by Jesus to his disciples, the revelation could continue after the disappearance of the revealer. In proportion then as life became more active in the Church, she prepared, according to the times, new organs for new functions, to ward off a peril or respond to a demand. This is the condition of every great and powerful system. The primitive Church, that of the apostolic age, had become transformed. All that had been free and spontaneous, or vague and fluctuating—doctrine, hierarchy, or discipline—was precisely formulated and set in order for a mighty endeavour.¹ The Catholics refuse to recognize this progressive

¹ Vol. v. p. 736 *et seq.*: *S. John*, xiv. 16, 26, and xvi. 13. See in *1 Cor.*, xiv. 26, what liberty S. Paul allowed to "those who had received the gift of teaching or of revealing the secret things of God." The constitutions of the Church of Alexandria (Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. vi. yet say (ii. 41): *ἔχωμεν πάντες τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. The propagation of the faith was "by the living word." J. Donaldson (*The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. i. p. 60, 1874), commenting on the words of Irenæus, well says: "In fact, there was a spoken Christianity as well as a written Christianity. The former existed before the latter." And he attempts to

revolution, and the Protestants condemn it; yet it is by this that the Church has endured. What are the longest dynasties of kings and emperors by the side of the succession of her pontiffs, and what institution has lived eighteen centuries? We do not consider that of all the miracles this is the greatest: human wisdom rearing a temple in which the noblest minds have lived so long and which shelters so many still.

In the first and second centuries evangelical liberty was very great and it was gradually lost.¹ Most of the apologists of the epoch of the Antonines did not even belong to the clergy, and Eusebius² shows that for a long time there were volunteers for the faith who spread abroad the glad tidings according to their own inspiration. From this resulted diversities which at an early date produced what the constituted Church called heresies.

The apostles and the apostolic Fathers had taught, with some discrepancies which are lost in their remoteness, the fundamental doctrine of the divinity of Christ and consequently a revealed law. This law was recorded in numerous accounts of the life of Jesus, which had at first only a traditional value.³ To the early Fathers the Holy Scriptures were above all the Pentateuch and the Prophets; even in the middle of the second century, Papias, bishop

demonstrate what were the faith and the free constitution of the Church at this time when free speech was not fettered by the written formula, and when each body of Christians was independent under its *elders and inspectors*.

¹ Letter 72 of S. Cyprian to S. Stephen, bishop of Rome, closes with these words: *Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus aut legem damus, quando habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.*

² *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 37. What is termed the Council of Jerusalem (*Acts*, chap. xv.) had itself, on some important points, respected the liberty of the faithful.

³ Donaldson, *The Apost.*, etc., pp. 68, 107, 155, 234, etc. Origen attests (*in Matth.*, xii. 6) that some Christians did not find the divinity of Christ clearly expressed in the Gospel of *S. Matthew*, and Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 126, addresses the same reproach to S. Clement of Rome for his epistle to the Corinthians, in which Jesus is nowhere called God, but the beloved child of God, the high priest, the head of souls. The pseudo Hermas speaks in the same manner. See also the words of S. Peter (i. 2, 25), which are not contradicted by the *Acts* (ii. 36). Cf. Clemens Romanus, *Epist.*, ed. Hilgenfeld, 1876, after the manuscript discovered the year before at Constantinople. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, iii. 34) gives the date of Clement's death as A.D. 101. The idea of a Messiah was exceedingly Jewish, that of a God become man was not so, and it is quite natural that in the early times it should have entered with great difficulty into the minds of the Jews converted to the Gospel; this was the case, for instance, with Cerinthus, the famous heresiarch, whom certain accounts place in communication with S. John. S. Ignatius, dying under Trajan, had combated the Ebionites, who denied the divinity of Jesus (*Ep. ad Magn.*, 7-8; *ad Philad.*, 6-9), and the Docetæ, who rejected his humanity (*Ep. ad Smyrn.*, 1-5; *ad Trall.*, 6-10).

of Hierapolis in Phrygia, then said that it was far less important to consult the books than living tradition.¹ But before the end of this century the choice between all these accounts was made, and the apostolic authority had been recognized in the three synoptics into which the oldest writings had been cast,² and in the Gospel of S. John, though composed later and differing from the three others on an essential point, the doctrine of the *Word*. This doctrine, which the Alexandrian Jew Philo had brilliantly enunciated, was related to some ancient Egyptian beliefs, and at the same time to certain ideas of Plato. By giving rise in philosophic minds to the boldest speculations, it was destined to serve as a foundation for the Christian theology which made of the Messiah the *incarnate Word*, while the synoptics supplied to the ordinary preaching, to attract the multitude, the tender and charming chapters of the parables, or the sombre and sublime one of the Passion. The Acts and the Epistles had likewise been admitted, so that the canon of the Scriptures was nearly determined, though no authority had as yet closed or promulgated it.³ The Church,

¹ . . . τὰ κατὰ ζωῆς φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 39. Irenæus (iii. 2) also said: *non per litteras traditam veritatem, sed per vivam vocem*. According to Eusebius (*ibid.*), Papias could only have known and employed the Gospels of Mark and of Matthew, of which he speaks with great liberty, the Apocalypse, the first Epistle of Peter, and the first of John. A very important work for the knowledge of the canon of the Scriptures towards the end of the second century is the *Fragment* called that of *Murator*, discovered in 1840 at Milan. [The best general guide is now G. Salmon's *Critical Introduction to the N. T.* J. Murray, 1885.—*Ed.*]

² S. Luke, in *proem.*, says πολλοὶ ἐπιχείρησαν.

³ I do not need to investigate as to when and how the canonical books were prepared: a multitude of learned works may furnish information on this subject. My duty is to show what were the spirit and the organization of the Church at the epoch when its power was sufficiently great to enable it to exert an influence on Roman society and the destinies of the Empire. Now this epoch corresponds to the reign of Severus. Under Marcus Aurelius, Celsus (Origen, *Contra Cels.*, ii. 27) at that time represented the Christians as continually occupied in correcting and altering their Gospels, . . . *mutant pervertuntque*, and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, iv. 23, and v. 28) confirms this testimony. Origen, who died in 253, in fact says (*Hom. 1, in Luc.*): *Multi conati sunt scribere Evangelica*, but he adds, *sed non omnes recepti*. There was then, in the first and second centuries, a great work of editing, co-ordinating, and eliminating, which resulted in an evangelical canon. At the time of Tertullian (beginning of the third century), the canon was fixed, for he speaks (*ad Marcionem*, iv. 2) of the four Gospels "of the apostles Matthew and John" and the "apostolic men" Luke and Mark, as forming the "evangelical instrument" accepted in his time. So also S. Irenæus, who was put to death under Severus (*Adv. hæc.*, iii. 11), and Clement of Alexandria, who died under Caracalla or Elagabalus (*Strom.*, iii. 13); but both quote freely from the Apocrypha; Origen thinks "it may be used with discretion." (*Hom. 26 in Matth.*, 23.) The author of the *Letters* of S. Ignatius regards the Gospel of the Hebrews as an authentic text (*ad Smyrn.*, 3); S. Irenæus mentions also the

therefore, had its holy book, the New Testament, less poetical than the Old, but far superior as a winner of souls.

Finally, Theophilus of Antioch had just found a word which is not in the Gospels, the word Trinity,¹ a brief and clear description of the dogma which the Council of Nicæa will put into exact language by determining the relations of the three divine persons;²



Nativity of Christ, after a Marble in the Museum of the Lateran.
(Roller, *les Catac. de Rome*, pl. lxxvii. No. 2.)

and S. Irenæus wrote, between the years 177 and 192, the Catholic profession of faith in almost the same terms that we read in the doctrinal formulæ of 325.³ But all the faithful did not attach the same importance to these obscure dogmas. In the fourth century, Lactantius, one of the most valiant defenders of the Church, understood them so imperfectly that Pope Gelasius placed his works among the apocrypha; later still, Gregory Nazianzen will show what uncertainty existed with regard to the Holy Spirit.⁴

Acts, the *Epistles*, and the *Apocalypse*. S. Justin, half a century earlier, never cites the *Epistles* and very rarely the fourth Gospel, the authenticity of which was still under discussion. Even in the middle of the third century Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, does not know who is the author of the *Apocalypse*, and is not without some distrust of the value of this book. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, vii. 25.) "Peter," says Origen (*ap. Eusebius, ibid.*, vi. 25), "has left but one epistle which is generally received. . . . John has also left one very short epistle. . . . As to the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, my belief is that God alone knows who is its author." The authenticity of the Pauline epistles to Titus and Timothy is also much contested.

¹ *Τριάς* (*ad Autolyc.*, ii. 15), which Tertullian translated by the Latin word *Trinitas* (*de Pudicitia*, 21).

² On this old trinitarian belief, which is found to be fundamental in the Gospels, particularly in that of S. John, see p. 154, note. Theophilus was bishop of Antioch and died in the reign of Commodus.

³ *Adv. hæres.*, i. 10; likewise Tertullian in the *de Præscr.*, 18, and, less at length, in the *de Velandis Virg.*

⁴ Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.*, xxxi. *Spiritus sancti negat substantiam*, says S. Jerome (*Epist.*, 49), with reference to Lactantius, and he adds that he displays more power to combat error than to establish truth. (*Epist.* 13, *ad Paulin.*)

Thus, at the epoch where we take up the history of the Church, the close of the second century, Christian theology had made a brilliant beginning; it was Greek genius which had done this by the mouth of Ignatius and Irenæus, of Justin and Athenagoras, of Tatian and Theophilus, of Melito of Sardis and



The Agapæ (after a Bas-relief of the Kircher Museum). (Roller, pl. liv. fig. 7.)

Apollinarius of Hierapolis; and other Greeks, Clement and Origen, will develop it in the third, in the great school of Alexandria.¹

The fraternal agapæ had at first been only a remembrance of the Last Supper and a transformation of the great feast of the Jews, the Passover, at which the paschal lamb was eaten in commemoration of the miraculous exodus of the Hebrews, when they escaped from the bondage of Egypt. The increasing number of believers changed their character; they became the mystic repast which derived its name, *εὐχαριστία*, from the acts of grace pronounced in the benediction of the cup and the breaking of the bread.² For the bloody sacrifice of the old creed, Christianity substituted one of a nature wholly spiritual, like itself, and which also celebrated a deliverance, that of souls.

Sacrifice, that is to say, the gift offered to the gods with the view of gaining their favour, had been the basis of all religions; and the costlier the offering the more efficacious was to be the sacrifice. Hence the immolation of human victims. Time has softened this cruel piety, philosophers have condemned it, and

¹ Τὸ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διδασκαλεῖον (Eusebius, *ibid.*, v. 10).

² On the *eucharistia* in the middle of the second century, see S. Irenæus, *Adv. hæ.*, iv. 18, and S. Justin, *Apol.*, i. 65-67.

emperors have issued edicts against it; but the belief in the merits of sacrifice has not ceased: it has become transformed and purified. The pagan god received the offering and shared it with his adorers;¹ the new God gave himself to his priests and followers. No more shedding of blood, no more flame consuming the victim, no more smoke veiling the face divine. The gifts of the heavenly Father which sustain life upon the earth, the bread, the water, and the wine, became symbols of the communion of men with him. His Spirit was incarnate in Jesus; Jesus, ascended to heaven, became incarnate in the bread and wine consecrated on earth: *hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus*. This was at first only a figure.² As one participated in idolatry by eating the flesh of pagan victims, one participated in the new religious worship by breaking the bread and drinking the cup. But, seeing the condition of minds, the figure must very soon become to the faithful a reality. At the middle of the second century the Eucharist was already "the sacrament of the altar."³ If they were far from believing in transubstantiation, they already admitted consubstantiation, and the mystic sanctity which the Lord's Supper had acquired communicated to the priest who offered the sacrifice a more exalted dignity, with the character of a necessary mediator between heaven and earth.

This character was to come to him in another manner.

Jesus had left only two commands to the apostles: "Preach the Gospel to all the nations, and baptize them." This baptism, which he himself had desired to receive, was a symbol of purification and the condition of salvation.⁴ In early times it pre-supposed on the part of the one who presented himself for it a personal adherence given after receiving instruction, and marked by the profession of the Christian faith. Hence it was administered to adults only: the catechumens of Alexandria waited three years for it.⁵ But the sacramental idea attached especial virtues to it; by it he who was baptized was born again in the spirit.

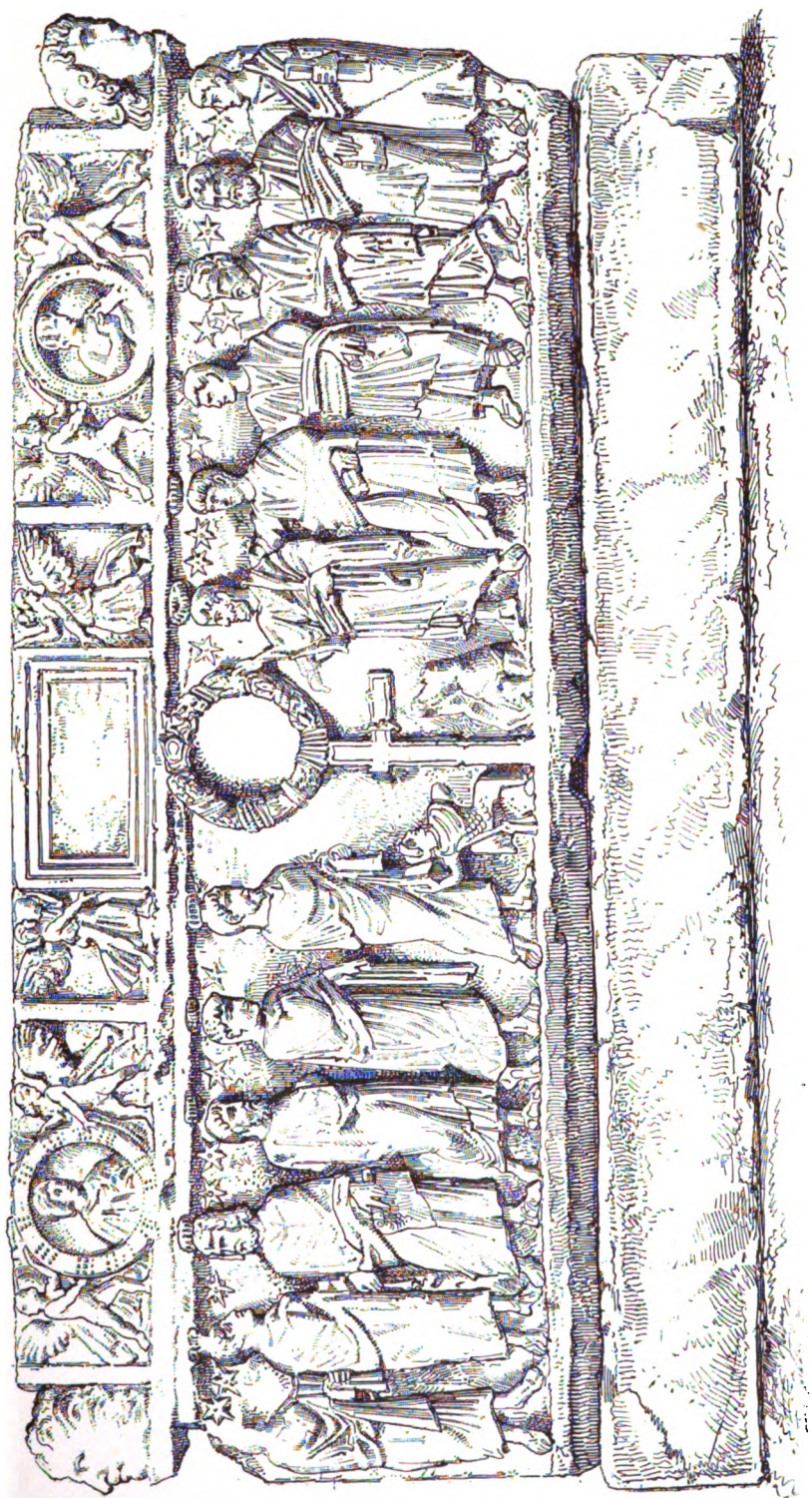
¹ In ancient Italy the repast was always preceded by libations to the Penates.

² The *Acts of the Apostles* (ii. 42, and xx. 7) explain the words of Paul, 1 *Cor.*, x. 16.

³ Ignatius, *ad Rom.*, 7; *ad Smyrn.*, 7; Justin, *Apol.*, i. 66, and Irenæus, *op. cit.*, iv. 18, and v. 2.

⁴ *John*, iii. 5.

⁵ *Κανόνες τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐκκλησίας* (ii. 45, *ap.* Bunsen, vol. iv. pp. 461 *et seq.*).



The Apostles. (Bas-relief of a Sarcophagus of Arles.) (E. Le Blant, *op. cit.*, pl. xiv.)

"Plunged in the darkness of a dense night and drifting at random on the stormy sea of the time, I strayed hither and thither," says S. Cyprian, "without knowing whither to direct my life. Divine goodness caused me to be born again in the saving water of baptism. . . . At once a serene and pure light was shed from on high upon my soul and I became a new man."¹ This efficacy of baptism dispensing with personal adherence, children were admitted to regeneration. This was a noteworthy innovation. The Master had said: *Sinite venire ad me parvulos*; the Church called them and took them. Its action was extended over the beginnings of life, as it watched over the approach of death, and thus it was enabled to keep or recover, in the turbulent hours of youth, those whom it, from their birth, had "enrolled in the army of Christ, *census Dei*."²

Baptism.³

On coming out of the baptismal font the neophyte was clothed with a white robe, symbol of innocence, and he moistened his lips in a vessel of milk and honey, the sweet and pure nourishment of the body and the image of the spiritual food which the Church distributed to all its members.⁴

¹ S. Cyprian, *Ep. ad Donat.* S. Justin (*Apol.*, i. 61) had spoken of this new birth by baptism, and Origen called it "the principle and the source of the gifts of grace" (*in Joann.*, 17).

² After a painting in the crypt of Pope Callistus. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. xxiv. fig. 4. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 131.)

³ Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, 17. Baptism was habitually administered by immersion for those in health, by sprinkling for the sick. This rite was also the foundation of the cultus of Mithra, then widely extended, and it "regenerated for eternity" him who received it; but it was a baptism of blood, giving rise to a hideous ceremony (vol. v. p. 704), which was to keep away women, children, and all sensitive persons. Another baptism of blood, that of the Jews, continued for some time to be practised by the Christian Jews also. The fifteen bishops of Jerusalem down to the destruction of the temple were circumcised. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 5.)

⁴ . . . *mellis et lactis societatem* (Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.*, i. 14).

Jesus had said: "Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them." This was a powerful means of action for the government of souls promised to the new priesthood. At first, the penitent "made unto the Lord"¹ the avowal of his fault in the presence of the believers, and the priests determined the necessary expiation. But it was inevitable that auricular confession should take the place of public confession. The penitent and the priest were equally interested in this change, for the first being only possible in the case of grave offences, the minor ones escaped the action of the Church. With the second, the sinner, especially women,² avoided the shame of humiliation before all the people, and the priest penetrated into the private life of the penitent, which permitted him to direct it better for salvation. If the penitent, in a dying condition, desired to be reconciled to the Church, it was needful that the priest should take the place of the assembly of the brethren at his bedside, and the exception ended by becoming the rule. However, public confession was not interdicted until the middle of the fifth century; but, at that moment, auricular confession, the dawning of which we see in the epoch we are now considering,³ will long since have acquired the power of a sacrament. By the counsels which follow the confession, the priest will assume the direction of the life of the penitents; he will teach them the practice of justice according to the Church, and by the power to bind and to loose, he will make saints destined to sit down at the right hand of God, and the damned whom Satan and his tortures await. The pagan mysteries, too, granted salvation, but by an initiation which was not repeated. In the bosom of the Church the initiation is perpetually renewed, by the eucharistic communion which restores to a state of purity, by the religious teaching which prepares for it, by the sacrament of penitence which brings back the sinner or

¹ . . . *Exomologesis est qua delictum domino nostro confitemur* (Tertullian, *de Penit.*, 9). It is the public confession of which Matthew speaks (iii. 6), Mark (i. 5), and the *Acts*, (xix. 18).

² S. Irenæus (*Adv. hæres.*, i. 3) speaks of women who publicly confessed their faults.

³ Origen, in the second homily upon *Psalms*, xxxvii. 19, in the *Homilia 2 in Levit.*, 4, and in his *De Orat.*, 28, is already more explicit. At this moment, the middle of the third century, the two modes of confession co-exist, but the confession to the priest is already more customary than the confession to the assembly. Cf. the *Octavius*, 9, 10, 11, 12, 25, 26, and 29, and the *de Lapsis*. As to the laying on of hands, that was a Jewish custom.

which turns away for ever the excommunicated, banished at the same time from the Church and from heaven.

Another sacrament arose, or rather an ancient usage was continued after its transformation: extreme unction.¹ This again is merely a prayer of the priests over the sick, the Jewish usage of anointing with oil in the name of the Lord, and the assertion of faith by dying persons.²

The civil law does not favour celibacy, because it renders a



The Agapē, Symbol of the Eucharistic Communion³ (after a Marble of the Lateran).

man free from the obligations of the family, and because the family is the basis of society. But in the East, and even in Greece, certain churches or philosophic sects recommend it. At the period of the ancient fervour, some of the goddesses—Diana, Minerva, Vesta, and the Muses—had repudiated chaste love, and at Athens and Rome, and among the Gauls, the holiest prayers were those of virgins. The apostles and the early Fathers did not impose celibacy; there was, however, a tendency towards it. It was the natural consequence of a doctrine which prescribed

¹ Origen, *Homilia 2 in Levit.*, 2.

² *James*, v. 14–15. Among the Jews perfumed olive oil served for various religious uses (*Genesis*, xxviii. 18, and *Erodus*, xxx. 24–29) and for the anointing of high-priests and kings, for the treatment of diseases and wounds (*Isaiah*, i. 6), for the purification of lepers (*Levit.*, xiv. 17).

³ The genius which occupies the left is foreign to the eucharistic supper. He supports the frame of the epitaph. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. liv. fig. 6.)

mortifying the flesh and renunciation.¹ Already they refused to admit to the episcopate those who had contracted a second mar-



The Virgin.²

riage, and this regulation has been preserved in the Greek Church. In order to hold man at every moment of his life, from the cradle

¹ We find in the early centuries numbers of bishops who are married but live in celibacy. Cæcilius, who converted S. Cyprian, commended to him at his death his wife and children (Fleury, *Hist. eccles.*, ii. p. 173), and during the persecution of Decius, the bishop of Nicopolis, in Egypt, fled to the desert "with his wife." (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, vi. 42.) Some of the records of martyrs relating to the persecution of Diocletian speak of married bishops, and a law of 357 (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 2, 14), confirming the benefits granted by Constantine to the clergy, extended them to their wives and children, *mares et feminae*. The Church recommended continence to the married clergy. (Council of Elvira, 33rd canon; Council of Nicea, 3rd canon.) See in Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, i. 11, the speech of S. Paphnutius in opposition at the Council of Nicea. The same writer mentions (v. 22), at the end of the fourth century, married bishops who had had legitimate children after their ordination.

² After a fresco of the subterranean basilica of S. Clement at Rome. This Virgin, doubtless of the eighth century, is the oldest known after that of the cemetery of Priscilla. The basilica of S. Clement, between the Cælian and the Esquiline, was filled up in the twelfth century for the construction of the present church, and has only been excavated in our day. The Madonna which was buried there has consequently suffered no retouching, and, with its nimbus of gold and its rich drapery overloaded with precious jewels, offers us an authentic specimen of the Byzantine style. (Roller, *op. cit.*, ii. pl. C. and p. 354.)

to the tomb, the Church will make a sacrament of marriage, without being able to deprive it of its fundamental character of a civil contract.¹

The Virgin, who occupies so great a place in the Catholicism of modern times, had very little in the early ages. Mention is made of her with respect, but no worship is rendered to her. With the lapse of time the historic person will become a sacred type. This will not be the case, however, until the second œcumenical council, that of 381, which will place her name in the creed to which the Fathers of Nicæa had not admitted it.

The dogma of the communion and intercession of saints will also not be formulated until the fourth century. "At the altar," S. Augustine says, "we do not make mention of the martyrs in the same manner as we do of the faithful who rest in peace. We do not only pray for them, we entreat them to pray for us."² But a trace of it exists in the third,³ and this was also a necessary consequence.

Thus was formed the grand epic of the Christian religion, as some old klepht's song had become the *Iliad* of Homer, and it was destined to be for a long succession of centuries the consolation and the delight of souls. But the new poet who developed the primitive gift was the Church, or rather those ardent communities, those nocturnal assemblies, whose religious wants increased with the contagion of faith. The ignorant led on the doctors, and they, drawing with full hands from the triple treasure of Biblical poetry, Grecian philosophy, and the Gospel, multiplied the dogmas, enriched the worship, and changed all, thinking to change nothing.

¹ Jesus had said (*Matt.*, xii. 30): "In the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage," and S. Paul accepted mixed unions (1 *Cor.*, vii. 12-26): a doctrine which a council again consecrated in 314. S. Paul (*Ephes.*, v. 32) calls marriage *μυστήριον*, a word which has been too freely translated "sacrament." Among the Romans marriage was a civil contract, indispensable for the constitution of the family, the reciprocal rights of the parties and of their children, and the conditions of which the Church could not of itself change; but she joined to it her prayers and her benediction. The Council of Trent (sess. xxiv.) recognized that in marriage the sacrament had the effect to sanctify the pre-existing contract: *gratiam quæ naturalem illum amorem perficeret . . . conjugesque sanctificaret.*

² *Commemoramus . . . ut etiam pro eis oremus, sed magis ut et ipsi pro nobis* (*Tract.* 84 in *Evang. S. Joann.*).

³ S. Cyprian, *Ep.* 57, *ad finem*. The doctrine of purgatory, which the Evangelists were ignorant of (*S. Luke*, xxvi. 26), was also propounded by S. Augustine.

The ceremonies became more varied, the liturgy, or the regulations of the worship, had not the unity which it has found only in our day; but each church prepared its own.¹ S. Clement, in the century preceding, had spoken of it in his *Epistle to the Corinthians*. This bishop of the city which was the mistress of the world, this *Romanus*, as he is called, had also previously invoked discipline by comparing the Church to the legions of Cæsar in which the chief commands.² His successors will end by inserting the same rules of absolute obedience, and the fruitful liberty of the religious life of the early ages, without which nothing would be founded, will disappear, but to the gain of discipline, without which nothing endures.

At the end of the second century the dogmatic work of the Church was so far advanced that Clement of Alexandria, who wrote under the reign of Severus, sought to co-ordinate its parts into a scientific system constructed with the ordinary processes of human thought. "Faith," said he, "is the science of the divine things of revelation; but science should furnish the demonstration of the things of faith." And he composed the *Stromata*, which without being written with the rigorous method of S. Thomas, are nevertheless a first essay of Christian philosophy. Now it is a sign of force and often of impending victory for ideas, when philosophy takes them up and supplies the general formula for them.

V.—THE HIERARCHY AND DISCIPLINE.

While the Church was establishing order in its internal life, it had been led by the very nature of its propaganda to adopt for its external life an organization to which the strongest political conceptions have never approached.

The Christian communities of the earliest days did not possess any more disciplinary institutions than they had sacraments; each

¹ See in the third volume of the *Analecta Ante-Nicæana* of Bunsen, the fragments of the most ancient liturgies. The first which it cites (p. 21) was used at Alexandria in the time of Origen; and Bunsen does not think that it can be referred back further than the middle of the second century.

² Κατανοήσωμεν τοὺς στρατευομένους τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν εὐτάκτως πῶς εἰκονταί (S. Clement, *ad Corinth.*, 37).

one organized itself after its own will. In the time of S. Paul numbers of brethren were allowed to assume an office or a title in order to retain a greater number by the gratification of a very human sentiment, the wish to be classed apart. We know how fond the fraternities, the cities, and the whole Roman society were of this hierarchal order.¹ "God," says S. Paul, "hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues."² This strange confusion could not last. The Greek cities had *ἐπίσκοποι* or overseers, a kind of *ædiles*, whose duties the *Digest*³ defines as "those who have charge of the bread and food." The first Christian communities seem to have borrowed

The Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul.⁴

this municipal function and its name.⁵ At their head, to preside over their meetings, they placed the one most venerable by age or sanctity, the elder, the *πρεσβύτερος*. Gradually the overseer, who had the principal active duties, rose above the elder, who possessed only the dignity, or rather, the two functions became confounded, in some places from the very first and elsewhere later. S. Paul had overseers or elders and deacons elected in all the churches which he instituted; at the end of the first century S. Clement,⁶

¹ Vol. v. chap. lxxxiii. "The City."

² 1 Cor., xii. 28.

³ l. 4, 18, § 7.

⁴ After a gilded glass of the catacombs (fourth century). (Roller, pl. lxxix. No. 5.)

⁵ This is the opinion of several theologians, and it is probably correct. Cf. Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, p. 474. We even find *ἐπίσκοποι* in the Greek fraternities (see Wescher, *Revue archéol.*, April, 1866). The episcopal cross is similar to the *lituus* of the Roman augur. Has it been borrowed from it, or does it come from the shepherd's crook? From both doubtless, but rather from the latter.

⁶ *Acts*, xx. 17, 28; *Titus*, i. 5, 7; 1 *Tim.*, iii. 2, 8; S. Clement, *ad Cor.*, 42; Polycarp, *ad Philipp.*, 5; S. Jerome, *Comment. in Titum: idem est presbyter qui et episcopus* . . .

in the middle of the second, S. Polycarp¹ and S. Justin,² as yet knew only these two orders; but the number of the believers increasing, that of the ministers of the religion augmented, and differences became noted. Besides, it was necessary to oppose to the heresies which were multiplying, a discipline, that is to say, a concentration of authority. In the time of Severus the important Christian fraternities had a bishop representing the unity of spiritual government, priests for the religious offices, deacons for the service of the temple; all united to form the clergy or "the side of the Lord."

These offices were elective. The elders chose the *episcopus*, whom they presented to the brethren, and whom the latter confirmed in their office by acclamation. They also confirmed, by the raising of hands, the designation of priests and deacons made by the bishop. By this it is evident that, though the consent of the community was necessary, the real election depended on the chief persons. In this way, order, indispensable to regular life, replaced the disorder of the early times. The same necessities which had deduced from the multitude of evangelical writings the canon of the Scriptures, the rule of faith, had insensibly led to the establishment in the midst of each Christian community of the hierarchy or administration, as it will afterwards lead to the constitution of the general government of the Church. It was in the logic of facts, and we cannot see how it could have been otherwise. Without this discipline, there would have been no catholicity.

As tradition plays an important part in the Church, the old bishops were supposed to transmit it to the new; hence the consecration of the bishop-elect by a bishop of the vicinity, and the gradual formation of ecclesiastical provinces. "The bishop," says the fourth canon of the Council of Nicæa, "should be ordained by three bishops."

One of the oldest rights of Rome, and we may say one most dear to the Roman population, the liberty of forming fraternities and societies, favoured the first organization of the

¹ *Ad Cor.*, 42.

² *Ep. ad Philipp.*, 5, 6. In the *Pastor of Heras* there is also no trace of an episcopate. Mention is indeed found, in the letters of S. Ignatius, of bishops, priests, and deacons; but the different texts of these documents give rise to too many discussions to admit of producing them as unobjectionable testimony.

churches.¹ By taking the form of burial associations, the Christians were enabled to organize under the protection of the law, into communities having the character of a civil person, that is, with the right to receive legacies or donations or the monthly contributions of their members. The Mosaic law had assured to the Levites the tenth of all the products of the earth; the Roman usage gave a new force to the Hebrew custom, and, as the synagogues of the whole Empire formerly sent their gifts each year to the temple of Jerusalem, the believers made their offering to the church every month. Many, S. Cyprian, for instance, sold their property and remitted the price of it to the bishop. That of Rome received from a single person 200,000 sesterces, and that of Carthage was able to employ half that sum for the ransom of Christian captives carried away by the Moors.²



A Bishop. (Martigny, *Dict. des Ant. chrét.*)

Each church then had a revenue which enabled it to aid the poor and the afflicted, to meet the expenses of worship and of the repasts in common, the *agapæ*, at which the priests, like the officers of the pagan societies, received for their maintenance a double portion;³ even to acquire funds to establish a common cemetery and to hold meetings there at night.⁴

¹ The right of association was, according to the testimony of Gaius (*Digest*, xlviii. 22, 4) formally recognized by the Twelve Tables: *Collegiis*, it said, *potestatem facit lex* (xii. Tab.) *pactionem quam velint sibi ferre dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant*. See vol. v. pp. 388 *et seq.* Roman society had so great a liking for these associations that it formed them even in the camps, in spite of an express inhibition by Severus.

² Tertullian, *de Præscr.*, 30; S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 60. His letter, No. 65, and that of Pope Cornelius, *ad Fab.*, show that the *arca* of the churches began to have considerable resources. Even at this time some of the bishops misused them. Cf. S. Cyprian, *de Lapsis*.

³ On the *duplicares*, see vol. v. p. 402. S. Paul had recommended this custom (1 *Tim.*, v. 17-18), and Tertullian (*de Jejun.*, 17) recalls it: *duplex honor binis partibus præsentibus deputabatur*. The confessors were often honoured with a sacerdotal gift. (S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 34.) The *agapæ* and the Supper, at first united, *εὐχαριστὸν δεῖπνον* (1 *Cor.*, xi. 20), were separated at an early date. At the end of the fourth century S. Monica still brought to the church bread and wine, after the African custom. S. Ambrose forbade her doing it.

⁴ Tertullian, *Apol.*, 39-40. Certain slaves even claimed that with these funds they might

The cemetery of Callistus, in which so many popes were interred, was already in existence at Rome along the Appian Way, and Alexander Severus adjudged to the Christians an estate which the pagans had contested with them. The ecclesiastical property commenced then to be constituted, as had been that of the pagan



The Agapæ.¹

temples, by donations. At this moment it was very small, but it was one day to become very large.

Later on, the Church will again make use of the convenient mould of the imperial administration, and will be able to fill it. The *civitas* with its vast territory will form the diocese, and the civil metropolis will become the religious: the archbishop will succeed to the flamen who brought to the altar of Rome and Augustus the prayers and votive offerings of the entire province; finally, the basilica will serve as a church, and we yet preserve

purchase their freedom. *Μὴ ἐράνωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι* (S. Ignatius, *ad Polyc.*, 2) On the Christian cemeteries of Rome, see the fine work of M. de Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*.

¹ After a painting of the close of the third century or commencement of the fourth, in the cemetery of Peter and Marcellinus on the *Via Labicana*. (Th. Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. liii. fig. 1.)



Crypt of Pope S. Cornelius, in the Cemetery of Callistus (Second Century).
(Roller, *ibid.*, pl. xxx. 1.)

in thousands of places the Roman usage of keeping the women separate from the men.¹

The societies which were so numerous in the provinces had preserved the Græco-Roman notion of popular power, which the



Basilica of S. Laurence without the Walls, at Rome.

Empire had abandoned in fact if not in law—everything was done in them by voting. The Church followed this usage, which was in the apostolic tradition,² and this popular election was termed the voice of God, *vox Dei*.³ Alexander Severus was so struck by

¹ In the upper galleries of the basilicas the men were on one side, the women on the other. (Pliny, *Epist.*, vi. 33.)

² When the apostles founded the first ecclesiastical office, the diaconate, S. Peter said to those present (*Acts*, vi. 3): "Look ye out therefore, brethren, from among you seven men . . ." See in vol. viii. of the *Histoire ecclésiastique* of Fleury, the *Discours sur l'histoire des six premiers siècles de l'Église*, §§ v. and vi.

³ Συνεδκοησάσης ἐκκλησίας πάσης (S. Clement, *ad Cor.*, 44). Ψήφῳ τοῦ λαοῦ παντός (S. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.*, 24). See the election of Fabian at Rome, under Gordian (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 29), and that of Cyprian at Carthage. Yet at the end of the second century the election was modified and the powers of the bishop were extended. When the priest Novatus appointed a deacon, S. Cyprian, his bishop, accused him of usurpation (*Ep.*, 52). As in the

the advantages of this system that he for a moment thought of establishing it for the imperial administration.¹ In the civil order the election ended all, at least unless the law recognized the right of the prince to approve or reject; in the Church another act intervened, the laying-on of hands, which transmitted to the elect spiritual powers.² This rite, indispensable in order that the election should have its religious effect, must have from the time of its inception reduced the vote of the believers to a simple adherence given by them to the choice which the elders had prepared and which they recommended.

Another essential difference: the elections in the civil society were annual; those of the Church conferred by the episcopal consecration a permanent character. Thus this democratic society took upon itself an aristocracy which changed its members very slowly; the conservative element was placed above the varying element, and the Church had the chief advantage of hereditary governments, duration, without possessing its inconveniences: one great bishop might be replaced by another greater than he. But this aristocracy did not enjoy a power without control. As the duumvir was, in a certain measure, dependent on the curia, the bishop administered with the council of the priests,³ and these assisted him in deciding the questions which the members submitted to him.⁴

All associations which are formed outside of public duties and against them are compelled to constitute themselves judges of their own members. The membership of the Church, those who

pagan clergy, certain corporeal defects excluded from the priesthood. See, in Socrates (*Hist. eccl.*, iv. 23), the story of the monk Ammon who cuts off one ear to escape the episcopate.

¹ Lamp., *Alex. Sev.*, 49.

² *Acts*, xiv. 22: *χειροτονήσαντες τε αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυτέρους*, and *ibid.*, vi. 6; viii. 17; ix. 17. The imposition of hands was an old Jewish usage.

³ . . . *et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent . . . communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesie gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur ceteris, ad quem omnis ecclesie cura pertineret et schismatum semina tollerentur.* (S. Jerome, *ad Tit.*, c. 1, p. 694, ed. of 1737, and *Ep.*, 85, or 101 in the edition of the Benedictines, vol. iv. p. 803.) He there describes the ancient state of the Church at Alexandria: . . . *Alexandriae, a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclem et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat.* These words are confirmed by the patriarch Eutychius, *Ann.*, vol. i. p. 330.

⁴ *Constitut. Apost.*, ii. 46.

designated the officers of the churches and received the confession of the penitent, also decided who should be saints, without all the formalities required in following centuries for canonization. The veneration with which it surrounded the tomb where reposed the remains of its heroes was afterwards sufficient to obtain admission to the register of martyrs.¹

Between the primitive churches there was an interchange of counsels, and sometimes "a mutual and salutary admonition."² If they had not gone further, we should have had a number of Christian communities, which would not have composed a Church, just as a multitude of republics do not make a State. But with the dogma of the revealed law and of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, transmitted "by the laying on of hands," it was consequently necessary that the apostles should be considered as having communicated to their successors "the certain grace of the truth." These were accordingly held to be the depositaries of the oral tradition which granted permission to interpret and extend written tradition, that is, to preserve in the bosom of the Church a principle of development, as do those constitutions in our day which declare themselves subject to revision, or those governments in which legislative action is continually modifying the ancient order in accordance with new requirements. What our politicians call reason the Church calls the Holy Spirit; it is the same thing, with this difference, the one counsels and the other commands.

All the bishops had at that time an equal right,³ and they were very numerous, because every community desired to have its own. This power would only have been a cause of division, had not the necessity of concerted action and mutual understanding

¹ The absence of this canonization is one of the arguments employed by Pope Benedict XIV. (*Euvres*, vi. pp. 119-125) in refusing to Clement of Alexandria the title of saint.

² These are the words of S. Clement (*ad Cor.*, 56): 'Ἡ νουθέτης ἦν ποιούμεθα εἰς ἀλλήλους καλῇ ἰστίῃ. These letters touch upon all kinds of subjects, and were often written in the name of the entire community, without the intervention of an elder or a bishop; as, for instance, the beautiful letter of the Christians of Lyons to their brethren in Asia Minor. (See vol. v. p. 226.)

³ S. Cyprian, writing to Pope Stephen on the subject of the bishops of Gallia Narbonensis, says: *coepiscopi nostri* (*Ep.*, 67); and in his letter No. 72 we read: . . . *non legem damus, quando habeat in Ecclesia administratione voluntatis suae arbitrium liberum unusquisque prepositus rationem actus sui Domino redditurus*. See also the words used by S. Cyprian when inviting the Fathers of the third Council of Carthage to vote with absolute freedom, for no one of them thinks of being an *episcopus episcoporum*, and is not inclined to impose his will on his colleagues, words which certainly were an allusion to the pretensions of Stephen.

compelled them to borrow still another institution from the Roman society. As the representatives of the cities assembled in the capital of the province, the representatives of the Christian communities came together at the most important seat of the religion; and these provincial assemblies, of which the Empire had not known how to take advantage,¹ made the fortune of the Church. When any difficulty arose, the bishops assembled, and after discussion, decided by a majority of the votes what should be believed and what should be done. Was it not written in the Gospel: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them"? This meant that the decisions of the councils were inspired by the Holy Spirit.² The priests and deacons, admitted along with the bishops,³ gave to these assemblies a democratic character, which is a great power for those who deliberate upon the interests of a newly-formed society.

This institution, destined to play a very important part, appeared toward the close of the second century. The record has been preserved of only two assemblies of this sort before the time of Severus, and of two others during his reign, unless we include those of the year 196, which were held at Rome, in Palestine, in Pontus, at Corinth, in Mesopotamia, etc.,⁴ to fix the date of Easter, which determined the epoch of many Christian festivals and certain religious obligations. In the following generation S. Cyprian convoked sixty African bishops to decree measures to be taken against the *lapsi*, and eighty-seven to decide the question of the baptism of heretics.⁵ This new and superior jurisdiction diminished the liberty of special churches, but was the only means

¹ See vol. iv. pp. 43 *et seq.*, and vol. v. p. 473.

² See p. 165. S. Cyprian writes to Pope Cornelius (*Ep.*, 54) on the subject of the council of 252: . . . *placuit nobis, sancto Spiritu suggerente*. Constantine will call the decisions of the synod of Arles: *cæleste judicium*, and will add: *sacerdotum judicium ita debet haberi ac si ipse Dominus residens judicet* (Hardouin, *Collect. concil.*, vol. i. p. 268). Gregory the Great declared the authority of the first four œcumenical councils equal to that of the four Gospels.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 30.

⁴ See *l'Art de vérifier les dates*, and Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. i. pp. 69 *et seq.* It is doubtless to these synods that Tertullian alludes (*de Jejunis*, 13). I do not of course mention what is called the Council of Jerusalem, between the years 50 and 52. The council of the province of Asia, which included a great number of bishops, differed on this point from the opinion of Rome, and this division lasted for centuries. (Fleury, *Hist. eccl.*, vol. i. p. 518.)

⁵ These eighty-seven bishops belonged to proconsular Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania. This council appears to be of the year 256.

of making a general church. In the fourth century the Church will progress further in this road, which led to unity of faith and discipline; it will institute the Œcumenical Councils, which will suppress differences between the provincial councils, as they had suppressed differences between special Christian fraternities.¹

Thus the Church had naturally, by the conditions of its historical development, reached the point where it took upon itself a constitution superior to that of pagan society, and it had found the chief elements of this in the remnant of the liberties which the Empire had left in the midst of the towns and provinces. It was a representative democracy, having a great deal of vitality on account of the participation of the people in affairs of common interest, and through its councils great power of cohesion. The authority of the episcopate, which increased in spite of local resistance,² will soon augment this union.

Certain sees, those of Alexandria, of Antioch, and of Rome, enjoyed a special consideration, due to the importance of the cities where they were established, and to the belief that, having been founded by the apostles, tradition had in those localities been preserved in a purer form. Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, gives to them in the fourth century a special dignity which the Council of Nicæa confirmed. Although as yet there had not gone forth from the Roman Church either an illustrious theologian or any of those great words which provoke or terminate fiery disputes,³ they must naturally have been led to recognize a primacy of honour in the bishop of the capital of the world, in the see, the only one in all the West, which was regarded as of apostolic origin, which was said to have been consecrated by the blood of Peter and of Paul, and in which their tombs were pointed out. S. Ignatius of Antioch, under Trajan, in his letter to the Christians of Rome, makes no allusion to the special power of their bishop, and if, from the depths of their prison, the confessors of Lyons

¹ The term Œcumenical Council signifies an assemblage of the bishops of the whole habitable earth, but for a long while the limits of the organized Church were the frontiers of the Empire.

² This resistance to the absorption of the Church by the bishop was doubtless the foundation of the struggles of Felicissimus against Cyprian and of Hippolytus against Callistus.

³ The *Epistle* of S. Clement to the Corinthians, and the *Pastor*, said to be by Hermas, contain nothing dogmatic.

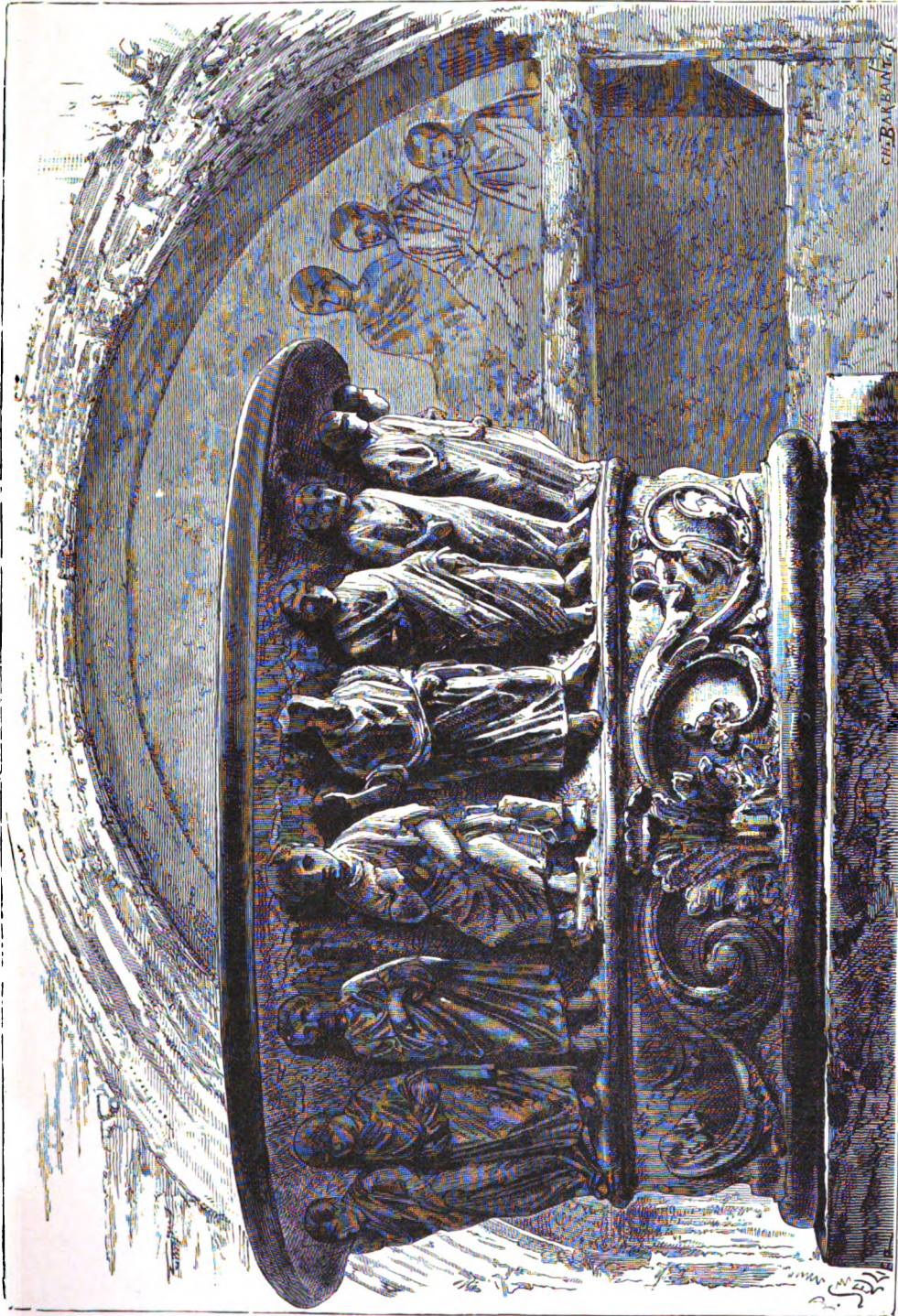
write to him recommending the union of the churches, they address the same recommendation to their brethren of Asia: words of peace, which on the eve of suffering the martyrs often sent to other Christian assemblies. Towards the end of the second century the inevitable evolution began. The transalpine churches were the first to take their places in upholding the apostolic sec. S. Irenæus recognized in it a certain moral superiority,¹ while at the same time combating the opinion of the bishop of Rome in the quarrel which he maintained with the churches of the East. However, the ecclesiastical history of the first half of the third century, notably the letters of Firmilianus to S. Cyprian against Pope Stephen,² of the bishop of Carthage to the prelates of Numidia, and those of the bishops who vigorously blamed Pope Victor in the affair concerning Easter,³ proves that no doctrinal pre-eminence was as yet accorded to it. Between the great sees there are gradations, but no subordination. The need of union for defence will at a later period establish a disciplinary hierarchy: the primacy of honour will change into primacy of jurisdiction, and the *Pope*⁴ will have an empire more vast than that of the emperors. The centre of catholicity cannot be elsewhere than at the tomb of Christ or in the capital of the world. The destruction of

¹ *propter potiore principatitatem* (*Adv. hæ.*, iii. 3). S. Cyprian (*Epist.*, 55) also calls the see of Rome, *Ecclesia principalis*. Despite the famous passage: *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, S. Peter did not enjoy any special privilege among the apostles. (*Matt.*, xvi. 18; *John*, xxi. 15-17.)

² Cyprian, *Epist.*, 27, 55, 71. Firmilianus was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; his vehement letter against Stephen touching the nullity of baptism administered by heretics or those who have relapsed into error is found *ap. Cypr. Epist.*, No. 75. He was an important personage in the Eastern Church: Origen sought refuge with him when Bishop Demetrius compelled him to leave Alexandria.

³ *πληκτικώτερον καθαρμομένων τοῦ Βικτορος* (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 24, 11). If, in the affair of the Novatians, the Pope deposes two Italians, it is as metropolitan, and after they had been condemned by a synod (*ibid.*, vi. 43).

⁴ The bishops, even the clergy, bore this title. The name of pope, which is synonymous with father, was not attributed exclusively to the bishop of Rome until in the following centuries. As regards universal jurisdiction, or, as ecclesiastical writers now say, primacy of vigilance and inspection, the history of the Church in the third century does not warrant the recognition of it in the bishop of Rome, and a long time will yet pass before it is found. The emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, having desired to fix by the constitution of 380 (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 1, 2) the religion of their people: *cunctos populos . . . in tali volumus religione versari*, give them as a rule of faith that of the bishops of Rome and of Alexandria, who are thus placed in the same rank. The constitution of 421 (*ibid.*, xvi. 2, 45) records that if, in *Illyricum*, any doubt shall arise concerning the ancient canons, it shall be referred to the bishop of the city of Constantinople, *quæ veteris Romæ prærogativa latatur*.



The Apostles. (Vase of the Fourth Century, in the Kircher Museum.) (Roller, pl. lxxiii. 8.)

Jerusalem by Titus and Hadrian made the pontifical fortune of Rome.

While awaiting this supreme achievement of the hierarchy, unity was established, thanks to the constant connection of the Christian fraternities among themselves. They exchanged the letters of the bishops, the canons of councils, and the churches who accepted them were by that act alone recognized as "in communion" with those who had sent them. Union appearing to be a necessity for salvation, concessions were made on points of secondary importance, so as to avoid divisions which would have rendered them exposed to perils greater than persecution; hence the changes which, imposed by circumstances, were carried into effect, were, in addition, the logical development of the primitive doctrine and discipline. Thus the Catholic Church was formed of itself, little by little, through the union of particular churches. About the middle of the third century a man of authority and of government, S. Cyprian, will present the formulary of this union in a treatise on the *Unity of the Church*, in which he will assert that the Christian societies ought to remain in communion among themselves and with the apostolic see, which is the centre of catholicity.

"The primacy," he says, "was given to Peter to show that there is but one Church, but the apostles were what Peter was. The episcopate is one, and all the bishops are pastors; they have but one flock. The Church likewise is one, and it is diffused by its fruitfulness into several persons." The chair of Rome then is in his eyes the sign and not the rule of the unity; which was to him the result of the common concurrence of all the members. The needs, and the ideas to which these needs gave rise, did not at that time require a greater concentration of spiritual authority.

Of all these new things, the most important in its historical consequences was the formation of a class of men not before in existence, except perhaps in the interior of the Hindostanee peninsula. By the celibacy which came to be imposed upon him, the Christian priest will become a new being in creation, as, by spiritual consecration, which neither civil authority nor popular election could give, he becomes a man apart in society. But the renunciation of the conditions of human nature will acquire for him a special force, which was added to the religious power

that assured to him the right to remit sins and to bring down God upon the earth in the sacrifice of the altar. These priests will most frequently be good men, of an angelic purity, and with a devotion equal to any sacrifice; but sometimes also they will be men of pride such as to set their feet on the necks of kings. Hence they will become formidable to civil society, because, being placed outside of it, they will constitute a great sacerdotal body, which will desire, and, by virtue of its doctrines, will be compelled to seek by every means to prevail over society.

There was then about to be introduced into the Western world a condition that was the opposite of what Rome had known and practised for ten centuries: the separation of the clergy and the laity, of the Church and the State. In the Græco-Roman world the union of the believer with the divinity was directly realized: the father of the family was the priest of its gods. The Christian will need an intermediate to enter into communion with his. This produces a diminution of the individual dignity of the believer, while the authority of the body exclusively devoted to religious service is singularly increased by it. Bound to the priestly office for their entire existence, by their faith and by their interests, since they live by the altar,¹ these men consecrated their activity, their genius, their holiness, and sometimes their blood, to the aggrandisement of the Church. And as it is in the nature of every corporate body to work unremittingly to extend its influence and its privileges, the establishment of the clergy, such as it has been now described, assured to the Church a formidable army, which at the outset prevented it from perishing and afterwards rendered it victorious. Never did prætorian guard, in the best sense of the word, render to his prince so great service as the Church has received from the sacerdotal corps. The repository of religious doctrine and of moral truth, it has defended the one according to the times, with the spirit of gentleness, of sacrifice, or of un pitying hardness; but it has preserved the other in the darkest days of history, and still teaches it.

Thus the Church developed harmoniously its two-fold life,

¹ A Christian community of Rome, which, in the time of Pope Zephyrinus and the emperor Severus, wished to have its especial bishop, assured him 150 denarii per month. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 29.)

doctrinal and disciplinary. One thing alone diminished in it: the virtue of the miracle. In proportion as it had been extended to a greater number, it had lost that power which, to be admitted, has need of remoteness in time and space. The faith of the simple had filled with marvellous deeds the history of the early days. S. Irenæus still believed "that the genuine disciples of Christ could deliver those possessed, foretell the future, heal the



Resurrection of the Daughter of Jairus.¹

sick and raise the dead."² The doctors of the present age no longer beheld these wonders, while still believing that they might see them, and Origen bears witness to the impairing of the divine gift when he only dares to speak of "the vestiges of them which exist among the Christians." Let a half century pass, and we shall hear the bishop of Cæsarea acknowledge sadly that these very vestiges have disappeared.³

¹ From a mutilated sarcophagus. Four different scenes follow in succession on this bas-relief. 1st, on the left, Moses striking the rock; 2nd, adoration of Christ by four persons, among whom two are weeping and veiling their faces; 3rd, the resurrection of the daughter of the chief of the synagogue of Capernaum; 4th, Christ standing with his right hand raised. This latter part is incomplete. (E. Le Blant, *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles*, pl. xvii. and p. 28.)

² Tertullian (*de Spect.*, 29) recognized also in Christians the power to drive out demons, to perform miraculous cures, and to receive divine revelations. But when the interlocutor of S. Theophilus of Antioch demands for his conversion that the bishop should show him a dead person raised to life, Theophilus replies to him (*ad Autolycum*, i. 8): "Do as the labourer who sows before he harvests, as the voyager and the sick who believe, the one in the pilot before arriving in port, the other in the physician before recovering his health;" and he is indeed right: belief in miracles requires a special disposition of mind; a man believes in them, not because he sees them, but because he thinks he sees them. This is the very expression of the bishop: "It is necessary to believe in order to see."

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 2; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 7.

In contrast with the strong organization of the Church should be placed the weakness of the imperial clergy. The bishops, chiefs of Christian communities, are judges for heaven, judges also for earth, for the brethren acquire the habit of submitting to them the differences which arise between them. The pagan priests, mere masters of ceremonies in the religious solemnities, had neither vast domains and appropriate revenues, as the Church will possess when it, in its turn, will have to combat innovators, nor jurisdiction which might give them subjects, nor public teaching which would assure them believers; and paternal authority, by closing to them the interior of the family, kept the women and children out of their influence. The old clergy was therefore incapable of contending with the new. The attack was admirably, the defence very poorly, conducted. Shouts of the populace and sentences to death, that is, acts of violence, are not sufficient to hinder the expansion of a religion which, born of the spirit, could have been arrested or restrained only by the spirit.

V.—THE HERESIES.

Armed with its canonical books and its ardent faith, sustained by its hierarchy, and fortified by its discipline, the Church marched on slowly but surely to the conquest of the world. To the anarchy of doctrines it opposed the simplicity of its dogma; to the freedom of philosophy, the unity of its spirit; and it cast out of its fold those who, in the common *Credo*, sought "to make their selection."¹

The narratives of the Gospels and the doctrinal exhortations of the Epistles had sufficed for the simple men whom the Church recruited in the first century. But when, in the second, the faith reached cultivated minds, these desired to co-ordinate their beliefs and solve by the processes of the schools the questions which they involved. Then was produced, in the solutions of religious problems, the same diversity that we have elsewhere seen in philosophical solutions. Many said, like the Clement of the Christian romance of the *Recognitions*: "I am sick in soul," and

¹ Heretic signifies in Greek, the one who chooses.

sought by the most diverse ways a remedy for these sufferings of the spirit, which are the most agonizing.

The Christian sects indeed drew their inspiration from the same book, but this book admitted of a thousand different interpretations, and the prophecy of Simeon was fulfilled: "Behold, this child is set . . . for a sign which is spoken against."¹ Even after the Council of Nicæa S. John Chrysostom will say: "The mysteries of Scripture are like the pearls which fishermen go and search for in the depths of the sea. It is difficult to penetrate its meaning, still more difficult for all to comprehend it in the same manner."² Infinite was, accordingly, the number of solutions proposed, and each found ready to accept it some of those men whom S. James describes carried about with every wind of doctrine. There were few great Christian communities whose bishop was not obliged to refuse the kiss of peace to men who presumed to discuss their faith.

The author of the *Philosophumena* enumerates thirty-two heresies.³ "Under the fire of persecution they swarmed," says Tertullian, "like scorpions on the banks of the Nile under the burning rays of the summer sun." We must leave to writers of religious history the study of these subtle discussions and of these bold and rash writers who have expended in behalf of humanity so much intelligence and time in vainly sounding the unfathomable. It will be sufficient for us to say that two principal categories of these undisciplined believers have been made, in which one passes by insensible shades from almost complete orthodoxy to absolute contradiction of a fundamental dogma: the heretics of *interpretation*, who changed the meaning or the text of the Scriptures, and the heretics of *inspiration*, who preached another law. Even in the time of the apostles, Cerinthus had regarded Jesus as a man; a little later, Ebion—or at least the Ebionites—had held him to have been born of Joseph and Mary, granting that he had by his virtue merited the descending of the Holy Spirit upon him. Those tenacious doctrines, found in the second century in the singular

¹ S. Luke, ii. 34: *Ecce positus est . . . in signum cui contradicetur.*

² *Hom.* xiv., on the second chapter of Genesis.

³ In the fourth century S. Epiphanius will reckon sixty, and Themistius say that the Greeks have three hundred different opinions on the divinity. (*Socrates, Hist. eccl.*, iv. 32.)

book of the *Recognitions* and in the *Pastor* of Hermas, had just been renewed by Artemon and Theodotus of Byzantium. A bishop of Antioch, Paul of Samosata, will soon take them up again, and they will culminate in the great heresy of Arius. Now, to deny the divinity of Christ, or, like the Docetæ, to reject his humanity, was to undermine the foundation of the new religious edifice. Again, it was shaken, if, with Praxeas and Sabellius, the Son was confounded with the Father; but to assume, as Montanus did, the character of prophet, was to change its ordinances and expose it to all the tempests raised by the zealous mystics. With one party, no more religion, since the great mystery of God made man disappeared; with the other, no more organization, that is, no more force constantly acting in the same direction, since the spirit "bloweth where it listeth," consequently, no more doctrinal unity, no more Church universal.

This latter variety of heresy was especially formidable, because among the Christians it was constantly held that the gift of prophecy, while it had become enfeebled, had not ceased in the Church.

It had been said to the apostles: "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter. . . . But the Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, . . . shall teach you all things." The newly-enlightened drew authority from these words, and many believed with Tertullian that Montanus received the inspiration promised by Jesus. But this belief in special revelations, which destroyed the gospel revelation by pretending to continue it, has given and still gives rise to the most dangerous sects. Marcion, by opposing both the Old and the New Testament, had already prepared the foundation for Manichæism.

In the midst of so many doctrines the Church had made its choice with the wonderful spirit of order and government which it seems to have acquired from those who persecuted it. Although it had as yet determined only the grand outline of the temple which it was to rear, it had already, in the third century, its immovable Capitoline rock, *Capitolii immobile saxum*, against which the unceasing waves of heresy beat in vain. Irenæus had just been writing against the Gnostics; Tertullian was engaged with the Valentinians and the Marcionites, with Hermogenes, who

maintained the eternity of matter, with Praxeas, who was subverting the dogma of the Trinity. The bishop of Antioch had condemned Montanus; that of Rome, Theodotus of Byzantium, and Minucius were arguing against the pagans.¹ The Church then knew what it wanted, and its sons by listening to her believed they "rose from the profound night of error into the full light of wisdom and truth,"² while the others, the philosophers, or "those who selected their part," acted at random. Finally, it already possessed what paganism never had, a mighty force of discipline. By all these things its victory is explained.

Along with this grandeur the Church has also its low side: in some of its doctors, a spirit of pride and lack of discipline which led to lamentable falls;³ among the members, vices which are too strongly planted in our nature to be always stifled by faith,⁴ or the hypocritical profession of sanctity in order to profit by the alms of the brethren; in the days of trial which are to come, numerous apostasies,⁵ explained by the enlisting which was carried on among the lower classes especially,⁶ in which were found so

¹ Minucius Felix was a lawyer of Rome. In his *Octavius* he essays to imitate Cicero and Plato; but, with the exception of a pleasing preamble, his pretended dialogue is but a combination of two speeches: in the one he makes accusations against the Christians, in the other he refutes them, and nowhere does he set forth the dogma. It is a plea, sometimes violent, always superficial, but written with a certain elegance of style and composed for men of letters.

² *discussa caligine, de tenebrarum profundo in lucem sapientiæ et veritatis emergere* (Minucius, *Oct.*, 1).

³ Those of Tertullian, Origen, Tatian, etc. S. Justin and S. Irenæus had adopted the doctrine of the Millenarians, and Clement of Alexandria sometimes borders on heresy.

⁴ Origen even goes so far as to say, "Certain churches are changed into dens of thieves." (*In Matth.*, xvi. 8, 22; xi. 9, 15.) S. Cyprian accused the priest Novatus of having suffered his father to die of hunger, caused his wife to miscarry by his brutalities, and committed, after his elevation to the priesthood, numerous acts of fraud and rapine (*Ep.*, 49), accusations which may have been false, but which show that the Church of Carthage was as much disturbed as that of Rome. Cf. Tertullian, *ad Nat.*, i. 5. In the *de Jejun.*, 17, he also admits that there were many sources of danger in the agapæ, the abuses of which S. Paul had already noticed (1 *Cor.*, xi. 21-2), and which are recalled by S. John Chrysostom (*Hom.* 27 in 1 *Cor.*, xi.) and S. Augustine (*Ep.*, 64). See, in the 35th canon of the Council of Elvira (about A.D. 300) the measures taken against the disorders of the Christian meetings at night.

⁵ On the apostasies, see Le Blant, *Mémoire sur la préparation au martyre*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxviii. pp. 54-5, the *de Lapsis* of S. Cyprian, and his letter No. 30.

⁶ *de ultima fæce collectis imperitioribus*. It is the pagan of the *Octavius* who speaks thus (§ 8), and Celsus (i. 27 and iii. 44) had already said: "They know how to win only the silly, vile, and dull soule, slaves, women, and children." Further on, at § 12, Cæcilius repeats: *Ecce pars vestrum et major et melior, ut dicitis, egetis, algetis, ope, re, fame laboratis*, and, in his reply (§ 31), Octavius contents himself with saying: "We are not the dregs of the people, because we refuse your honours and your purple." Then he adds, § 36: *quod plerique pauperes*

many men "lions in peace, timid deer in time of conflict;"¹ and finally, in the very bosom of the clergy, rivalries and quarrels which led to schism or heresy.² Born the same day, faith and heresy were two sisters, hostile and inseparable: the one followed the other, and will follow it to eternity.

There was a third and impure one, theurgy, which insinuated itself among Christians of all sects, as among pagans of every cultus, and even among the philosophers. Miracles were everywhere demanded, and there was no lack of persons who pretended to perform them. In the condition of minds at that time nervous diseases must have been frequent, those "possessed" numerous, and healers easy to be found: convicted charlatans or deceivers, whose incantations always made dupes, and who bandied about from one sect to another the charge of working by the aid of miracles. We have seen in the preceding volume the miracles of the pagans; the *Philosophumena* show that they appeared to

dicimur, non est infamia nostra, sed gloria. The Church indeed gloried, and very justly, in seeking out the little ones: among the martyrs whom it most honoured were Blandina and two women, Felicitas and Potamienna, who suffered punishment under Severus, all three of whom were slaves. The first martyr of Africa, Namphonius, or more properly, Namphamo (see L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, pp. 277 *et seq.*), and Evelpistus, who suffered martyrdom with S. Justin, were of the same condition. Pope Callistus (218-222) had been the slave of a freedman (*Philosoph.*, ix. 12); and thus it must have been for a long period, for in the higher classes the entirely pagan education was hostile to Christianity, and the profession of Christian faith rendered it necessary to break with society and its honours. Finally, it was not merely necessary to strip "the old man" of his beliefs; it was also required to take from him his pleasures, his riches, and many, like the rich man of the Gospel, went away sorrowful, when they were reminded of the precept of Jesus on giving up their goods to the poor. But we have seen that, from the middle of the second century, the Church also attracted to itself some great minds: Aristides, Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, etc., and the comparative peace which it enjoyed during the first half of the third century gained for it several conversions in great families. (Cyprian, *Epist.*, 80.)

¹ Tertullian, *de Cor.*, i.

² See the Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians, on the "impious and detestable" sedition which had broken out amongst them; the letters of S. Cyprian in respect to Novatus and Felicissima; what the angels in the vision of Satur say to bishop Optatus (*Acts of Saint Perpetua*), and the circumstances which brought about most of the schisms and heresies. Thus S. Jerome (*de Vir. illustr.*, 53) affirms that it was the jealousy and ill-conduct, *invidia et contumeliæ*, of the clergy of Rome which caused the fall of Tertullian. He shows "Rome convoking its senate against Origen because the furious dogs who were barking at him could not endure the brilliancy of his speech and his knowledge." (Rufinus, *Apol. adv. Hieron.*, ii. 20. Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 8.) By these "furious dogs" S. Jerome meant the bishops of Egypt who had cut off the great doctor from their communion. Origen himself applied to them the severe words of Jeremiah (iv. 2) concerning the guides of the people who were so skilled in doing evil. (Fragment of a letter quoted by S. Jerome, *adv. Ruf.*) This evil dated far back. S. Paul had to reprimand the Christians of Corinth and of Crete; S. James, those who exaggerated the Pauline doctrine: S. John, the Nicolaitans.

continue, but that those of the Gnostics were in competition with them; at the close of the relation of the practices of these thaumaturgists the author adds: "That is the way to deceive the simple-minded."¹ By this account the whole world, pagans and Christians, might have merited the harsh epithet, for faith in the supernatural existed everywhere, and in the Church more than anywhere else. So, without seeking it, without wishing it, it nourished in its bosom "doers of marvellous works,"² and among these inspired persons the women were not the least numerous.

Christianity has always had a special tenderness for women :



Bas-relief of a Christian Sarcophagus representing Miracles : Daniel and the Lions ; Jesus changing the Water into Wine and raising Lazarus. In the centre, a Christian in the attitude of prayer. (Marble of the Cemetery of Callistus. Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. xlvii. fig. 2.)

this is just, for they have been and still are its most potent auxiliaries. Their lively imagination, their delicate nature, so virginal still in the wife and mother, were captivated by that belief which enjoined charity and love ; which even, by the legend of Mary Magdalene, the repentant sinner, went so far as favour and pardon for those who had loved much.

It was to them that these men addressed themselves who gained admission into houses, "silent before the husband, inexhaustible in talk with the matron."³ Celsus and the pagan of the *Octavius* indicate what part they afterwards bore in the propagation of Christianity. The mother having been won over led in the

¹ *Philos.*, iv. 4, 15: *πειθεῖ τοὺς ἀπρόσους*.

² The signification of the word thaumaturgist (*θαύματα* and *ἰσχύειν*, from the root *ἰσχυ*).

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 55.

child, then the father and the entire household. The story of S. Monica converting her husband and her son is very old and ever new. Hence the Church assured them an honoured place. The *Epistles* speak of holy women filling an office in the communities, a testimony which Pliny confirms;¹ and Lucian shows them carrying into prisons food for Christian captives. If the teaching and fulfilling of the rites was forbidden them, Jesus had given to them the good part. When Martha is indignant at being excluded from the priesthood, Mary replies to her with a smile: "Did he not tell us that our weakness would be saved by his might?"² This divine power which raises them so high is love.

But love is a matter of sentiment much more than of reason. When it enters into a heart under control it provokes a reasonable devotion to good works, otherwise it is disorder. By their nervous constitution, women are predisposed to excitement; some gave way to it, and these had visions or prophesied.

In the ecstasy into which they lapsed after long fastings and macerations, they saw heaven opened and conversed with angels. Tertullian has preserved to us one of these cases of psychological pathology: "One of our sisters," says he, "in the ecstasy which the Spirit bestows upon her in the very midst of our assemblies, has the grace of revelations; she sees and hears holy things, reads what is in the heart and points out remedies for the sick. Let the Scriptures, a psalm, a homily be read, and immediately she has a vision. One day when I had discoursed upon the soul, she said to us, among other things: 'I have seen a corporeal soul, having a certain form and a consistency such that it might have been grasped; it was shining, of an aerial colour, with a human countenance.'³ Tertullian must have been extremely delighted with a vision which confirmed his doctrine of the material nature of the soul. He had just been stating it, and the echo of the priest's words, instead of being another word, became a vision:

¹ In the *Pastor of Hermas* there is also mention of deaconesses charged with the relations of the Christian community to the widows and orphans. For Pliny, see vol. iv. p. 815.

² ὅτι τὸ ἀσθενὲς διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται (Const., i. 21, ap. Bunsen, *op. cit.*, vol. vi.). Cf. De Pressensé, *La Vie des chrétiens*, p. 77.

³ *De Anima*, 9.

the visionary *saw* what she had just *heard*, and there is not a day in which this miracle is not produced in certain of our hospitals.¹

The more intense the religious life became, the more sects multiplied. From time to time the confusion penetrated into the bosom even of the greatest churches, because the effort to enhance the importance of discipline to the profit of the episcopal authority clashed with souls at the same time religious and independent. We know by the letters of S. Cyprian what disorders existed in the Christian band at Carthage. All those in revolt are naturally represented as wretches, it is the lot of the vanquished. But if we knew something more than the accusations "against the conspiring priests," if those to whom the bishop imputes so many shameful deeds had told us the motives of their conduct, perhaps we should see in the excommunicated, instead of disturbers and guilty persons, men defending the liberty of their church.

This struggle between two principles, one of which was soon to stifle the other, existed at Rome, unknown even to those who maintained it. A book recently discovered, the *Philosophumena*,² written by a bishop, shows irritating discussions in this church.

The slave Callistus had been ordered by his master to found a bank; he was unfortunate—the author says dishonest—and was sent to the mill, that is, to the hardest labour. The brethren interfered; he recovered his liberty and, one day, outraged the Jews in open synagogue, which caused him to be condemned by the prefect of Rome to be beaten with rods and sent to the mines of Sardinia as a disturber of public order. When Marcia, the concubine of Commodus, obtained from the bishop of Rome the names of the Christians banished to the island, in order to their release, Bishop Victor did not place Callistus on the list; but the shrewd man won over the messenger of the empress, who took it upon himself to bring him away with the others. At

¹ It is not merely the philosophers who ought to-day to study the sciences concerned with life; the historians have far more need of it, for physiology has played an important part in the world before there were physiologists, and it explains many facts inexplicable without it. It is sad to say it, but a hospital for the insane is also itself a book of history.

² This manuscript, discovered in 1840 and published for the first time in 1851 by M. Miller, has been attributed to Origen, to Caius, a Roman priest, to Tertullian, finally to Hippolytus, bishop of Portus Romanus at the mouth of the Tiber. This latter opinion tends to prevail. The author is an adversary of Pope Callistus, which renders it necessary, without rejecting his narrative, to make allowance for the passion which he displays in it.

Rome Callistus succeeded in getting into the good graces of Pope Zephyrinus, "a simple-minded man," says the author, "very avaricious and somewhat venal," who set him in command of the guard of the common cemetery of the Christians,¹ then in charge of the distribution of alms and of the administration of the church. In these duties, which brought him into daily contact with all the faithful, he won their confidence. The community was very much divided; he persuaded each faction that he was at heart with them, and, at the death of Zephyrinus, he was elected in his



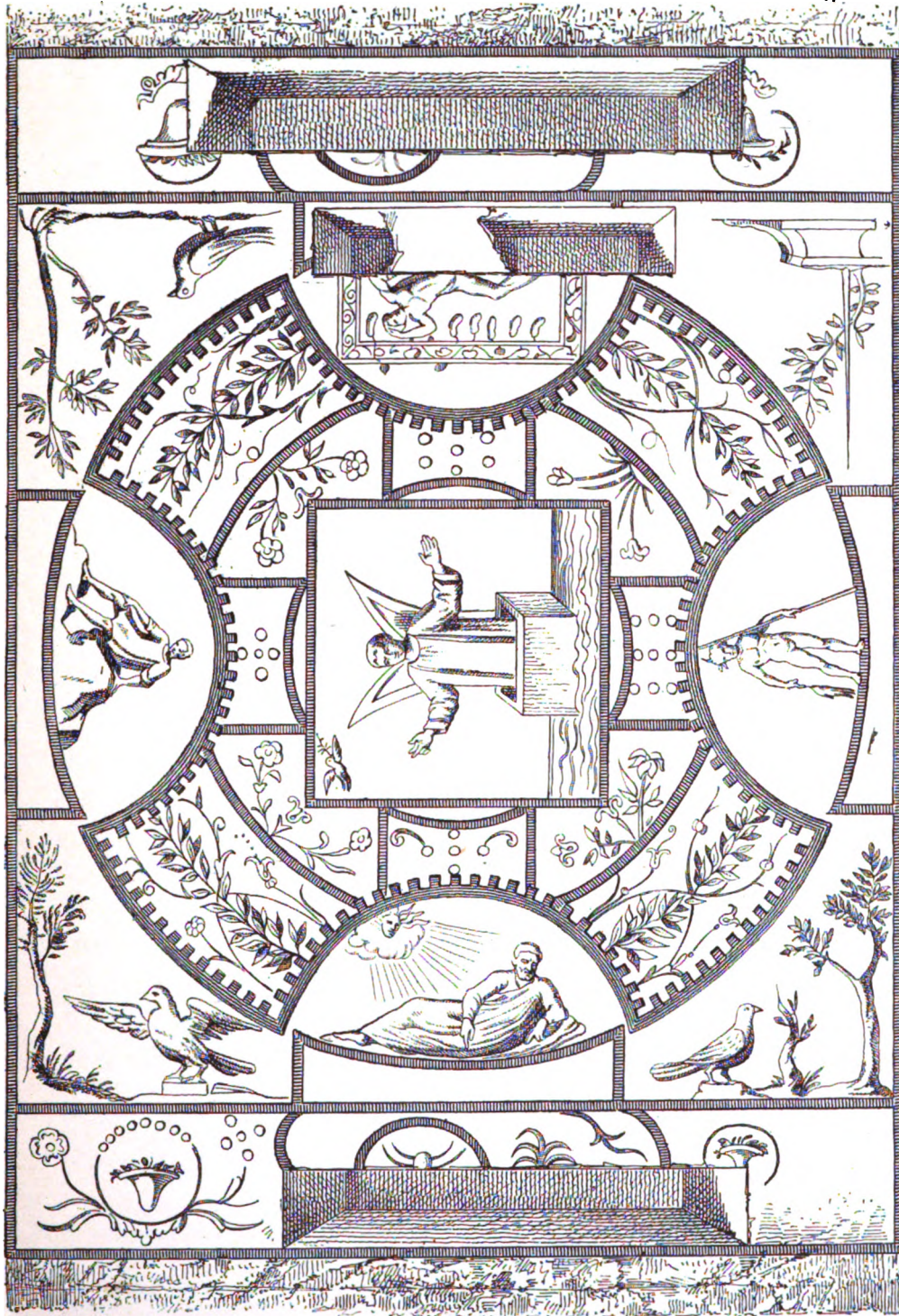
Pope Callistus (after a Gilt Glass).²

place, in spite of his unfavourable antecedents (A.D. 218 or 219). Immediately the disorders in discipline and the confusion in belief increased. Callistus accused several orthodox bishops of heresy, while he himself taught that the Father and the Son were one and the same person. To multiply the number of his adherents, he admitted married men to the priesthood; to the church, sinners unreconciled; to communion, men of easy morals, women living in concubinage, mothers who had exposed their infants. "Let the tares grow with the wheat," said he, "the Church has for its symbol the Ark of Noah, which contained clean and unclean animals."³ What truth is there in these accusations?

¹ *Cæmeterium Callisti*, discovered by M. Rossi, and so well-studied by him.

² Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxviii. No. 2.

³ *Philosoph.*, ix. 12. The reproaches of the author are evidently exaggerated; but on the question of the troubles at Rome his testimony is confirmed by the *Pastor* of Hermas: *vos infirmati a secularibus negotiis tradidistis vos in socordiam* (*Visio*, iii. 2), and by what S. Jerome says of the conduct of the Roman clergy with regard to Tertullian. Amm. Marcellinus relates (xxvii. 3), at an epoch when discipline was far better established, that when two bishops were disputing for the see of Rome, a terrible riot broke out, after which one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies were found in the Sicinian basilica.



Noah's Ark. Centre of a Fresco; the Ceiling of a *cubiculum* of the Cemetery of Domitilla (middle of the Third Century).
(Roller, pl. xxxv. and Bosio, p. 243.)

We do not know. The author of the *Philosophumena* evidently leans toward the Montanists and an indulgent bishop is displeasing to his austere character. But if the picture be overdrawn, even if, as has been pretended in order to get rid of a vexatious revelation, the Callistus of the *Philosophumena* is not that of the Church, it no less remains that Rome had at this epoch its revolts against the ecclesiastical chief; soon they will make an antipope, Novatian. Pope Stephen and the great bishop of Carthage will exchange angry letters,¹ and the bishop of Cæsarea will say of that of Rome: "His soul is fickle, uncertain, and cowardly."² At Alexandria, Demetrius, jealous of Origen, will force him to leave that city, and, later, its communion; later still, Paul of Samosata will be forced to leave the episcopal throne at Antioch under accusation of avarice, bad morals, and heresy. The Christian fraternities then were not always the seraphic church of tradition; they were communities composed of men, some of whom had great virtues, others our passions, our vices, and all the transports of feeling to which the religious spirit very easily accommodates itself in certain natures.

From the time of Marcus Aurelius, Celsus had been able to pretend that the divisions were already such among Christians that they no longer had anything in common except the name; and Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan void of religious passion, who renders homage to the purity of the Christian faith, says in the following century: "Wild beasts are not more cruel to man than is the rage of the greater part of the Christians against the others."³ Pious souls, on the contrary, have drawn from these persistent disorders proof that the new religion was of divine instituting, because a human work could not have survived such ruptures. We can only say that they were inevitable. Man is found again, with his passions, in the theologian as well as in the philosopher,⁴ for it is not the beliefs nor the ideas which make

¹ Cyprian, *Epist.*, 75, 25, and 26: . . . *non pudet Stephanum, Cyprianum pseudochristum et pseudoapostolum dicere*. The Novatians, a rigid sect which did not admit of reconciliation with the *lapsi*, were still numerous in the fifth century. (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 28.)

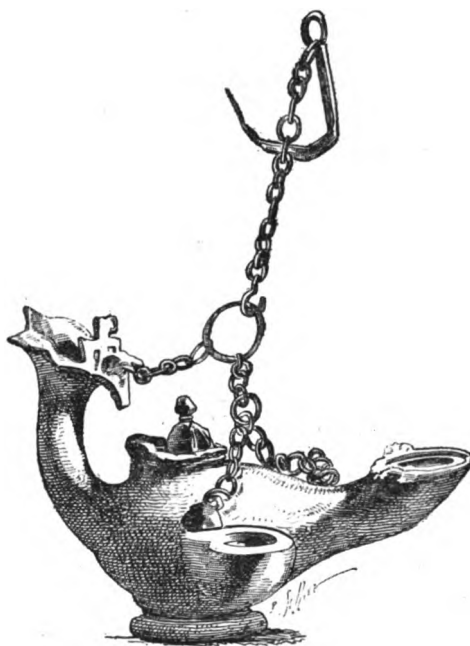
² *Id.*, *ibid.*, 78, 25: . . . *anima lubrica, mobilis et incerta*. The bishops of Tarsus and of Alexandria also sided with Cyprian against Stephen in this controversy.

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 10 and 12, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 5.

⁴ This is almost what S. Paul said to the Corinthians (1 *Cor.*, i. 4), when he places in opposition in the Christian the *spiritual* man and the *carnal* man.

the violent or the peaceful, but the character, the habits which education has formed, and the institutions to which one has conformed his life.

¹ Roller, pl. xc. fig. 12. This lamp bears the cruciform monogram.



Christian Lamp of Bronze (end of Fourth Century).¹

CHAPTER XCI.

THE PERSECUTION UNDER SEVERUS.

I.—IDEA OF THE STATE AMONG THE ANCIENTS; OPPOSITION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

THE imperial government was well aware of the powerful organization of the Church,¹ these communities corresponding with one another from one end of the Empire to the other; these men who, without money, traversed lands and seas, who everywhere saw, at their approach, doors and hearts thrown open; who, in short, even with men of another language, at a sign made themselves known without needing to be understood.² The imperial government, so fearful of secret societies, found an immense one extended everywhere, and which was an evident peril, for it was in the bosom of the State another active State; but tolerance was a necessary consequence of the religious organization of the Romans, who never had a theocracy, because in their pontiffs the civil character outbalanced the sacerdotal. The priests of Jupiter and of Mars were judges, soldiers, administrators; and they had learned, in the government of men, that the law touches only acts and has no hold on the thoughts. In the midst of the profound peace which Severus guaranteed to the Roman world, when no apprehension of public danger excited men's minds, the sages who conducted the affairs of State did not think of proscribing the new religion, while yet leaving it under the menace of Trajan's rescript. This rescript it was impossible to repeal so long as the Cæsars

¹ Ulpian, one of the councillors of Severus, had collected in the seventh chapter of his treatise *de Off. proc.* all the edicts relating to the Christians. (Lactantius, *Inst. div.*, V. ii. 19.)

² All ecclesiastical history testifies to the activity of these communications. The churches consult one another, communicate the decisions which they have reached, their sufferings and their triumphs. Even the writings circulated rapidly. S. Irenæus, at Lyons, borrows several passages from Theophilus of Antioch; and the author of the *Philosophumena* at Rome, Tertullian at Carthage, copy the Lyonese bishop.

retained the religion of their fathers; for, to them, the title of sovereign pontiff was equivalent to the oath taken by our kings, the day of consecration, to preserve the orthodox religion and not to tolerate heretics within their States.¹

This partial tolerance assured to the Church only an uncertain peace, for the best of the pagans resembled the historian Dion Cassius, a timorous spirit, the foe of all violence, who yet wanted the Christians to be punished, because, he said, innovators in religion were of necessity innovators in politics, who urged on citizens to revolt.² From time to time a popular outbreak made a few victims, or an over-zealous governor applied the old laws of the Empire. Severus at first manifested toward the Christians only great indifference, for he saw among them merely "carders, fullers, and shoemakers,"³ and it did not seem to him that an emperor had anything to fear from this God of the lower classes. It is not certain that he sent any one, before the year 202, into exile or to the quarries whence Marcia, under Commodus, had withdrawn them,⁴ and the Christians were without doubt included in the favour which he accorded "to the sectaries of the Jewish superstition," that of being eligible to municipal honours, with release from obligations contrary to their beliefs.⁵ Some of these were to be seen among his attendants. Before attaining his grandeur, one of them had healed him of some malady; when he had become emperor, he caused search to be everywhere made for

¹ Oath of Louis XIII. at his consecration: . . . : *Outre je tascheroiy à mon pouvoir, en bonne foy, de chasser de ma juridiction et terres de ma sujétion tous hérétiques dénoncés par l'Église* (*Le Cérémonial françois*, by Théod. Godefroy, 1649).

² Dion, lii. 36.

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 55.

⁴ After having enumerated those whom the Christian communities assisted, the poor, the orphans, the old servants, and the shipwrecked, Tertullian, who however has a habit of extreme exaggeration, adds: *et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis vel in custodiis, ex causa Dei sectæ* (*Ap.*, 39). We have seen above, p. 25, that Marcia had obtained the release of those who were in the mines of Sardinia, and there is no reason to think that the measure may not have been general.

⁵ *Digest*, L. 2, 3, § 3. This interpretation may be allowable of the treatise *de Idololatria*, in which Tertullian recites what "the Christian magistrate" ought not to permit. We see also, by the *Acta martyrum*, that judges sought to substitute a political accusation for a religious one, demanding of the Christians brought before them not: "Are you Christians?" but, "Have you attended unlawful assemblies?" As for the Jews, their teaching was public. . . . *Judæi palam lectitant, vectigalis libertas vulgo aditur sabbatis omnibus* (Tertullian, *Apol.*, 18), and the government saw to it that no one should disturb their religious service. (*Philosoph.*, ix. 12.) They received this right from Augustus. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvi. 6, 2.)

him, and established him at the palace.¹ Others dwelt there, if the celebrated *graffito* of the crucified with the head of an ass, found lately on the Palatine, is, as is likely, of this time. Besides, do we not know that Caracalla had a Christian nurse,² and that one day he was so enraged because one of his playmates had been



Graffito of Christ crucified with an Ass's Head (now in the Kircher Museum).³

whipped for being of the Jewish or Christian religion, that he for a long time refused to see those who had beaten him?⁴ When we read in the *Digest* that Severus ordered the persons accused of holding unlawful assemblies to be brought before the city prefect, we may conclude from this, since the guarantees of justice are

¹ Tertullian, *ad Scap.*, 4.

² *Lacte Christiano educatus* (Tertullian, *ibid.*).

³ Christ on the cross is looking at a person below him whose arm is raised in the attitude of adoration. Lower down, the Greek legend, badly engraved, signifies: "Alexamenos adores (his) God." Evidently a bit of irony intended for a comrade in service in the palace of the Cæsars. Near this *graffito* these words have been found engraved: *Alexamenos fidelis*. Father Garucci, who published this caricature in 1857, believes it to be of the commencement of the third century, because at this epoch the pagans accused their opponents of adoring an ass's head. In 1882 a fresco was discovered at Pompeii, representing a parody of the judgment of Solomon, doubtless executed for some householder of that pleasure-loving city who wished to make sport of the Jews, his neighbours.

⁴ Spart., *Caracalla*, 1.

increased in proportion to the higher rank of the judge, that the rescript must have been favourable to the Christians: the old and harsh law against associations was about to be tempered by political prudence. The same prince authorized poor people throughout the Empire to form societies with monthly assessments.¹ In fact, this rescript was favourable to the Christians, and we have no right to say that Severus did not think of them in writing it.²

But the emperor disliked uproar of any sort, and the religious disputes occasioned a great deal, especially when Tertullian joined in them, and he spent his life thus. This son of a centurion was a man of strife; he made attacks in his own defence and struck out all about him, hurling invectives at once at the pagans, their magistrates, their gods, "admitted to heaven by a decree of the senate," and at those of his brothers whom he treated as heretics,³ without thinking that the orthodox were reserving the same lot for himself. In a recently discovered fragment of Clemens Romanus is found this prayer to God: "It is thou, Almighty King, who hast given the kingdom to our sovereigns that we might be in subjection to them. Grant them, O Lord, health and peace, that they may without hindrance exercise the power which thou hast confided unto them over all existence. Direct, O Lord, their will according to right and in conformity with what is agreeable unto thee, so that, using authority with mildness, they may find thee favourable"⁴ This is the attitude of the primitive Christians, that of the apostles Paul and Peter, that also of a bishop of Rome at the end of the first century, and of Theophilus of Antioch in the middle of the second. How different these holy men are from the fiery doctor of Carthage writing in his treatise *de*

¹ *permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruam non tantum in Urbe, sed et in Italia et in provinciis divus Severus rescipit* (*Digest*, xlvii. 22, 1). He prohibited them in the armies (*ibid.*), where they were nevertheless formed. Cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 70.

² Tertullian attests (*Apol.*, 39) that this custom of furnishing the *menstruam stipem* existed among the Christians; they had, then, taken advantage of the law of Severus. Yet he says that the pretext for the persecution was the unlawful assembling (*de Jej.*, 13). Severus, who merely proposed to check the propagation of the new religion, may only have struck a blow at the meetings which had not assumed the legal character of the burial societies.

³ He refuses to them the right of discussion and treats them as condemned without appeal. In the *de Præscr. adv. heret.*, he opposes to them only the judicial form of the ordinance: "You have in your behalf," he said to them, "neither time nor possession," and this argument sufficed for him.

⁴ 1st *Clementine*, chap. xxxvii.

Idololatria a veritable declaration of war against pagan society. In another¹ we hear this repeated cry of revolt: "It is our business to contend against the institutions of the ancients, the laws of our masters;"² and this moral revolt was legitimate, since the imperial government, not comprehending the sacred rights of conscience, had treated godly men like criminals. As to the life of the Christians, Tertullian would have it sad and sombre, ever in sackcloth and ashes, in prayers and tears. "The woman who does not live like a repentant and mourning Eve is condemned and already dead. Her ornaments are the trappings of her burial."³ And this severity corresponded so well to the spirit of the Church that the authority of the priest of Carthage, despite his fall, was generally recognized in it and continued to be so. "Give me the master," said S. Cyprian, when he wanted one of the books of the celebrated doctor, *da magistrum*,⁴ and Bossuet, who has often copied him, often speaks like Cyprian.

Minucius Felix has neither his genius nor his rudeness, and is even more bitter. It is not enough for him to make a laughing stock of the gods of Rome; he tramples under foot the last homage that remains to her, the pride in her memories. S. Clement recognized Rome as his country; speaking of her he said: "Our legions, our generals."⁵ Minucius is a Roman no longer; for him, the fortune of this people is composed of iniquities, its history filled with crimes, and its city has never been other than a den of bandits.⁶ With less wrath and as much disdain, S. Augustine says of the glory of the Romans: *acceperunt mercedem suam, vani vanam*.

The sentiments of Minucius are those of the greater number of Christians. Sanctus, one of the martyrs of Lyons, is asked in the midst of tortures, his name, city, and country, whether he is free or a slave. But he has no name, he has no country. To

¹ *Adversus hæc nobis negotium est, adversus institutiones majorum, auctoritates receptorum, leges dominantium, argumentationes prudentium* (ad *Nation.*, 20).

² See also the violent outbursts of the *de Corona*, 11. This old spirit of the Church should be noted, as it reappeared as soon as the laity began to withdraw from it.

³ *De Cultu fem.*, i. 1.

⁴ S. Jerome, *de Vir. illustr.*

⁵ This is the famous *ἡμῶν* so long contested and which can be so no longer.

⁶ *Octavius*, 25.

everything he replies but one word: "I am a Christian!" It is very fine, but also very menacing. *Civis Romanus sum!* cried the Roman of ancient days, attesting his nobility and his right. The Stoic was still a citizen of the world. The Christians have only one city, heaven; they know no other country.

Greece and her glories, which are those of the human mind, find no favour with them. To them, Socrates is a buffoon,¹



Scene of Persecution: the Accusation.²

Aristotle a wretch,³ and they pronounce an anathema against all the great philosophers. What a difference between the apologists of the first age and those of the second, and, in the space of half a century, from Justin to Minucius Felix, from Athenagoras to Tertullian, how hatred has become envenomed! The Church, when it was mistress of the world, became a great school of respect and submission to law; it was not so then.

¹ *Octavius*, 38: *Scurra Atticus*.

² Fresco of the cemetery of Callistus, over the crypt of Pope Eusebius. Unique example of a judgment scene in primitive Christian iconography. (Roller, i. pl. xxvii. No. 1, and pp. 161-2.)

³ *Miserum Aristotelem* (Tertullian, *de Præscr.*, 7). Clement of Alexandria, on the contrary, rendered at the same period a solemn act of homage to Aristotle, copying him in his *Hypotyposes*.

To these maledictions against history and philosophy, that is, against civilization, were added menaces against the Empire and its sacrilegious Babylon. The sect of Montanists, which increased in numbers daily, and even, if we may believe the pagan orator of the *Octavius*, all Christians,¹ announced at Rome its impending destruction, and their gloomy prophecies gave occasion to the belief that they would willingly hasten that ill-fated hour. "If all others thought as you do," said Celsus to them, "the world would become the prey of the barbarians,"² and, in fact, it did become so, when every one thought as they did. There were at this time, indeed, in Alexandria, men such as Pantænus, Clement, and Origen, who, sincere admirers of the ancient philosophy, would have desired to "disengage the pearls hidden in a pernicious alloy;"³ or, as Origen said, "to carry off the gold of the Egyptians to make of it sacred vessels for the altar."⁴ But when they spoke of their contemporaries, it was with the bitterness of Tertullian. Cyprian, one of the most moderate of them, wrote in the midst of a pestilence and famine to the proconsul Demetrianus: "If I have not replied to your barking against God, it is that I may not expose our sacred truth to the outrages of dogs and swine. . . . These scourges are the divine vengeance which strikes the hardened sinner. What! you blaspheme against the true God, you persecute his servants, and you are astonished that the rain does not descend upon your arid plains, that the springs are dried up, that the hail destroys your crops and the poisoned air decimates your population? These misfortunes are the consequence of your iniquities!"⁵ The pagans were not silenced, and all the more cried out: "The Christians to the lions!" On both sides passion conceived gods in its own image, angry and violent, while impassive nature, pursuing the course of its immutable laws, bore fruitful clouds to one locality and deadly miasma to another.

¹ *Oct.*, 10. The *Octavius* must have been written about the year 180, and the treatise of Celsus is probably of the same time.

² *Contra Celsum*, viii. 68. In speaking thus I merely wish to state the *fact*, that the Christians, after having been an element of dissolution to the pagan empire, did not understand how to save the Christian empire when they had become masters of it.

³ *Strom.*, I. i. § 17.

⁴ *Epist. ad Gregor.*, 1, 30.

⁵ *Ad Demetrianum*, 8. In this very spirited letter against pagan society, Cyprian also announced the approaching destruction of the world.

The Romans, who had so keen a relish for tragic declamations, and the emperor who had himself made them, would not perhaps have paid much attention to the sombre pictures which many Christians unrolled before their gaze, if the new doctrine had not, in other directions, appeared dangerous to them.

S. Paul had said: "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God."¹ And some years later Clemens Romanus had drawn up for the churches a prayer in which he besought God to give to the emperors health, strength, and security.² But the spirit of submission was already that of only a part of the believers. Severus was a soldier. What was he to think of men who, when Celsus reproached them for abandoning the Empire when assailed by the barbarians, replied: "It is true that we do not bear arms, and that we would not, though the emperor wished to compel us; we have another camp where we combat for him by our prayers."³ Being a jurist, how could he regard a sect in which it was taught that when the law of the Church is in opposition to the law of the State, it is the former which must be obeyed,⁴ "because faith does not admit the allegation of necessity."⁵ A prince, in short, and the necessary conservator of an order of things which had always exacted devotion to social obligations, it was inevitable that he should seek to stay the progress of a religion whose sectaries lost their interest in public duties.

According to the ideas of the ancients, whether the State was represented by a man, a senate, or a popular assembly, in a famous city like Athens or Rome, or in the most obscure municipality, the citizen owed to it all his faculties, his valour in battles, his fortune in public necessities, his life in great perils. This dependence with regard to the State, much the opposite of our ideas of individual liberty, had given to patriotism an energy which ours has lost; and this is why we do not comprehend, or comprehend imperfectly, so

¹ *Romans*, xiii. 1.

² *II. Clem., ad Cor.*, 59-72. Ed. Hilgenfeld.

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, viii. 73-74. And the facts accord with the words. The recruiting officer presents to the proconsul of Africa a young man delivered over to be a soldier; but the young man replies that, being a Christian, he is not permitted to bear arms. For this refusal of the military oath he was executed. (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 209, *ad ann.* 295 or 296.)

⁴ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, v. 37.

⁵ *Non admittit status fidei allegationem necessitatis* (Tertullian, *de Cor.*, ii.).

many things in ancient society. Thus, to make out, in the persecutions, the part of each, executioners and victims, we must take into account the horror which these men inspired, who set up in opposition to their common country, bequeathed to them by their ancestors, another which they had themselves invented. "Why," they were asked, "why do you shun municipal office where the law is protected?" "Because, in each one of your cities, we have another country which God has made for us, and it is to the government of this that those of us who have authority by word or moral character should be attached."¹ Several systems of philosophy, even that which then prevailed, also recommended separation from the world; but, in the schools, this spirit was inoffensive, because it remained a matter of mere psychological curiosity.

Many other things still further scandalized the pagans. Then, as to-day, large families were honoured, and the Roman law punished celibacy. Now the Gnostic Christians, almost as numerous as the orthodox, cursed the flesh as the principle of all evil and practised celibate asceticism. Others, regardless even of the conditions of human life, placed among their pious books treatises "on the inconveniences of marriage."² Some dared to think that Adam would have done far better to have remained in a state of virgin purity, and God to have found another means of placing upon the earth the adorers of his power.³ One of them went so far as to

¹ *Scimus, in singulis civitatibus, aliam esse patriam a verbo Dei constitutam, eos ut Ecclesiam regant hortamur qui potentes sermone et quorum mores sani sunt* (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, viii. 75). "To-day even, in every country, we would prosecute any association propagating certain ideas promulgated by Tertullian in chapter lxxxi. of the *de Corona*, 22" (De la Berge, *Trajan*, p. 213).

² This was one of the first works of Tertullian, and S. Jerome recommended the reading of it to Eustochia (*ad Jovinian.*, i. and *Epist.*, 18, *ad Eustoch.*). Tertullian, however, did not himself profit by it, for he married, and in the second of his letters to his wife (*ad Uxorem*, ii. 9) he draws a very beautiful picture of Christian marriage. But, in the first, he represents marriage to be unsuitable for believers, and makes a vow of continence. The Marcionites forbade conjugal union; Tatian condemned it; the Valentinians, Basilians, Encratites or *Continents* did the same; Origen rendered himself incapable of it, and his imitators were still numerous enough in the fourth century to require that the first canon of the Council of Nicæa should prohibit the mutilation. Other Gnostic sects destroyed marriage by community of wives. Clement of Alexandria, a contemporary of Tertullian, but a genius of milder character, combats, in book iii. of the *Stromata*, all these excesses, and exalts anew the sanctity of the married state. His doctrine has remained that of the Church; but the Montanist spirit, which is not dead, has covered the world with convents.

³ We find traces of these singular opinions in Justin, Gregory of Nyssa, and S. Augustine; Macarius Magnes maintained that Adam made no use of marriage until after his sin.

write: "When we have children, we desire that they may go before us into the presence of the Lord." Tertullian, it is true, who spoke thus, says of himself: "I do not dispute, I do not go to war, and my sole care is to exempt myself from all care."¹ One might, on the contrary, accept this thought of Montanus: "Man is a lyre which the Spirit of God strikes,"² if it did not expose us to another peril by the annihilation of our will and



A Woman at Prayer and the Good Shepherd. (Painting of the Cemetery of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. Roller, pl. xlix. fig. 1.)

absolute abandonment to Providence, that is, to the hazard of individual inspirations taken for revelations from on high.

The eloquent and sombre declamations of Tertullian were not the rule of faith of all the believers. There were certainly Christians in the army, in municipal offices, in civil functions,³ and all did not renounce their property through apprehension of the fate of Ananias, or give up commerce and industrial pursuits for fear of infringing upon the prescribed rules of the Church

¹ Tertullian, *de Pallio*, 5.

² S. Epiphanius, *Adv. hær.*, 48.

³ They were there, but in very small number. The famous words of Tertullian, "We fill the cities, the camps, the senate" (*Apol.*, 37), are contradicted by all the facts and testimonies. (See vol. v. p. 741.) The number of bishops found in certain countries should not mislead us in regard to the number of the faithful. "Wherever three Christians are united," says Tertullian (*Exhort. castit.*, 7), "there is a church," and the *Constitutions of the Church of Alexandria*, i. 13 (*ap. Bunsen, op. cit.*), require that when the members are few in number, *ἐὰν ὀλιγαριθμία ὑπάρχει καὶ μὴ ποῦ πλῆθος τυγχάνει τῶν δυναμένων ψηφισασθαι περὶ ἐπισκόπου . . .*, they should seek the attendance of three judicious men sent by the neighbouring churches.

with regard to lending money at interest.¹ Some were found, who, penetrated with the sweetness of the Gospels, forgot the God of inexorable vengeance, and saw only the Good Shepherd bringing back upon his shoulders the sheep which had gone astray. Those were the neophytes who remembered having been fed by the Church with milk and honey "at their entrance into the land of promise;" they took delight in life, in the sunlight and the flowers, in friendship and love, as in gifts of their Heavenly Father; and they were the most numerous, because they obeyed



The Good Shepherd and the Twelve Apostles.²

the true laws of our nature, against which no general revolt is possible. But they were not the most zealous. Those upon whom had been poured out the wine of wrath and the intoxication of death, cried out, with Minucius Felix: "It is no longer a time to adore crosses, but to bear them;"³ and they are the martyrs of the persecution which we are about to narrate.

II.—RESCRIPTS OF TRAJAN, MARCUS AURELIUS, AND SEVERUS.

Sophocles, in his *Antigone*, had already shown in magnificent terms the opposition which may be found between civil law and natural law, "between the decrees of men and those ever-living laws which no hand has written, but which the gods have engraved on the hearts of all." The pious young girl who braves "the lordly menaces of a tyrant, so as not to incur the wrath of the

¹ Lending at interest was considered usury and condemned under that title.

² Bas-relief found near the church of S. Lorenzo fuori Mura. (Bosio, p. 411, and Roller, pl. xliii. fig. 2.) The Good Shepherd is represented, in the centre and at the two extremities of the bas-relief, taking care of "his sheep."

³ *Octavius*, 12: *jam non adorandæ, sed subeunda cruces.*

immortals," already speaks as the martyrs are going to speak; and we are with the poet when he nobly reclaims the rights of conscience. But if the inspired psalmists are sometimes prophets of the future, the prince is always the man of the present, and it is his duty to compel obedience to the law which his predecessors have bequeathed to him, and the execution of which is demanded of him by society.

Tertullian claims from Severus religious liberty: "It is human right," he says, "*jus humanum*, that each one may worship whom he pleases, and it is contrary to religion to constrain to religion."¹ Beautiful words, pronounced by the suffering Church, which the victorious Church will repudiate, and which certain sects of modern times still reject, saying to their opponents: "We claim liberty in the name of your principle; we refuse it to you by virtue of ours."

Origen also is indignant that the Church should be absorbed by the State, and he is right, for the spiritual tribunal ought to be shielded from all constraint; but some day, the Papacy, with as little wisdom as the Empire, will seek by an opposite excess to place the State within the Church.

Minucius Felix in his *Octavius*, the priest of Carthage in his *Apology*, and with them all the defenders of the new faith, plead the innocence of the Christians; they are thoroughly right. But none of them understand that fatality of history which wills, in religion as in political affairs, that what exists should seek to defend itself, and that an old society should repel those who pretend to change its morals, its ideas, and its institutions. To the Romans, conservators of the ancient social order, the Christians were dangerous revolutionists; in their acts of piety they beheld sacrilege; in their faith, the ruin of the official worship and of the political organization of which this worship was an essential element.² Hence the argument of Tertullian demanding that the ordinary rules of justice should be applied to the Christians falls through, in spite of the eloquence which supports it. "All crimes," says he, "are imputed to them, but they are interrogated

¹ *Ad Scapul.*, 2: *Non religionis est cogere religionem.*

² . . . *Sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur* (Tertullian, *Apol.*, 10). He recognizes further on that the emperors could not be at the same time *et Christiani et Cæsares* (*ibid.*, 21).

only on this topic: 'Are you a Christian?' 'Yes.' That is the whole examination."¹ And while torture is employed to compel ordinary culprits to confess their crime, with the Christian it is made use of to obtain of him his permission, by abjuring his faith, that the judge may declare him innocent. Does he persist? a more complete investigation is not necessary. The usual accusations: adoration of an ass's head, murders of children, the flesh of whom was eaten, incestuous orgies in the shades of night, all that is good for the populace; the judge does not consider it. In Christianity he sees only mystic reveries and socialistic doctrines; in the Christian only a public enemy, with whom it is enough to establish his identity before throwing him to the beasts. The Catholic inquisition will not require any more to send one of the Albigenes or Protestants to the stake.²

These persecutions, which excite our horror, appeared to people of that time merely questions of public order. Against the Christians Rome did what modern governments do against those who attack their essential principle, but it did so with the processes of a time when penal legislation was lavish of death.³ This is why extenuating circumstances should be admitted in favour of those who ordered them, while reserving a vigorous condemnation against the ideas and institutions which rendered these iniquities possible. There is another duty to fulfil, and this is, to distinguish among the persecutors those who yielded with regret and in a slight measure to the passions of the times, and those who, sharing them, mingled cruelty instead of indulgence with the execution of detestable laws. Severus should be placed among the first, for

¹ *Confessio nominis non examinatio criminis* (*ibid.*, *Apol.*, 2).

² By the declaration of July 1st, 1686, Louis XIV. pronounced the penalty of death against those who should be found performing religious services other than Catholic. (*Isambert, Coll. des anc. lois franç.*, vol. xx. p. 5.) Down to Louis XVI. Protestants were deprived of civil status, and in our century there have been cases of *auto-da-fé* in Spain. As to sorcerers, unhappy fools whom the Church considered as imps of Satan, they were burned by thousands. In a corner of Franche-Comté there were, from 1606 to 1636, one hundred executions and sixty banishments for deeds of sorcery. (*Hist. de Jussey*, by l'Abbé Coudriet, p. 379.) Under Louis XV. witches were also burnt (Maury, *Magie et astrol.*, p. 222); and only a few years since some peasants threw into a furnace an old woman whom they believed to be a witch. [On this question, see the interesting chapter in Lecky's *Hist. of Rationalism*.—*Ed.*]

³ This harshness of penal laws lasted very long. In the eighteenth century they contented themselves with burning the books, but in the Middle Ages they burned those who wrote them. Richelieu, even, had a poor poet hung who had committed the crime of some bad verses against the government.

though he was less wise than Hadrian he was more so than Diocletian.

Trajan had made a State crime of the *public manifestation* of Christian faith;¹ but he had interdicted the seeking for this; under Marcus Aurelius we find a decree stating: "He who by superstitious practices shall affright the inconstant soul of men shall be banished to an island."² This rescript did not designate the Christians by name, but they were certainly included among those whom it was to affect. It was one step further towards persecution. In 202 Severus took a third. On the banks of the Nile he had placed under lock and key the books of Egyptian theology, and while crossing Palestine he had promulgated an edict which prohibited Christian and Jewish propagandism.

In all antiquity religion and the State had been so closely united that a Roman could not comprehend the one without the other. It had been the same at Jerusalem; hence Rome had officially permitted the religion of the Jews, by recognizing, in the treaties made with them, their nationality. It was easy then to apply to them the rescript of Severus and to hold them confined to their race, the more so as they but seldom sought to escape from it. But the Christians formed a sect and not a nation; they were recruited from all parts, even among the barbarians. To enter into communication with the enemies of the Empire was already a very grave matter; but to induce citizens to abandon the national religion seemed treason, and the government would have desired to stop the desertion of these fugitives from the Roman fatherland.

The edict, however, did not go so far as to proscribe the existing Christian communities; it only tended to prevent the extension

¹ See vol. iv. p. 816. Tertullian (*Apol.*, 2) marks very correctly the character of this rescript: . . . *inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportet*, and one fact, placed by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 21) under the reign of Commodus, shows this jurisprudence in action. "Apollonius, who was of the number of the faithful, was accused by a minister of Satan at a time when that was not permitted. Perennis commanded the informer to be executed; but he referred Apollonius, in his turn, to the senate, and the latter, having refused to renounce his faith, had his head cut off, because it was forbidden by the law to absolve Christians who had been accused, unless they changed their opinions." Thus the prefect of the prætorium punished with death an accuser of the Christians, which must have intimidated those who might have been tempted to follow his example. But Apollonius having, no doubt, on this occasion publicly manifested his faith, he applied to him the rescript of Trajan.

² *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 30.

of them. Now this prohibition was contrary to one of the most imperative commands of the evangelical law: "Go and teach all nations." It would have put a stop to conversions, and it gave authority to take action against those who sought to make them.

Meanwhile the search for Christians was not as yet commanded, since Tertullian wrote in peace his books which are so severe towards the pagans, and since the priests could teach, heretics discuss, believers come publicly, as did Origen,¹ to the aid of martyrs in prison, assist them at the tribunal, encourage them even in the amphitheatre, and finally, since, despite the very large number of bishops,² not one of them perishes, and men left to the Christians their chiefs and their doctors, their assemblies and their elections, their schools of catechumens and their cemeteries,³ that is to say, their organization and their worship. There were

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 3.

² In the single province of Africa, Cyprian assembled in council eighty-seven bishops (*de Hæreticis baptizandis*, in *Cypr. oper.*, p. 328), and when he suffered martyrdom in 258, he was the first African bishop who sealed his faith with his blood. The fiery Tertullian lived undisturbed even to extreme old age, *usque ad decrepitam ætatem* (S. Jerome, *de Vir. illustr.*, 53). The policy of the persecution called that of Severus was not to attack any chief, though they were very easy to be found. However, two bishops are mentioned who must have perished at that time, Zoticus, bishop of Comana in Cappadocia, and Irenæus, bishop of Lyons. Of the first, Tillemont makes no mention, and the Bollandists say of him (July 21st): *ubi et quo tempore martyrium fecerit fateor mihi hactenus incertum esse*. As for the second, S. Cyprian and Clement of Alexandria do not refer to him, though he was the most prominent of their contemporaries; and Tertullian, who often copies him, does not give him the title of martyr. In one of his books written after the persecution of Severus, *quum furor Severi restinctus fuerat*, and at a later date than the year 208 (cf. Nœsselt, *de Vera ætate script. Tertull.*, in the Tertullian of Ehler, vol. iii. pp. 540 and 605), the priest of Carthage speaks in the same phrase of S. Justin, whom he styles martyr, and of Irenæus, of whom he merely says that he was *omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator* (*Adv. Valent.*, 5). If the bishop of Lyons had suffered martyrdom Tertullian would have given to him the same title as to Justin. The Bollandists are reduced to saying (June 28th): *nihil invenimus de S. Irenæo quod esset antiquitate aliqua . . . spectabile*. The records of his martyrdom do not in fact exist, and Gregory of Tours is the first who relates it (*Gloria Mart.*, 50). S. Jerome, in the *de Vir. illustr.*, terminates the chapter which he devotes to Irenæus, the 35th, by these words, which necessarily call for mention of the martyrdom if it had taken place: *floruit maxime sub Commodo principe*. True, he says of him in his commentary in *Isaiam*, 64: *Diligentissime vir apostolicus scribit Irenæus episcopus Lugd. et martyr, multarum origines explicans hæreseon*. But, on the one hand, this book of S. Jerome having been completed after 411, that is, two centuries after the death of Irenæus, there may be in this an echo of the improbable legend reported by Gregory of Tours, and which was at this epoch already formed. On the other hand, these simple words: *et martyr*, may be a gloss slipped into the text. We know what strange liberties were taken by the copyists of manuscript or by those under whom they laboured. The recent discovery of three letters of S. Ignatius would be a new proof, if we may believe Cureton, in his *Corpus Ignatianum* (Berlin, 1849).

³ The use of the cemeteries was not prohibited to the Christians until ordered by an edict of Valerian. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 11, and S. Cyprian, *Epist.*, 83.)

executions to frighten the Church and to put a stop by means of terror to its propagandism. But the strokes fell only on the insignificant and the slaves, for whom they gave themselves little concern. The victims then were those who had come out of the lower classes, and who in all revolutions are the most active, those who by their own acts designate themselves to the judge or to the mob by their ardour in seeking punishment, or who, denounced to the magistrate by personal enemies, defended themselves in such a way as to bring them under the penalty of the law. But the vocation of martyrdom is never the lot save of a small number, and informing in cases of this nature had its dangers, because the *delator* was not sure that the accused would not upset the accusation with the single word they demanded of him: "No, I am not a Christian!" Now the informer who did not prove his statement incurred grave responsibilities.¹

The edict of Severus did not prescribe any search, so each governor enforced it according to his own character. He of Cappadocia, irritated against the Christians who had converted his wife, forced several of them by violent tortures to sacrifice to the gods.² Lyons had the same ardour for idolatry which it displayed later in behalf of the new faith. If the tradition of the Church were sufficient to dispense with all historic testimony, S. Irenæus perished there; but his contemporaries, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and S. Cyprian, know nothing of his martyrdom. The two great African cities, Carthage and Alexandria, which were rivals

¹ An individual who accused Severus of magic before his elevation to empire was crucified. Macrinus caused to be put to death the *delatores, si non probarent* (Capit., *Maer.*, 12), and Gratian will renew this law: the *delator* who does not prove his accusation well-founded shall suffer the penalty which would have been inflicted on the guilty. (*Cod. Theod.*, ix. 1, 14.) If the charge was admitted the accuser received one fourth of the property of the condemned; it was therefore a business at once lucrative and dangerous. This legal responsibility explains why the judges should have refused to receive mere denunciations by letter, and required the presence of the *delator*. (See below, pp. 237 *et seq.*) The letter of Marcus Aurelius which circulated in the Christian schools of the time of Tertullian is absolutely false, but the punishment of the calumniator which it inflicts: *adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione et quidem tetriore* (*Apol.*, 5), is a characteristic feature of the morals of the age. The condemned Christians, being held as criminals against majesty, had their goods confiscated (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 2), and we have just seen that a part of them reverted to the *delator*. But their poverty rendered this profit insignificant. Hence the most usual accuser was the populace, who by their clamours and sometimes by their acts of violence provoked an execution.

² Alexander, bishop of this province, was imprisoned.

in magnificence,¹ were two ardent centres of religious life.² Directly the edict of Severus became known there, they gave loose reign to their pagan fury, and the magistrates, formally addressed to fulfil their legal duty, yielded to the popular pressure. Many victims are mentioned for Egypt,³ among whom was the father of Origen. Yet, at Alexandria, Bishop Deme- trius, and the master of Clement and Origen, despite the ardour of his zeal, escaped; it was the same in all the great cities, at Carthage, Antioch, Smyrna, and Rome. The clergy of this latter city were already numerous, and there occurred, even at this moment, angry divisions among them; none of their members appear to have been disturbed: Pope Zephyrinus and Callistus, who was at that time very prominent, certainly were not. In the province of Africa, one of the latest evangelized, it is almost all obscure Christians who perished.



The City of Antioch personified.⁴

The persecution began at Carthage in consequence of a riot; the populace wished to force the governor to close the cemeteries of the Christians.⁵ Before coming to that, there had certainly been

¹ Herod., vii. 6.

² See above (p. 31), the riots caused at Carthage by the priestesses of the goddess Cælestis. As for Alexandria, it was the great laboratory of ideas and beliefs.

³ It is doubtful, however, whether Christianity was then very widely spread in Egypt, outside the capital, and whether, consequently, the persecution made many martyrs there. Down to Demetrius, who then occupied the episcopal chair of Alexandria, all Egypt had had but a single bishop (cf. Eutychius, *Ann.*, i. p. 354, Pocock's trans.), while the province of Africa, evangelized at so late a period (Tillemont, *Mém. ecclés.*, i. p. 754), reckoned a very great number of them. But in Alexandria the persecution was violent. (Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 1: *μάλιστα ἐπλήθυνεν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας*.)

⁴ Engraved stone (cornelian, $\frac{5}{16}$ by $\frac{1}{8}$ in.) of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,749 of the catalogue, and Collection de Luynes, No. 98. M. Chabouillet thinks he recognizes the emperor Alexander Severus in the warrior who is crowning the city. Bronze coins struck at Antioch during the reign of this prince bear the same types. See in vol. iv. p. 667, the Vatican statue also personifying the city of Antioch [or more strictly, the *fortune* of the city.—*Ed.*].

⁵ In remembrance of the ten plagues of Egypt, ecclesiastical writers have maintained that the Church has suffered ten persecutions. They reckon four anterior to Severus: under Nero (see vol. iv. pp. 506 *et seq.*), Domitian (*ibid.*, p. 726), Trajan (*ibid.*, pp. 816 *et seq.*), and Marcus

acts of violence in the streets, and the more the Christians gained assurance by their increasing number,¹ the more intrepidity and haughtiness they manifested in their language toward the pagans, the more hateful their adversaries would find these men who seemed to desire to set themselves above other citizens by manifesting contempt for their gods, their festivals, and their pleasures.² Thus, when Rome in 204 displayed all its magnificence to celebrate the Secular Games,³ Tertullian had just written, with his usual vehemence, a book against all spectacles.

The first martyrs of Carthage were the twelve Scillitans, in 180,⁴ among whom were several women. In the second *combat*,

Aurelius (vol. v. pp. 220 *et seq.*); that of Severus, which is known to no pagan writer, and of which Lactantius does not speak, is counted the fifth and represented as very violent. It is strange that Dion Cassius, so prolix a writer, has not once named the Christians, and that in all the *Augustan History*, several editors of which lived under Constantine, we find barely a few words about them. Evidently these persecutions, which for fifteen centuries have disturbed the human conscience, took place in the inferior strata of society, or at least did not agitate the surface, and, down to Decius, were only local police measures or popular excesses.

¹ We know the exaggerations of Justin (*Dial. cum Tryph.*), of S. Irenæus (*Adv. hæc.*, i. 3), and of Tertullian (*ad Scap.*, 2, and *Apol.*, 37): they are famous. The *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, written toward the close of the second century, exhibits the Christians as very few in number and very obscure. At the middle of the century following, Origen, comparing them to the mass of the pagans, yet said: *ὡς νῦν πάντες ὀλιγοί* (*Contra Cels.*, viii. 69). In the province most easily opened to Christianity, in Syria, "no Christian catacomb anterior to the fourth century, no well-authenticated Christian monument reared before the peace of the Church, has up to the present time been discovered." (De Vogué, *Inscr. sémitiques*, p. 55.) Still, it is certain that the number of the Christians increased greatly during the long peace which they enjoyed between Severus and Decius.

² The terms of reproach applied to the Christians by the pagans are enumerated in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, by Cæcilius, the advocate of paganism.

³ There were two kinds of *Ludi seculares*: those which took place every hundred years at the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, and which had been celebrated under Claudius in the year of Rome 800, under Antoninus in the year 900, which they will still celebrate under Philippos in the year 1001; and those which, connected with a great event of which we have no knowledge, took place every 110 years: thus, under Augustus in 737; under Domitian, who set them forward six years, in 841; under Septimius Severus, who re-established the regular order, in 957.

⁴ See vol. v. p. 226. I have placed their execution at this date, following M. L. Renier, who has with correct judgment recognized the consuls of A.D. 180, *Præsentis II et Condiano coss.*, in the consuls mentioned in the *Acta* and whose names have been corrupted by the copyists. What is said by Tertullian, *de Corona* (*initio*), concerning the long peace which the Christians enjoyed in Africa before A.D. 202, justifies our opinion. The Scillitan martyrs appear to have been the first in Africa (Ruinar, *Acta sincera*, p. 34), as those of Lyons were the first in Gaul. Sulpicius Severus (ii. 46) says in reference to the tardy evangelization of Gaul: *Serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta*. On the order of proceedings followed in the trials of the Christians, see the learned paper by M. Le Blant in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxx. part second. The author makes a distinction between the *Acta* or transcriptions, more or less exact, of the judicial examinations, access to which the Christian sometimes obtained by payment of money, and the *Passiones*, in which the historical foundation is

which took place the tenth year of the reign of Severus (202),¹ the slave Felicitas and the matron Perpetua also perished, with others who made confession.

Their sacrifice is related at length in the *Martyrology*, in accounts filled with miraculous visions and heroic deaths. These soldiers of Christ were noble combatants, but of a sort as yet unknown. Before giving rise to monastic orders, to all the macerations of the flesh, and to heroic acts of devotion which are still exhibited,² they were the inspiration of martyrs. Read the Acts of S. Perpetua. It has been said that certain pages seem to have been written with a pen plucked from an angel's wing, so touching is the poetry found in them. I grant it; and if this death was not courted,³ if, dragged against her will before the judge, Perpetua refused to conceal her faith, it is the sentiment of duty and honour which animates her, and her courage is sublime. But, as a historian of human deeds, I must, in the saint, recognize also the woman who publicly braves the laws of her country, and must exhibit the mother abandoning her child, the daughter exposing her aged father to every insult. "Have pity on my white locks," said he to her, "have pity on thy father. Behold thy mother, thy brothers, thy son, who cannot live without thee. Suffer thy pride, *animos*, to bend; do not condemn us all to mortal woes!"⁴ And he kissed her hands, he threw himself at her feet. But she exclaimed: "Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity; I know you not." The procurator also cried out to her: "Spare then thy father, spare thy son!" As a last trial he caused her father to be beaten with rods in her presence. She persisted, and it is her glory, that also of the Church which knew how to inspire such sacrifices, and which gathered the fruit of them. But, it must be

burdened with marvellous legends. The *Acta proconsularia* of S. Cyprian (see in chap. xcvi.) and the *passio* of S. Perpetua, give a good understanding of these two kinds of documents. On the sources of certain martyrologies, see another article of M. Le Blant, 1879.

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 2.

² Missionaries and sisters of charity.

³ It must have been, since the law forbade searching for Christians, and only attacked those who offered themselves as martyrs.

⁴ *Ne universos nos extermines* (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*). Her father goes away. "I thank God," she says, "that I have been several days without seeing my father; his absence permits me to enjoy a little rest." (*Ibid.*) S. Irenæus of Sirmium will speak in the same way. (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, i. 430 *et seq.*)

said, this young woman who went to her death crushing the hearts of all her family is a hero of a peculiar nature. She died for herself in order to live eternally: true heroes die for others; the sister of charity does so.

Modern theologians continue to say: "The question of salvation is a personal question, and it matters little that the family or the



Burial Vaults (*Cubicula*), with Fresco Paintings.¹

city be broken up by it;"² as if the city and the family were not of divine institution, since they are a necessity of our nature. Christianity loves death; it adorns it like a bride impatiently awaited; it calls it life: *Vivit*, it writes upon the tomb of its own, he lives for immortality. The more tears and broken hearts there were around these voluntary victims, the more meritorious appeared the sacrifice, and the higher the martyr seemed to mount into the

¹ Sepulchres adjoining the Jewish catacombs of the *Via Appia*. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. iv. No. 2.)

² Abbé Freppel, *Saint Cyprien*, p. 53.

glory of God, whence he would protect those whom he left behind him. Heaven and earth were henceforth but one city, having in the saints its patrons, and in its divine clientage the company of the faithful:¹ a beautiful and poetic belief which again found Jacob's ladder with "the angels of the Lord ascending and descending upon it." So each community was happy and proud of these immolations. Sometimes friends and neighbours, in their fierce piety, exalted the ardour of the martyrs. They repeated to them these words of S. Paul: "It is Jesus Christ who suffers in you;"² they showed them all the celestial army present at their triumph and ready to receive them into its glory. Origen urges his father to the execution;³ Numidius, "with a saintly joy," beholds his wife burning on the pile; the mother of S. Symphorian, her son going to death; another, her husband in the midst of tortures, cries to him: "Raise your eyes on high, and you shall see him for whom you fight." The love of God replaces in them all the affections which God has nevertheless imposed in bestowing them upon us. Heaven is opened to their gaze; of the earth they see, they feel nothing, not even the iron claws or teeth of the lions which rend their flesh.⁴ Dragged in the arena by a mad bull, Blandina and Perpetua "converse with the Lord," and, when taken up bleeding, ask when the *combat* will begin. A divine frenzy had seized upon them. Man must have an ideal; it is the honour of Christianity to have placed it so high, when no one around retained any. It was also perilous to place it so far from earth, not from the enjoyments which may be found here, but from the duties which we are here required to fulfil.

Mysticism, ecstasy, hallucination, are three successive rounds of the ladder by which the soul mounts to God and becomes lost in him, while yet remaining attached to the body. During this energetic concentration of the thought upon a single object, the physical sensibility is abolished by a sort of temporary paralysis of the nervous system, which causes the disappearance of even the

¹ The expression is S. Augustine's: . . . *tanquam patronis* (*de Cura pro mortuis*, 19). An inscription calls them . . . *apud Deum advocati* (De Rossi, *Roma sotter.*, ii. 383).

² 2 *Cor.*, i. 5.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 2. In his treatise *ad Martyres*, 27, Origen shows all heaven contemplating the combat and the victory of those who confessed.

⁴ *Nihil crus sentit in nervo, cum animus in cælo est* (Tertullian, *ad Mart.*, 2).

feeling of pain, as we suppress it naturally by anæsthetics. This condition, to-day well-known, is, in the language of the Church, *rapture*; in the language of the world, the enthusiasm which makes the strength of heroes: that of Mucius Scævola burning his hand in the fire of the altar, and that of martyrs smiling at the most cruel punishments. "Look us well in the face," said a



Vintage Scenes on a Sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum. (Roller, pl. xlv. fig. 3.)
Symbolical representation of the harvest made by the Church "in the vineyard" of the Lord.

martyr to a pagan present in the prison at his last repast, "look at me well, to recognize me at the last judgment."

This ardent faith, these tragic spectacles, were not good for paganism. Conscience revolted at witnessing such deaths, and men who had come to these scenes as to some pleasure, went away troubled in heart and asking themselves: "What is then this faith which gives so great courage and so much hope?" The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church.¹ "and the Church, like a

¹ Tertullian, *Apol.*, 50.



Sarcophagus in alto-relievo of the Museum of the Lateran, found at S. Paolo da fuori. (Roller, pl. lxx. p. 281.) See p. 283, n. 1.

vine whose shoots are cut back, became the more fruitful for it.”² Oftentimes even the magistrate would have wished to dismiss the *devoted*, who came and demanded death of him with the fervour of a Hindoo throwing himself under the car of the god of Jugger-naut.³ He required only one word, an appearance of submission to the law. “Since you believe in only one God, sacrifice to Jupiter simply,” said one. “Swear by the only God,” said another.⁴ They refuse, and the Church encourages them in their generous obstinacy. Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, even drew up manuals for the *preparation* for martyrdom.⁵ The *passiones*, read to the church, after the gospel, were another *preparation*. What contagious ardour was awakened in these assemblies, when they were there taught that the martyr became “the companion of Christ in his suffering,”⁶ or when the deacon read the letter of S. Ignatius to the Romans, who would have desired to save him from execution: “I write to you living, but enamoured of death.⁷ I am afraid of your affection! What is death for Christ? A beautiful sunset preceding the radiant dawn of a divine day. I am God’s wheat;

¹ Explanation of the engraving on p. 231.—At the top, on the left, Jesus at the tomb of Lazarus; S. Peter and the cock announcing the denial; Moses receiving the Law; in the medallion, the persons buried within; at the right, the sacrifice of Abraham, and Pilate ready to wash his hands. At the bottom, Moses and the pillar of fire; Daniel and the lions; Jesus opening the eyes of a blind man; Jesus blessing the bread and fishes.

² S. Justin, *Dial. cum Tryph.*, p. 337 (1636).

³ Clement of Alexandria, blaming what he calls a brutal impatience for death, adds: “Their punishment is not a martyrdom, but a suicide; they are like the Indian gymnosophists who light their own funeral pile” (*Strom.*, iv. 4); and the sixtieth canon of the Council of Elvira sanctioned this doctrine. This intensity of the divine love, which tends to absolute separation from the world and union with God, is a psychological condition which is also found among the *sûfis* of Persia and elsewhere. See the translation of the *Fruit Garden* of Sa’adi, by Barbier de Meynard.

⁴ *Acta S. Tarachi* in 304; *S. Philæ* in 302.

⁵ Le Blant, *op. laud.*, p. 65. The fourth book of the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria is another. They even employed, to prepare the martyrs for the torture, prolonged fastings, which heightened the mystical exaltation, and they served to *martyribus incertis* a bountiful feast, ending with narcotic or intoxicating draughts, so as to prevent a failure, by delivering to the executioner only an inert body which was no longer sensible to pain *Condito mero, tanquam antidoto præmedicatum ita enervastis ut paucis ungulis titillatus (hoc enim ebrietas sentiebat) respondere non potuerit amplius, atque cum singultus et ructus solos haberet discessit* (Tertullian, *de Jejunio*, 12). S. Augustine (*Tractatus* xxvii. on S. John, § 12) makes allusion to this usage *quia bene manducaverat et bene biberat, tanquam illa esca aginatus et illo calice ebrius, tormenta non sensit.*

⁶ *Quid gloriosius quam collegam passionis cum Christo factum fuisse?* (Letters of Confessors at Rome to S. Cyprian: Cypr., *Op.*, Ep. 31.)

⁷ *Ἐπὶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν* (*Ep. ad Rom.*). On the Letters of S. Ignatius, see vol. iv. p. 819, n. 1.

the teeth of these beasts will crush me, and I shall become the purified bread of the Lord. Ah, let me enjoy my lions!"¹

With the account of the tortures they mingled that of the visions which the martyrs had had in the exaltation of faith and the fever of the last day, or of those which the sacred writers afforded them to exhibit the promised reward. "We suffered," said Satur, one of the companions of Perpetua, "and we forsook our bodies. Four angels bore us to the East, towards an intense light. Arriving at a garden where rose trees tall as cypresses were perpetually strewing the earth with their flowers, we approached a place the walls of which seemed made of light. At the gate four angels were standing; they clad us in robes of shining white, and when we had entered, we heard voices repeating: 'Holy, holy, holy!' In the midst we saw as it were a man seated; he had white hair and the countenance of a young man. The angels raised us up and he gave us the kiss of peace, and the four-and-twenty elders seated at his side said unto us: 'Go and enjoy yourselves.' And, indeed, we experienced more delight than we ever had in the flesh." Thus, "the joy of heaven rose out of the dismal prison, and the crown of flowers bloomed above the bloody thorns."² In this literature of martyrdom which no people had as yet known, we find as ever the same inability of the imagination to picture the abode of the blessed, but it was no less a new realm of poetry, and exalted souls asked nothing more.

The pagans said of the martyrs: "They are fools." Bossuet, taking up the word to glorify it, celebrates "the extravagance of Christianity," and we still glorify "the foolishness of the cross."

To the ostentatious display of piety and courage by the confessors, which provoked the pagans and impelled them to new acts of violence, Clement prefers the prudence, which, without cowardly concessions, avoids peril;³ S. Cyprian invites martyrdom, but does not wish to hasten to meet it;⁴ S. Peter of Alexandria

¹ *Ὁσαῖμην τῶν θηρίων (ibid.)*. It cannot be doubted that, in the narrative of the theatrical suicide of Peregrinus, Lucian had in mind the martyrs who also "offered themselves voluntarily to death."

² See, in addition, the fine peroration of the *de Mortalitate* of S. Cyprian.

³ *Strom.*, iv. 4, 17. He himself retired from Alexandria at the moment of persecution.

⁴ See S. Cypr., *Ep.*, 88: *Letter to the Clergy and the People of Carthage*.

even consents that his life should be ransomed by payment of money,¹ and the letters of ransom were numerous.² Besides, Jesus himself had retired at the approach of his enemies, "because his hour was not yet come," and he had said to his disciples: "And when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next." These words have become the doctrine of the Church.

We admire the holy enthusiasm "of the soldiers of Christ," these sacrifices which are the highest honour of human nature, and we know that martyrs make causes to triumph. History must make great account of this singular condition of souls, because it explains the approaching revolutions; but it is its province also to note, as one of the important facts in human annals, the rise, in the western world, of a new spirit, whose influence still endures and which has impelled so many holy men to break with the duties of social life. When the persecutions shall have ceased, this exclusive love of heaven will continue to foment disgust with earth, and will call out from the age infinite multitudes of men, who, by remaining in it, would have aided in rendering its life more pure. Before

¹ *Pacisceres cum delatore, vel milite, vel furunculo aliquo præsida* (Tertullian, *de Fuga*, 12). Communities obtained immunity from disturbance by payment of a sum of money; "in which," says Peter of Alexandria (*Can.*, 12), "they have displayed more attachment to Jesus Christ than to their money, carrying out the precept of Scripture: 'The ransom of a man's life is his riches.'" (*Prov.*, xiii. 8; cf. Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.*, vol. iii. p. 104.) He says in addition: *Iis qui pecuniam dederunt . . . crimen intendi non potest* (*ibid.*, apud Labbe, *Concil.*, vol. i. p. 955; cf. Fleury, *Hist. eccles.*, vol. ii. p. 51, and Le Blant, *Polyeucte et le zèle téméraire*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxviii. 2nd part).

² "The bishops," says Fleury (*ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 86), "approved this conduct." Not all, but the usage was certainly common, for Tertullian with his customary vigour attacks (*de Fuga*, 12) "those who purchase by tribute the right to be a Christian," and S. Cyprian, in his letter to Antonianus, bishop of Numidia, enumerating the various *lapses*, finds that the least culpable is that of the Christian, who, having had occasion to procure for himself a letter of ransom, goes to the magistrate, or sends another in his place, and says to him: "Being a Christian, it is not permitted to me to sacrifice unto idols, but I give money not to do it." *Is cui libellus acceptus est dicit . . . cum occasio libelli fuisset oblata . . . ad magistratum veni . . . dare me hoc præmium ne quod non licet faciam* (Cypr., *Ep.*, 53, *ad Ant.*; edit. Baluze). He often speaks of the *libellatici* (see *ibid.*, index, at this word). By these letters, in which there seems to have been quite a traffic, the Christians acknowledged that they had sacrificed to the gods, although they had not done so, or the judge declared that those who had obtained them should no longer be disturbed (Lambert, *Rem. sur les œuvres de S. Cyprien*, p. 353), which reminds us of our cards of citizenship during the Reign of Terror. In both cases, tolerance was purchased by payment of money. This was not a tribute similar to the *didrachma* of the Jews under the Romans, and the *haratch* of the Greeks under the Mohammedans; the government had imposed no tax on the Christians: *nihil nobis Cæsar indixit in hunc modum stipendiariæ sectæ* (Tertullian, *de Fuga*, 12). It was an extortion of the magistrates, at which the government willingly closed its eyes. This ransom, being in fact a penalty, appeared to satisfy the law and dispense with shedding the blood of inoffensive men.

Constantine, this spirit makes martyrs; after him, it will make monks, occupied at first with their salvation, afterwards with that of others, and who will then be organized in powerful communities in the bosom of civil society, to lead and dominate it. Without the monastic institution, which grows out of the idea which the martyrs followed, Catholicism would not have become a persecutor in its turn; at least it would not have been so with the results which the monks infused into persecution.

To the survivors of exile, of prison, of tortures, a sanctity was accorded which induced some to usurp episcopal functions, by giving letters of communion to *lapsi*, that is, to brethren who had denied their faith. There were, at Carthage and Rome, great debates on this subject, to which the letters of S. Cyprian bear testimony. It was the commencement of a poetical and dangerous doctrine, that of indulgences, founded on the merits of saints.

As to the confessors whom the magistrates had not spared, their death being for the faithful a matter for edification and just pride, the sacred writers of after ages have strangely multiplied their number. The murder, for instance, of the 9,000 Lyonese slaughtered with their bishop, S. Irenæus, by the legions of Severus, and the rivers of blood which flow through the city,¹ are a legend which those even do not venture to accept who would be most disposed to swell the number of the martyrs. The wise Tillemont does not mention them; it seems to be no better assured that Pope Victor suffered martyrdom at Rome,² that Severus put to death S. Andæolus by ordering his head to be cleft into four parts by a wooden sword, and the manner in which he quotes the *Acts* of S. Felicitas and of her seven sons, indicates, under his prudent reserve, doubts which are justified by the strange details given by the sacred writer.³

The friendship which unites the interlocutors of the dialogue

¹ *et per plateas flumina currerent de sanguine* (Grég. de Tours, i. 27).

² Fleury (*Hist. eccl.*, i. p. 522) makes him die a natural death, and this is the conclusion to be drawn from chap. xxiv. of S. Jerome, in his *de Vir. illustr.*, devoted to S. Victor.

³ Like Tillemont, M. De Rossi places the martyrdom of S. Felicitas and of her seven sons under Marcus Aurelius. M. Aubé (*Hist. des perséc.*, pp. 438 *et seq.*) combats this opinion; with the utmost rigour he would consent to date back the punishment of Felicitas to the reign of Severus. But the reasons which he gives do not allow him to accept the authenticity of these *Acts*. I reject then this legend from the reign of Severus, as M. Aubé has rejected it from the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

of Minucius shows that Christians and pagans could live in very good understanding, and many governors, seeing, like Seneca's brother and Festus, with the utmost indifference practices which did not endanger the public order, favoured the commerce of letters of ransom. Tertullian cites some who, gentle by nature and sceptics in religion, repudiated the obligation to put innocent beings to death, and determined to go back to Rome, "without a spot of blood on their fasces."¹ Asper declared openly that he did not like that kind of trials. When he had to judge a Christian, he appeared to make him put the questions, and was satisfied with the slightest word and set him free without compelling him to offer sacrifice. Severus furnished them the reply which permitted the judge to discharge them. A Christian is brought before Pudens with a letter which denounced his faith; he tears up the letter, sets the captive at liberty, and declares that he will not receive an accusation except when the accuser shall present himself at his tribunal, in conformity with the law. Candidus treated them as embroiled in some quarrel, and sent them back to their towns, with these words: "Go and arrange your disagreements with your fellow-citizens." "Unhappy men," said another to them, "if you want to perish, have you not cords and precipices enough?" and he drives them from his tribunal. The governor of Syria opens to Peregrinus the doors of the prison, "knowing him to be foolish enough to go to death through vain-glory."² One day, in Africa, where Severus was proconsular legate, the populace demanded of him the death of several Christians, members of the senate of Carthage; he resisted the clamours of the infuriated mob,³ and, when emperor, recalled Antipater, a governor of Bithynia, who appeared to him too ready

¹ *Ad Scapul.*, 4. A Christian magistrate, Studius, possessing the *jus gladii*, asked S. Ambrose if it was contrary to the faith to execute the guilty; the saint answered: *Scio plerosque gentiliū gloriari solitos, quod incruentam de administratione provinciali securim reverterint* (*Epist.*, xxv. § 3).

² Tertullian, *ad Scap.*, 5. Lucian, *Peregr.*, 14. This is the person who burned himself at Olympia. He had been a Christian, and at that time regarded as a confessor. The account of Lucian at once proves the fellowship of the Christians and the tolerance of the magistrates, who suffered the faithful to attend their imprisoned brethren day and night.

³ Tertullian, *ibid.*, 4, and Fleury, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 32. Tertullian relates (*de Cor. Mil.*, i.) that one day, as by order of the emperor, they were distributing largesses in camp to the soldiers, who, according to custom, came to receive them wearing a crown of laurel on their heads, one of them presented himself holding his crown in his hand. At first they point their fingers at him, then they rail at him, and finally grow indignant. The clamour reaches the tribune.

to make use of the sword,¹ very probably against the Christians. The recall of a governor was an extreme and rare measure; this was the more significant as this Antipater had been one of the ministers of the prince. Unfortunately, Severus could not see or hear everything, and the law, defied by Christians eager for martyrdom, or too scrupulously obeyed by heartless magistrates, sent to execution men whose only crime was praying to God in a different way from their persecutors.

Certain Jews have replied to the maledictions of Christians: "You hate us for having condemned Jesus? What would you be if we had not condemned him?" We might also repeat the words of Tertullian and say: "Would the Christian soil have possessed its fruitfulness if the blood of the martyrs had not irrigated it?" Two verities which do not efface the stain imprinted by the death of the just, or rather, which show the sad necessities imposed on man by evil institutions. In Judæa, public duties and religious power were in the same hands.² Pagan Rome also suffered from their union, the Middle Ages from their rivalry; in one case, cruel persecutions; in the other, bloody wars, everywhere and always death sown broadcast in the name of Him who made life. At no one of these epochs did they know the liberty of conscience, which separates the priesthood and the empire without arming the one against the other. Blessed be those who have given it unto us!

"Why do you not do as the others?" said he to the soldier. "I cannot," he answered, "I am a Christian." It was a breach of discipline and a refusal of obedience. The soldier was sent to prison. "He there awaits," says Tertullian, "the largess of Christ," *donativum Christi*. Had the persecution been violent, this heroic bravado would have been immediately punished by a military execution. Notice that the Christians of Carthage blamed the soldier, but that Tertullian gives his approval and proposes him as a model.

¹ . . . δόξας δὲ ἐτοιμότερον χρῆσθαι τῷ ξίφει τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελύθη (Philost., *Vit. Soph.*, ii. 24.

² According to *Leviticus* (xxiv. 10), the blasphemer is stoned and all the people take part in his execution. This is harsher than the *crimen majestatis* of the Romans.

³ Roller, pl. xliii. No. 3.



The Good Shepherd between the sheep and the goats, that is, between the good and the wicked.³

CHAPTER XCII.

CARACALLA, MACRINUS, AND ELAGABALUS (211-222 A.D.).

I.—CARACALLA (FEBRUARY 2, 211—APRIL 8, 217); THE RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP ACCORDED TO ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE EMPIRE.

SEVERUS has long occupied our study; he deserved it. We shall pass rapidly over his successors until we again find princes and events worthy to arrest our attention.

The father of Caracalla had done everything to maintain good feeling between his sons. He recommended it to them by wise counsels, by the example of the affectionate union which reigned in the paternal mansion, and he urged the senate and the people to remind the young princes repeatedly of the necessity of it. Each year there was celebrated throughout the Empire "the festival of brotherly love," *philadelphia*;¹ the senate, by solemn sacrifices, besought the gods to maintain it,² and Severus caused medals to be struck which represented his two sons about to clasp hands, with these words as legend: *Perpetua concordia*.³ It is said that during his last illness he sent to them the discourse which Sallust places in the mouth of Micipsa dying, in order to exhort



Philadelphia.¹



Concordia Augustorum.³

¹ Coin of Perinthus struck under Septimius Severus, with the legend, ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΑ ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ, around the urn of Games placed upon a table and bearing the word: ΠΥΘΙΑ, the Pythian games. Large bronze.

² Especially in the Hellenic East. Eckhel, vii. 231; Mionnet, iv. p. 128, No. 179. M. Dumont (*Éphébie attique*, vol. i. p. 299) thinks that the Φιλαδέλφεια were constituted for Marcus Aurelius and Verus, perhaps even earlier.

³ Dion, lxxvii. 1.

⁴ Eckhel, vii. 231. A bronze of Severus has also for a legend: *Concordia Augustorum*; another of Geta bears: *Concordiæ æternæ*; this was the official mark.

⁵ Caracalla and Geta sacrificing on a tripod. Bronze coin of Geta.

his children to union. He himself and every one else was aware of the mistake he had committed in styling them *Augustus*, when the one had not over the other the ascendancy of age and authority



Caracalla in Youth.¹

that Marcus Aurelius had had over Verus. These equal rights, granted² to young men hardly out of their childhood,³ promised

¹ Bust of the Campana Museum, found in the ruins of the Circus Maximus. (Henry d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 105.)

² Except that of sovereign pontiff, which was not divisible. As to the rest, from the first day Caracalla conducted himself as if he alone had the power (Dion, lxxvii. 1), and Geta barely enjoyed the imperial honours.

³ Caracalla, born April 4th, 188, had not yet completed his twenty-third year; Geta, born May 27th, 189, was only twenty-two. The name *Caracalla*, or *Caracallus* (Dion, lxxviii. 3), came to him from a Gallic garment, a sort of tunic with a hood, which he distributed among the common people of Rome and to his soldiers, the *caracalle*, which the cenobites of Thebais afterwards adopted as their costume. His real name was Bassianus. Severus substituted for it that of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which the coins and the inscriptions of monuments give

the Empire a tragedy; it occurred after a few months. Herodian shows them at Rome dividing between them the soldiers and the palace, of which they make two fortresses, where they fortified themselves, the one against the other, and ending by proposing to divide the Empire:

Asia to Geta, the rest to his brother, each with one half of the senate, the armies, and the fleets. "But will you also divide your mother," said Julia to them. Dion is not aware of any such scheme, the announcement of which would have produced in Rome, where our historian was at that time, a profound sensation. The idea of establishing two Roman Empires could not have occurred to the politicians of that time, but it is curious that it should have originated in the head of a rhetorician, who,



Geta clothed in the *paludamentum*.¹

not finding the history of the family of Severus sensational enough, utilized all the processes of the schools to render it more dramatic to his taste.

Caracalla made use of more simple means. One day, having enticed his brother into the chamber of Julia, under pretext of a reconciliation, he slew him in the arms of their mother, who was

him. He was appointed Cæsar in 196, pontiff in 197, Augustus in 198, consul at sixteen, in 202. In the inscriptions his name is usually written *Aurellius*. Cf. *C. I. L.*, iii. p. 1,114.

¹ Museum of the Louvre. Bust in corallite marble, found at Gabii in a perfect state of preservation. The busts of Geta are very rare, Caracalla having commanded that the statues of his brother should be destroyed. (*Monum. Gab.*, No. 4, and *Clarac*, No. 97.)

covered with blood and wounded, he then hastened to the camp of the prætorians to secure a place of safety by purchasing that venal band. He told them he had just escaped death through the protection of his gods, and a large *donative* paid them the price of blood. The legion of Albano, more faithful to the memory of Severus, for some time closed its gates to the murderer: gold finally opened them to him.

Since the victim now became the assassin, Geta was declared a public enemy, and his name was erased from all the monuments,



The Arch of Septimius Severus.

even from the Arch of Septimius Severus, on which traces of it are yet to be seen. It was a crime to pronounce his name, even in the comedies, where it was customary that some slave should bear it always, and even in wills. If a legacy had been made to an old servant so named, the deceased indeed escaped the wrath of Caracalla, but not his fortune, which was confiscated. They would have

us believe what Dion relates of the terrible dreams in which Geta appeared to him, threatening, with sword in hand; in which he heard his father cry out to him: "I will kill thee as thou hast killed thy brother!" But, seeing that he consecrated in the temple of Serapis the sword which had served him for the accomplishment of the crime, we must think that he carried this remembrance very lightly. (February, 212.)¹

To the senate, Caracalla justified himself by citing the example of Romulus, and no one was inclined to contradict the old legend which he then revived. At the end of his speech he declared that he recalled all those in exile. It was a promise of clemency; on the morrow the friends of Geta perished in great numbers.² The soldiers were let loose; in slaying they found pleasure and profit,

¹ The apotheosis of Geta, which he is said to have had pronounced, has been imagined to furnish occasion to make the play upon words: *sit divus non sit vivus* (Spart., *Geta*, 2). No document taken from inscriptions or coins justifies the assertion of Spartian. Cf. Eckhel, vii. 234. As to the interpretation given by Mommsen, of inscription No. 1,464 of the *C. I. L.*, vol. iii., I do not think it well founded.

² Dion (lxxvii. 4) goes so far as to speak of 20,000 Cæsarians and soldiers, partisans of Geta, who are reported to have been slaughtered in the palace.

for they pillaged the houses of those condemned and even of those who were not. From the house of Cilo, formerly prefect of Rome, whom Caracalla styled his father and whom he saved from their hands, they carried off gold, silver-plate, clothing, and furniture. Taking advantage of the terror which they inspired, they took ransoms, and exacted payment for blows which they were not to strike. They killed in behalf of the emperor and also on their own account. Caracalla must have abandoned to them the prefects of the prætorium. One of them was Papinian, whom an ancient writer calls "the asylum of law and the treasury of juristic science,"¹ and whom our Cujas regarded as "the greatest of the juriconsults who have been or who will ever be."² It is said that he had enraged the prince by refusing to dishonour himself, as Seneca had done under Nero, by an apology for the fratricide. If the story is true, and there are reasons for admitting it, it was well to end thus; the great juriconsult was himself a martyr to duty.³ His son and Pertinax's, a grandson of Marcus Aurelius, a daughter of that prince, who had dared to weep for Geta, a nephew of Severus, a Thræsea, etc., met the same fate. Dion had drawn up the list of the senatorial victims; it has been lost, but we know that it was long: the first crime necessarily involved many others.



Æsculapius and Telesphorus, upon a Bronze of Caracalla. (PM. TR. P. XVIII COS. IIII PP. SC.)

With the emperor, by nature base and wicked, "who," says a contemporary, "never loved any one,"⁴ the reign of Commodus recommenced: the same orgies at the palace, the same massacres of men and wild beasts at the circus, the same insults to the senate, the same exactions under myriad forms. We must believe that, like so many other emperors who came into power young, he had intermittent fits of insanity.

We know, in fact, that Caracalla was diseased in mind, as well

¹ Spart., *Sev.*, 21.

² *In præmio ad Quæst. Papin.*

³ Spartian (*Car.*, 8) and Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*, xx.) reject this story, saying that it was not among the duties of the prefect of the prætorium to compose a discourse for the emperor. Doubtless, but Papinian was a relative of Geta, and, besides, enjoyed a high reputation; the apology which Caracalla demanded of him would certainly have produced a great effect in the interest of the murderer.

⁴ Dion, lxxvii. 11.

as in body: the great number of coins of his which are in existence, with the image of the "healing" gods, attests his efforts to rid himself of some secret malady.¹ He loved to cause fear, and studied to give himself a fierce air, which his busts have preserved: they flattered him by trembling before him. A consular



Caracalla. (Bust of the Museum of Naples.) [Evidently a different person from the bust on p. 240.—*Ed.*]

having said to him that he resembled at all times a man in a rage, he took that for an eulogium and sent him 1,000,000 sesterces.² Before the senators he never ceased to glorify Sulla, so harsh towards the Conscript Fathers of the Republic, or extolled his compatriot Hannibal, so terrible to Rome.³ And he did indeed make them really tremble, for he organized a vast system of espionage by means of soldiers charged with police duties. Through fear

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 15; Eckhel, vii. 212 *et seq.*

² Dion, lxxvii. 11.

³ Herod., iv. 14.

lest a subaltern, by some inopportune severity, might discourage their zeal, he reserved to himself the cognizance of complaints preferred against them, and the judgment of the disciplinary penalties which they might incur. He intended to protect the men whom he had made his eyes to see and ears to hear, even when there was nothing either to see or to hear.¹ Hence every one found himself at the mercy of these agents of low degree, who were assured of impunity, from whom a denunciation cost fortune or life.

When he did not take the life or property by sentence of death or of confiscation, he ruined by capricious exactions. "He placed us under contribution," relates Dion, "for the provisions which he distributed to the soldiers or sold to them, like a tavern keeper. When he set out from Rome we had to prepare for him, at our expense, sumptuous lodgings along the route, even for the shortest journeys, and sometimes in places where he was not to pass. In the cities where it was supposed he would remain some time, it was circuses and amphitheatres that we were obliged to construct. In all that, he had but one purpose, to ruin us; he often repeated: 'No one but myself ought to have money, so that I may give it to my soldiers.' He was accustomed to notify us that he would at daybreak administer justice or attend to public affairs, and he kept us standing until after mid-day, sometimes even until night, without even receiving us under his vestibule." And while the "very illustrious" awaited a look, a word from the master, he was conducting chariots, fighting with gladiators, getting intoxicated, or mixing wine in *craters* to send to the soldiers of his guard in full cups, which the senators, parched with thirst and the heat of the sun, could not even detain on their passage.² Sometimes, adds Dion, he administered justice, and Philostratus reproduces one of these audiences, which assuredly lacks gravity, but at which the prince, this time, at least, did not lack good sense.³



The Grand Circus, on a Large Bronze of Caracalla. (SPQR. OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC.)

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 17.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*

³ *Vitæ Soph.*, ii. 30. The Sophist Philiscus claimed, by virtue of being a professor in the

The debauchee wished, like Domitian, to assume the character of an austere reformer. He punished adultery with death, although the law did not exact this severity, and caused four vestal virgins to be buried alive, whom he pretended had violated their vow. One of them, whom he had attempted to seduce, cried out on her way to punishment: "Cæsar well knows that I am still a virgin."¹

Tyranny this time was not of profit to the provinces; they had to suffer all the exactions: crown money frequently required, gratuitous gifts, new imposts, old ones augmented, perhaps the fabrication of base money to pay his debts.² He doubled the fees for manumissions, legacies, and donations, abolished inheritances *ab intestato* and the immunities granted in these cases to near relatives of the deceased; and finally he declared all the inhabitants of the Empire citizens.³ Some have seen in this rescript a grand measure of equity, or, at any rate, the completion of the revolution commenced by Cæsar: it was a fiscal expedient. The *peregrini* continued to pay their former contributions, and they were henceforth subject to the tributes which had been for the *cives* the release from the land-tax and the capitation.⁴ This reform, which extended

university of Athens, *vacationem a publicis muneribus*. Caracalla terminated the discussion by saying, as was just: *Nolim ob breves atque miseras oratiunculas civitates privare munera præstituris*, τῶν λειτουργησόντων. But another day he did the contrary, granting the *vacatio munerum* to Philostratus of Lemnos for a declamation. (*Ibid.*)

¹ Dion, who reports these words, yet supposes her guilty. (lxxvii. 16.)

² There certainly were great monetary changes under Caracalla. We know that he reduced the *aureus* from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$, or an intrinsic value of 25·08 to 22·56, and that he first fabricated, in enormous quantities, the *argenteus Antoninianus*, debased coin, that is, of copper with a mixture of silver. The *Antoninianus*, which, from its normal weight of silver, should have been worth more than the denarius, about 10d., soon came to be only silvered copper. This falsification doubtless commenced under Caracalla, for Dion (*ibid.*, 14) formally accuses this prince of having issued coins of silvered lead and gilded copper; several medals, which give to Alexander Severus the title of *restitutor monetæ*, indicate a reform which justifies the statement of Dion. There is, besides, in the Collection of Vienna, a plated *aureus* of Caracalla. (Eckhel, i. p. 115.) The obligation to pay the impost in gold also dates probably from this time; at least, it appears established under Elagabalus. (Hist. Aug., *Alex.*, 38.) One-half upon discharges had moreover always been paid in this manner, *aurum vicesimarium* (Livy, xxvii. 10).

³ *In orbe Romano qui sunt, ex const. imp. Antonin. cives romani effecti sunt* (Ulpian, in the *Digest*, i. 5, 17; *Novell. Justin.*, lxxviii. 5).

⁴ That is to say, one-twentieth of the manumissions, legacies, and donations. Dion, lxxix. 9, and this work, vol. iii. p. 743; vol. iv. p. 14. Nor were the provincials subjected to the requirements of the laws in respect to their inheritances; he took away the *caduca* from the public treasury, *ærarium*, to assign them to the *fiscus*, or treasury of the prince: *Omnia caduca fisco vindicantur, servato jure antiquo liberis et parentibus* (Ulpian, *Reg.*, xvii. 2).

to all the provinces the benefit of the Roman laws, and consequently the right of appeal to the emperor, did not modify the ancient categories of cities: free cities, federated, Latin colonies and those of Italic right, etc., which subsisted long after. Caracalla himself made new ones: he granted the *jus Italicum* to the inhabitants of Antioch and Emesa.¹ One of these persistent distinctions was however effaced: he admitted Alexandrians into the senate of Rome, which had up to that time been closed against them.

Nor was the status of persons modified by this measure. The condition of the slave, the colonist, the freedman, the foreigner established in the Empire or enrolled in its auxiliary troops, remained the same:² there were merely additional imposts and a new class of aliens. But a numerous class of citizens gained a great deal by the decree of Caracalla. The custom of gratuitous distributions was extended to all the cities possessing the right of Roman citizenship. They had held it in honour to imitate the charitable institution of their metropolis, and we have found, even in Palmyra, which became an Italic colony, tesserae for the distribution of grain.³ When there were none but citizens in the Empire, the poor of the provincial cities participated in the benefit of the public aid. S. Augustine sees only this result of the edict, and it seems to him a very happy one. "This was," says he, "an excellent and very humane measure, for it enabled the common people, destitute of land, to obtain supplies furnished by the common fund."⁴ When Maximin took possession of the municipal funds, it is noticed that he seized even the money that served to pay for the distributions of grain.⁵

Some of these jurisconsults who wrote: "Food must be given to the poor," doubtless foresaw that the decree would have this

¹ *Digest*, l. 15.

² Diocletian gave later, in 298, the right of citizenship to sons of veterans born of foreign mothers, *peregrini juris feminas*, *C. I. L.*, iii. p. 900. The capitulated, the Junian Latins, those whom a condemnation deprived of the right of citizenship, foreigners established, willingly or by force, in the Empire or serving in its troops, perhaps the inhabitants of countries united to the Empire after Caracalla, these formed a new class of aliens, placed between the *cives* and the *barbari*. Cf. Accarias, *Précis de droit romain*, i. p. 94, and Madvig, *l'État romain*, p. 36.

³ See above, p. 84, the proof of the extension of this custom.

⁴ *gratissime atque humanissime factum est, ut plebs illa, quæ suos agros non haberet, de publico viveret* (*de Civit. Dei*, v. 17).

⁵ Herod., vii. 3.

merit; but not so Caracalla, though, like his father, he was very liberal in the distribution of provisions. The determining motive for him was the fiscal reason, for his need of money was extreme. The immense treasure left by Severus had been quickly dissipated. "Nothing more remains to us," said the prudent Julia one day to him, as she vainly attempted to instil a little order into these prodigalities and into this deranged brain; "just or unjust, all our revenues are exhausted."

"Have good courage, mother; so long as we have this, money shall not be lacking;" as he spoke he patted his sword.

His own was not to be greatly feared, but he had that of his soldiers. Severus had held them in restraint: his son gave them loose rein. He put in practice the maxim attributed to his father: "Make the soldiers content and laugh at the rest." His innumerable victims had left behind them relatives and friends who might avenge them. All, therefore, were hostile to him, except those to



Caracalla crowned with Laurel and wearing the Ægis.¹

whom he said: "It is for you that I reign; my treasures are yours." And they might well believe it, seeing themselves daily gorged with gold. Their yearly pay was increased seventy millions of drachmas,² which the ordinary revenues of the State were no longer sufficient to pay. He adopted another measure, disastrous to discipline. The legions dwelt in camp the whole year under tents; he allowed them to take up their winter quarters in the neighbouring cities,³ which they treated as conquered

¹ Cameo No. 251 of the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx of three layers, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$. Portrait bearing very slight resemblance—[except to that above, p. 240.—*Ed.*].

² Dion, lxxviii. 36; cf. lxxvii. 24, where the figures for the augmentation of the ἀθλα τῆς σπαρείας are probably inverted.

³ lxxviii. 8.

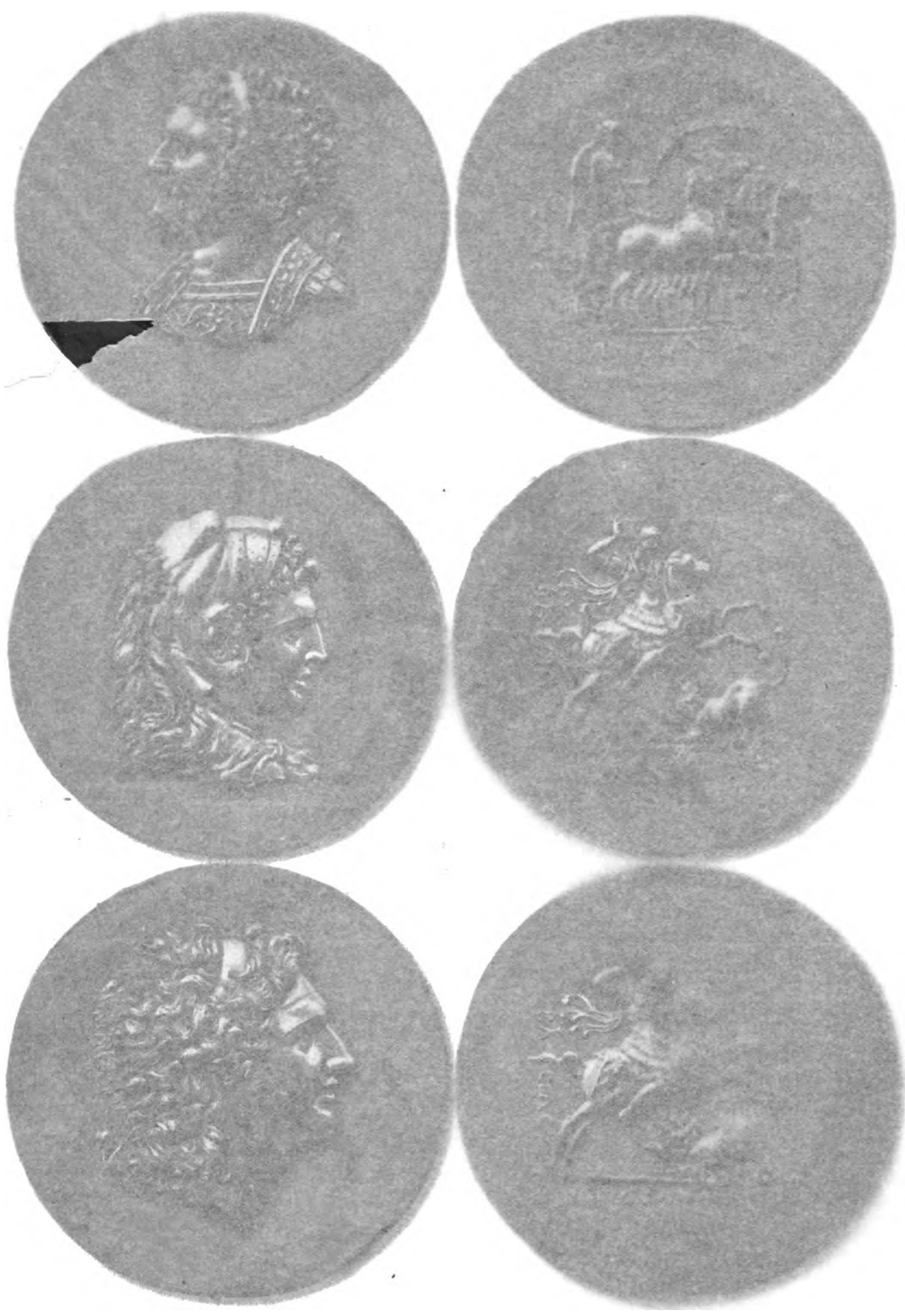


FIGURE 100. Dossapint

THE

COINS OF ALEXANDER, CHIEF OF THE

...y to
 a little order in these
 ...; "just for a ... all



... He
 ...
 ... father
 ... does not
 ... the rest
 ...

... ..

...; his treasures are
 ... it, selling themselves daily
 ... was increased seventy
 ... revenues of the State
 ... adopted another measure,
 ... The legions stood in camp the whole
 ... allowed them to take up their winter quarters
 the neighbouring cities: when they treated as conquered

¹ Canon No. 251 of the *Concile de France* is a mix of three levers, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 $\frac{1}{2}$.
 Portion bearing very slight resemblance to the one just above, p. 210. *Id.* 3.

² Don. lxxviii. 36; c. lxxviii. 24, where the figures for the augmentation in the *500a ring*
reference are manifestly inverted.

³ lxxviii. 3.



EUMELI DAL Dosso pinxit

Imp. Fraillery.

DAMBOURGEZ chromolith.

TREASURE FROM TARSIS

GOLD COINS OF ALEXANDER, PHILLIPP II AND HERCULES ENGRAVED DURING THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS

countries, ruining their hosts, and themselves losing, in a life of debauchery, what warlike qualities remained to them.

One thing which the mercenary soldier, without a country, as the Roman soldier had now become, loves as much as gold, is war, that intoxicating game of life and death, in which he always hopes to win; the licence of an army on an expedition and the glutting of brutal passions, disguised by a halo of glory. Caracalla had promised to lead them to this chase of men and booty: "I wish to end life in war," said he; "it is a fine death;"¹ and he had continually on his lips a name long held up by the Greeks in opposition to the most glorious names of Rome, that of Alexander. At the epoch of Polybius, his compatriots avenged themselves for their recent defeat by saying to the Romans: "It is to Fortune that you owe your successes; Alexander owed his to his genius." Later, they again repeated: "The Parthians, whom you have been unable to vanquish, were but the smallest of the peoples subjugated by him." Thus the remembrance of the hero of the Hellenic race took possession of the mind of Cæsar and of Trajan. These great captains would have been glad to repeat his conquests, to establish their legionaries in the cities built by his veterans on the banks of the Oxus, and they would have deemed the Roman Empire complete had they given it for its Eastern limit that of the Macedonian empire. But as the old spirit of Rome gave way before the advancing encroachments of Hellenism, Alexander ceased to be a rival and became a fellow-citizen, whose glory now formed part of the national glory. He was raised to a place of dignity: he came to be a god, and the terrible soldier was transformed into a beneficent genius who warded off disastrous influences, ἀλεξίκακος. Medals of gold and silver, stamped with his likeness, served as talismans. "They protect," says a writer of the *Augustan History*,² "in every act of their lives,



Alexander the Great; Talismanic Medal in Gold.



Talismanic Medal in Silver with the Name of Alexander. ΑΛΕΞ-ΑΝΑΤΟΥ.



Medal of Alexander on a Sword-belt and serving for a Talisman. (*Dic. des Antiq.*, fig. 314.)

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 3.

² *Tyr. trig.*, 14.

those who wear them." Caracalla did more: he pretended that the soul of the hero had passed into his own,¹ and to prove it he trained war-elephants and organized a Macedonian phalanx.² The latter creation, however, was less a passion for imitation than the completion of a reform commenced long before. Instead of regular armies to be fought with scientific tactics, the Romans now had to repulse the impetuous attacks of unorganized barbarians and the fleet cavaliers of Parthia. Before the elephants and the phalanx of Pyrrhus³ they had abandoned their ancient order of battle in close order and dense columns. Their adversaries changing, they resumed it, so that the individual fury might break against an impenetrable mass. This reform had begun in the wars in Britain;⁴ later, Arrian⁵ had distinctly established the principle of the formation in phalanx of eight men deep without interval, with a ninth line of archers, the cavalry and military engines in the rear and on the wings. This will hereafter be the disposition of the legions.

Toward the end of the year 212 Caracalla went to Gaul. He caused the governor of Gallia Narbonensis to be put to death, and disturbed these provinces by violating we know not what rights of cities, perhaps the rights of those who refused the onerous gift of the *jus civitatis*. A serious malady, and doubtless also a desire to inspect the defences of the Rhine, detained him on this side of the Alps. In February, 213, he was back again in his capital,⁶ which he beheld for the last time.

He had promised his soldiers expeditions, and the Empire had need to strike some blow in the direction of the Danube and the Rhine, where were forming some powerful confederations, which we shall study later. One of these, that of the Alemanni, who make their appearance then for the first time, surprised the passage of the fortified line which covered the *agri Decumates*, and a large body of cavalry bore conflagration and death into this outpost of

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 7-8. He was called *φιλαιξανδρότατος*.

² [Neither of which ever won a victory for Alexander.—*Ed.*]

³ This change was anterior to Pyrrhus; but the new organization was consolidated and improved in this war. See, in our first volume, the reforms of Camillus and the creation of the legion.

⁴ Under Paulinus and Agricola. (*Tac., Agric.*, 35; *Dion*, lxii. 8.)

⁵ In 136, *Acies*, 15.

⁶ We have in the *Code*, vii. 16, 2, a rescript dated from Rome, February 5th, 213. But there may be an error in this date. Cf. *Eckhel*, vii. pp. 210, 211.

Italy and Gaul. Before the end of 213¹ Caracalla led his troops against the invaders and vanquished them on the banks of the Main, where their women renewed the acts of heroic ferocity which Plutarch attributes to the women of the Cimbri, unless the account of Xiphilin be a classical reminiscence. There is some question about other successes in the direction of Rhætia. The Osrhoenian archers, who formed part of the Roman army, had the honour of the campaign; which leads us to suppose that the enemy were neither very numerous nor very terrible.² Meanwhile the report of these successes resounded afar: peoples established at the mouths of the Elbe and on the North Sea sent deputations to the emperor to request his friendship and subsidies, which he granted.³ The Alemanni, rendered prudent by their defeat, kept quiet for twenty years. Dion accuses the emperor of having thus purchased peace from the Germans. We have several times explained that it was good policy to win over the barbarian chiefs by presents, to avoid sudden irruptions and the useless wars which they entailed. There is then no occasion to blame Caracalla for having pursued this course, at least if he did not purchase this peace too dearly.⁴ It enabled him to levy, amongst the Alemanni, auxiliary corps, one of which formed his body-guard. We should even be reduced to praising his conduct towards the army, if we did not see in it popularity-hunting and base flattery. He shared all the fatigues of his soldiers. Was it necessary to excavate a ditch, build a bridge, construct a roadway, do some laborious work: he

Caracalla Germanicus.⁴

¹ At least we possess coins of this year, on which he bears the name of Germanicus. (See above, and Eckhel, vii. 210, 222. Cf. Or.-Henzen, No. 5,507.)

² These archers, who were unknown to the ancient legions, assumed daily more importance in the army, where a certain number of soldiers of this kind were necessary, for General De Reffye has demonstrated that an arrow still has good effect at 130 and 140 yards. It was not a weapon with which a battle might be won, but it was a missile very useful at a certain moment of action.

³ Dion, lxxvii. 14.

⁴ ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM., around the head of Caracalla wreathed with laurei. On the reverse, Serapis standing, and the legend: P. M. TR. P. XXI COS. IIII PP. Coin of silver; Cohen, No. 143. For the name of Antoninus assumed by Caracalla, see above, p. 240, n. 3.

⁵ Macrinus, his murderer, it is true, accuses him of having dispensed as much in pensions to the barbarians as for the pay of the army; this is absurd. (Dion, lxxviii. 17.)

was the first to set the example. He had the commonest dishes served up for him, eating and drinking from wooden bowls; he shared the coarse bread of the troops; oftentimes he himself crushed his portion of wheat, kneaded the dough into a loaf and placed it in the oven. He dressed like the poorest soldiers: hence they called him their comrade, and he was extremely proud of it. He rarely went in a litter or on horseback; he carried his arms,



A Tempest (after the Virgil of the Vatican).

and sometimes even the ensigns laden with ornaments of gold, the weight of which caused the most robust centurions to sink under it.¹ Hadrian, marching with bared head in front of his legions, was a general always obeyed; Caracalla, kneading his bread, is grotesque and destroys discipline by losing the respect of his soldiers.

They tell us still of barbarians massacred by treason, of a king of

the Quadi whom he caused to be put to death, of a war which, according to the wish of Tacitus, he kindled between the Vandals and the Marcomanni, of successes against the Sarmatians in Dacia and against the Goths, whose name then appears for the first time.² This is much obscurity about all this, but it reveals an intention of rendering secure the northern frontier of the Empire. "After having reorganized the army of the Danube," says Herodian, "he passed into Thrace and there made numerous regulations for the cities," as he had already done in Gaul, and as he was about to do in Asia. What the regulations were we have no knowledge;

¹ Herod., iv. 7. Dion agrees with him.

² They were scouts preceding the body of the Gothic nation, which was then approaching from the Euxine, but had not yet arrived, unless it be necessary to transform these Goths of Caracalla into Getæ who inhabited both sides of the Danube. Dion (lxvii. 6) gives this name to the unsubjected Dacians.



Ruins of the Basilica (?) of Pergamus. (Texier, *Asie Mineure*, vol. ii. pl. 117.)

but the fact is to be noted, for, having doubtless been conceived in a spirit contrary to the local liberties, they must have hastened the hour when these liberties disappeared.

He crossed the Hellespont, nearly perishing in a tempest, and repaired to Pergamus, in order to get Æsculapius to heal him of his secret infirmity. He submitted to all the prescriptions then in use for wonderful cures. A miracle would this time have been of importance and of excellent profit, but it could not be effected by ordinary procedures: the emperor was too much in public. The god turned a deaf ear and Caracalla retained his disease.¹ At Troy he crowned with flowers the tomb of Achilles and desired that he also might have a Patroclus. His freedman Festus was chosen to play the dangerous part of friend to the hero. The new Patroclus in fact died some days afterwards, which gave the prince an opportunity to repeat the funeral scenes described by Homer: Festus had been poisoned for this performance.

He passed the winter of 214-215 at Nicomedia, where Dion, our principal guide for this history, was with him. The Parthians were then wasting in internal feuds the last remnant of their life: the occasion was propitious for attacking them. He arrogantly reclaimed from them two refugees whom they immediately gave up, and this docility took away for the moment all pretext for war. Meanwhile victories were necessary to him. The king of Osrhoene governed his country for the benefit of Rome. Edessa, its principal city, situated on the route of caravans, at the foot of a cliff which bore the acropolis and from which issued an abundant supply of water, was and still is an important strategic point, the centre of defence for Upper Mesopotamia. This king had entered into compromising relations with the Persians: what these were is not known. Along this remote frontier friendships were fluctuating. Caracalla resolved to



Coin of Pergamus, with the Effigies of Æsculapius, Hygieia, and Telesphorus.

¹ At this visit, Pergamus at least gained great privileges, which Macrinus revoked. Texier has found in all Asia Minor the ruins of only two amphitheatres, at Cyzicus and Pergamus, vol. ii. p. 227. The amphitheatre at Pergamus is very small, 184 by 121 feet. The waters of the stream which flows across it could be stopped for nautical games, crocodile combats, or nymphs playing on marine shells, as Martial indicates, *de Spectac.*, 26.

suppress this tributary state: he persuaded the king to come and meet him, cast him into prison, and made a Roman colony of his capital. The affair was insignificant, but the suppression of an oriental king always occasioned more clamour than in the West, and then Abgarus probably had a well-filled treasury.¹ Caracalla employed the same method of procedure with respect to the king of Armenia, then at variance with his son. He invited them to choose him as arbiter, and when they had come he treated them as he had the king of Osroene. But the Armenians did not allow themselves to be captured so easily as their prince: they destroyed a Roman army sent against them.

The senators, whom Caracalla reproached for their idleness, while he was exposing himself in their behalf to fatigues and dangers, naturally applauded these lofty exploits. The surname *Parthicus* was decreed to him, and they terminated all the acclamations in his honour by the wish that his reign might endure a hundred years. He did not feel himself to be less odious, and wrote to them from Antioch: "I know that my exploits are displeasing to you; but I have arms and soldiers. So I am not disturbed by what you think."

In Antioch, he had come in search of pleasures;² in Alexandria, where he arrived at the end of the autumn of 215,³ he sought for vengeance. The Alexandrians, a frivolous and jeering race, gave to Julia the surname of Jocasta, the incestuous spouse of her son, the mother of two hostile brothers; they called Caracalla the very great Getic, *maximus Geticus*, a cutting allusion to an exploit which had not been accomplished in the country of the Getæ, and they laughed at this ugly man, undersized and bald, old before his time, who pretended to act the great heroes, Achilles and Alexander. These doings were reported to the

¹ This suppression did not last long, for we afterwards find kings at Edessa. The suppressed dynasties sometimes were converted into Roman functionaries. A descendant of Herod was proconsul of Asia about 135, and a Julius Antiochus, of the royal race of Commagene, was consul and one of the Arval Brothers. (*Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, 1882, p. 291.) At the other extremity of the Empire, the country of the Gallæci and the Asturians was separated, in 215, from Hispania Citerior. This was merely a dismemberment of a province. (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii. 2,661.)

² *Antiochenses colonos fecit salvis tributis* (*Digest.*, l. 15, 8, § 5). He granted to them, as also to the Byzantines, *jura vetusta*. (*Spart., Car.*, l.)

³ Eckhel, iii. 215.

emperor. When he approached the city the most prominent citizens went forth to meet him, bearing in their hands the sacred objects, as if their gods wished to do honour to the new god who was coming. Caracalla received them well, and, in derision of the old and sacred laws of hospitality, he made them sit at his table, and then, at the termination of the feast, ordered them to be put to death. During the execution the soldiers seized their arms and



Caracalla as a Warrior.¹



Caracalla as an Apple-seller.¹

rushed into the city. The squares, the principal streets, the chief edifices, were occupied; he himself took his station in the temple of Serapis and from there organized the massacre. The slaughter continued through many days, without distinction of age, condition, or sex. What was the number of the victims? Immense, for Alexandria was an ant-hill of men and an opulent city, where the soldier struck at random and pillaged in security. The temples even, those sacred banks in which private persons often deposited their riches, were not spared. The carnage ceased only when, from

¹ Grotesque statuettes of the Museum of Avignon. (Ch. Lenormant, *Nouveaux Mémoires*.)
VOL. VI. S

weariness and disgust, the sword dropped from the hand of the murderers, sated with blood and booty.

In announcing this exploit to the senate, "the Ausonian monster" said: "As to the quantity and quality of those who have perished, it matters little, for they all merited the same fate.¹ The public conscience was perhaps in secret indignant; but,



Caracalla trampling Egypt under his Feet.²

officially, the senators commemorated this new species of victory by a coin representing the prince trampling Egypt under his feet.

Caracalla then resumed his ideas of conquest (216). He sent to demand of the king of the Parthians the hand of his daughter, and on his refusal, crossed the Tigris, captured Arbela, where he flung to the winds the ashes of the kings, and ravaged a part of Media. The enemy, astonished at this sudden aggression, had offered no resistance. After this easy



Coin commemorative of the Victory of Caracalla over the Parthians (*Victoria Parthica Maxima*). Aureus struck in the year 217.

success the emperor returned to Mesopotamia and went into winter-quarters in Edessa to consult there the oracle of the god Lunus; but while he was seeking the future he lost the present: on his way to Carrhæ he was slain by one of those men whose appetites he had inordinately aroused—a soldier discontented at not having been appointed centurion. This occurred April 8, 217, when he was barely twenty-nine years old.³

The Romans had divinities whom they called "the Terrible," *Diræ*, avenging powers which always exist for princes, for expiation always follows great crimes and ends by overtaking those who have committed them, or their posterity.

Julia Domna was then at Antioch. Up to the last hour of Caracalla she had possessed supreme power, but she had also endured supreme anguish: during a quarter of a century the Roman world

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 22, whom I follow always in preference to Herodian.

² PM. TR. P. XVIII IMP. III COS. IIII PP. SC. Caracalla trampling under foot a crocodile, symbol of Egypt, and receiving two ears of corn from the hands of Africa. Large bronze. Cohen, No. 474.

³ Zosimus does not believe that Caracalla was killed by Macrinus: "The author of his death," he says, "was never known." Herodian (iv. 12) gives us to understand that there was a conspiracy among the chiefs of the army, and Spartian affirms it (*Carac.*, 6).

at her feet, then her husband dead, one of her sons slaughtered, and now the other also had fallen under the blows of an assassin, involving in his downfall the ruin of her house. Too proud to submit to the condition of a subject under some adventurer whom her family had raised from nothing, and to become, after so much grandeur, the object of public pity, she resolved to escape from her distress like a Stoic of ancient days. And, besides, she suffered from a malady perhaps incurable; death was approaching her: she went to meet it, and allowed herself to die of starvation.¹

The God Lunus.²

Caracalla had constructed at Rome a portico on which were

Caracalla offering to Mars a Victory.³

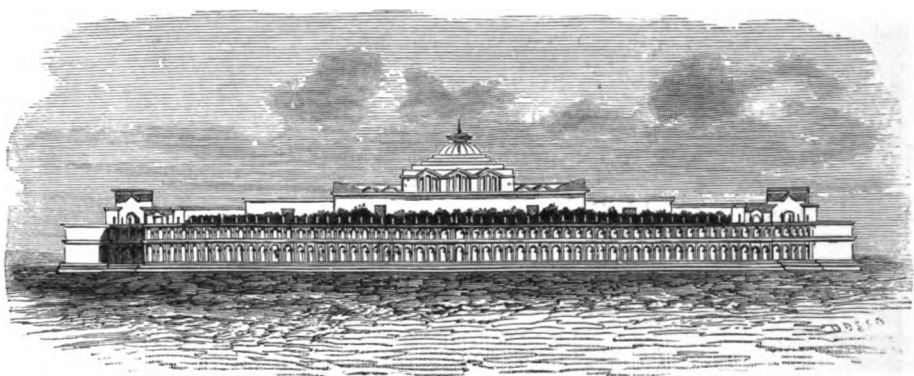
engraved the exploits of his father, and thermæ which are, after

¹ According to Herodian (iv. 13) she killed herself through despair or in obedience to a secret order.

² Gem of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,033.

³ Gem of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,103. (Agate, $\frac{3}{100}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{100}$ in.) Caracalla seated, half nude like Jupiter, holds in one hand a horn of plenty and with the other presents

the Coliseum, the grandest ruin in Rome and one of the largest in the world.¹ A colonnade, running round a perimeter of 4,750 feet, formed an inclosure behind which extended gardens planted with trees, lawns, and flowers, with a stadium reserved for gymnastic games, which Roman hygiene prescribed after the bath. The thermæ themselves, an edifice 750 feet long by 500 in width, inclosed a theatre, halls for declamation or study, courts with porticos for a promenade, museums, and libraries; finally, an immense reservoir surrounded with 1,600 seats of sculptured marble, and in which 3,000 persons could bathe at once. In the centre of



Thermæ of Caracalla. (Restoration by Blouet.—École des Beaux-Arts.)

this colossal construction rose the *cella Soliaris*, covered with a flat dome, which was the despair of the architects of the time and is still the astonishment of ours.² Everywhere the choicest marbles, the most beautiful mosaics, and the master-pieces of art. From it have been taken the Hercules of Glycon, the Flora, and the magnificent group of Dirce, known under the name of the Farnese Bull. A single column of these thermæ has appeared sufficient to decorate the square *della Santa Trinità* at Florence, and the Museum of Naples is filled with sculptures brought from these ruins, the last and supreme effort of Roman art. Spartian thinks that the

a Victory to a statue of Mars. On the exergue: MAR(ti) VIC(tori). (Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, p. 274.)

¹ He had not time to complete these thermæ; the external colonnade was constructed by Elagabalus and completed by Alexander Severus. (Lampridius, *Heliog.*, 17, and *Alex.*, 25.) On the thermæ of the Romans, see vol. iv. p. 220.

² [It has been shown by Mr. Middleton, in his *Ancient Rome* in 1885, that this roof was no arch, but a solid mass of concrete, cast in this shape, and laid on like a metal lid.—*Ed.*]



Interior of a Hall of the Thermæ of Caracalla. (Present condition.)

street which lead to the Thermæ of Caracalla, constructed by this prince, was the finest in Rome.

In Syria, he had continued the labours of his father; at



Fragment of Mosaic from the Thermæ of Caracalla. (Casing of the Upper Story.)

Baalbec, the great vestibule and the *temenos* of the temple of Jupiter were built by him.

These works of art will not save his memory. He had scarcely reigned six years, and this short time had been sufficient to do irreparable damage. Under Commodus, Pertinax, and Julianus, the

soldiery had been insolent; under Caracalla it actually took possession of the Empire. Accustomed to see this prince defer in everything to their caprices, they desire this *régime* which was so profitable



Flora, called the Flora Farnese. (Colossal Statue found at the Thermæ of Caracalla.)

to endure, and to succeed in this they determined to choose emperors who would not be in a condition to change it.

II.—MACRINUS (APRIL 12, 217—JUNE 8, 218); ELAGABALUS (JUNE 8, 218—MARCH 11, 222).

Macrinus (*Marcus Opellius Macrinus*) was an African, like Severus, and a native of *Cæsarea*, the Cherchell of the French colony in Algiers. He was of humble origin. It was said that he

had been a slave and a gladiator; we know that he was procurator of the property of Plautianus, and that he barely escaped perishing with him. Severus took into his service this confidential agent of his old friend and made him superintendent of the post-service of the Flaminian Way. Caracalla, forgetting who had been his first protector, appointed him advocate of the fiscus, and later, prefect of the prætorium. He was a mild and just man, without talent or ambition, who never would have dreamed of empire had not a letter denouncing him fallen into his hands.¹ To escape certain death he caused the prince to be slain, and his accomplice having been instantly massacred by the guards, the part which he had played in the murder was not at first known. He pretended to feel great sorrow, which won the soldiers; on the fourth day he was proclaimed emperor, being as yet only a mere knight.² We see how everything is becoming debased, even the imperial dignity. His son *Diadumenianus*, then in his ninth year, became Cæsar and Prince of Youth (April, 12, 217).



Diadumenianus Antoninus, Cæsar and Prince of Youth.³

The new emperor did not dare to have Caracalla declared a public enemy. His ashes were borne secretly to the tomb of the Antonines, and that his images might disappear quietly, a decree sent to the mint all the statues of silver and gold. But he received divine honours. A temple and pontiffs were consecrated to him. The soldiers did not agree that their favourite emperor should be deprived of an apotheosis.

¹ Capitolinus is very much opposed to him, but Dion, his contemporary, says too much in his favour out of hatred to Caracalla (lxxviii. 40). Herodian speaks also of his severity (v. 2).

² Herodian (v. 1) and Dion (lxxviii. 14). He had, however, received the consular ornaments (Dion, *ibid.*, 13), which had assured him the title of *clarissimus*. (Or.-Henzen, 5,512.) Cf. Lampridius, *Alex.*, 21.

³ M. OPEL. ANTONINVS DIADV MENIANVS CÆS., around the head of the young prince. On the reverse, PRINC. JVVENTVTIS S.C., Diadumenianus standing, holding an ensign and a sceptre. At his left, two ensigns. Lampridius (*Diad.*, 2) has preserved these words of Macrinus, showing that to the ordinary *donativum* were added promotions, which redoubled the interest that the soldiers had in multiplying the vacancies of the throne and the imperial adoptions: *Habete. commilitones, pro imperio ternos, pro Antonini nomine aureos quinos et solitas promotiones, sed geminatas.*

As the conqueror of Niger had pretended to continue the house of the Antonines, Macrinus wished to attach himself to the African dynasty, without however claiming all the inheritance. He assumed the name of Severus, and gave to Diadumenianus that of Antoninus, which his victim had borne. It was a bit of flattery to those crowds who are always captivated by words and appearances: Horace has an expression like this.¹ For the rest, Macrinus



Apotheosis of Caracalla.²

applied himself to winning everybody: the senate by tokens of regard, the soldiers with money, the people by the suppression of recent imposts, the public feeling by the recall of the proscribed and the punishment of delators; but all this was done by degrees, and nowhere was felt the firm hand of a man capable of imposing his will.

The king of the Parthians had invaded Mesopotamia with a large army. Macrinus, obliged to lead against him troops lacking



Reverse of a Coin of Macrinus.³

discipline and ardour for this war, experienced repulses which the enemy were not able however to turn into defeats. The Romans, masters of the cities and of numerous strong castles, in which they had had time to collect all the provisions, left the plain to the enemy's cavalry, who could not subsist there. The two princes soon wearied of a struggle in which neither of

them was heartily engaged. Macrinus, besides, was in haste to return to Rome; he made humble proposals, released the prisoners, and gave 15,000,000 drachmas, with which Artabanus was satisfied.⁴ He again humiliated himself before the Armenians, restored to their king Tiridates his mother, whom Caracalla had retained in captivity, the lands which his father had possessed in Cappadocia, and probably a pension, in consideration of which the Armenian consented to receive the gold crown which Macrinus sent him as a

¹ . . . qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus (*Sat.*, I. vi. 17).

² CONSECRATIO. S.C. Caracalla in a four-horse chariot, on a funeral pile of three stories. (Large bronze struck after the death of Caracalla. Cohen, No. 396.)

³ PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. II COS. PP. S. C. Felicitas standing, holding a caduceus and a horn of plenty. (Large bronze. Cohen, No. 92.)

⁴ Dion, lxxviii. 27.

sign of sovereignty. In Dacia hostages were also restored to the barbarians. Under Caracalla, the Empire had maintained, at least in the face of the enemy, the proud bearing which Severus had given it.

The success of the Roman arms was not the less celebrated on



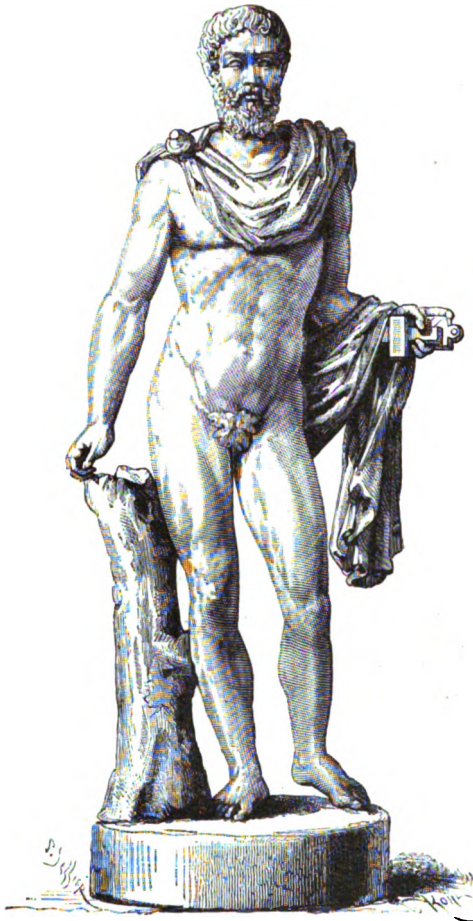
Diadumenianus.¹ (Bust of the Capitol.)

account of these events. The coins were like an official journal of the time, and quite as unreliable as certain bulletins of victories; one of them, which the senate ordered to be struck, bore the words: *Victoria Parthica*.²

¹ The cuirass and the cloak of this marble bust are of alabaster. (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 57.)

² Eckhel, vii. 258.

Yet Macrinus undertook to draw closer the bonds of discipline, so lax under Caracalla, and while leaving to the veterans the



Macrinus.² (Statue of the Vatican.)

increase of pay, the rewards and exemptions from service which had been lavished upon them, he pretended to submit the recruits to the regulations of Severus,¹ and treated them all with extreme severity. A victor might have done this with success; a half-conquered prince, and one who had purchased a peace, was incapable of imposing this reform. The war had called many troops into Syria: he made the mistake of keeping them there. These inactive soldiers, their minds still full of the memories of the great expeditions of Severus, began to reckon up the profits that had accrued to them from the victories of the father and the donatives of the son, and to make between what was and what had been that comparison which the dis-

affected always turn to the disadvantage of the present. Macrinus had written to the Conscript Fathers that he intended to do nothing without them,³ that is to say, that he was going to restore to

¹ Dion, lxxviii. 28. According to Capitolinus (*Macr.*, 12), he condemned adulterers to be burned, *junctis corporibus*; fugitive slaves to fight as gladiators; delators, if they failed to prove the accusation, forfeited their heads; if they proved it, they were branded with infamy after having received the sum which the law allowed them; he condemned soldiers to the cross or had other servile punishments inflicted upon them; he often "decimated" them. I doubt whether he could have been capable of so much energy. Yet Herodian (v. 2) confirms the words of Capitolinus.

² Statue of heroic size in Greek marble, which has preserved its antique head. (*Museo Pio Clem.*, vol. iii. pl. 12.)

³ In the letter which Macrinus wrote to the senate to announce the revolt of Elagabalus,

the senate the centre of the Empire, which the last prince had placed in the army. This should have been done and nothing said about it; especially he should have sent back to their respective



Macrinus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 55.)

garrisons the legions which were useless in the pacified East, and not have passed his life in Antioch gazing at dancers and listening to buffoons. Soon complaints were openly made in the camps, of the parsimony of the new prince, of this lawyer who kept the soldier in his tent, while not long before cities had been his

he complained of the insatiable greed of the soldiers and of the impossibility of his being able to provide, with the ordinary revenues of the State, for the payment of the soldiers' wages, at the rate to which Caracalla had raised them.

quarters. They spoke of the millions given up to the Parthians as of property taken from the legions, and they went so far as to believe that the murderer of the prince who was so dear to the army was Macrinus.

After the death of Julia Domna, Macrinus had relegated to Emesa the sister of that empress, Mæsa, with her two daughters, Soæmias, mother of Avitus Bassianus, so notorious under the name of Elagabalus, and Mammæa, whose son, born in an old Canaanite city where the Venus of Libanus was adored,¹ had taken



Julia Mæsa.
(Gold Coin.)

from a temple of that city consecrated to Alexander the name of the Macedonian hero. It seems that these Syrian women, who were very intelligent, had made profitable marriages by taking husbands who possessed fortunes as well as years; at least, they both were already widows and rich. They had also made skilful use of their imperial connections, and, in 217, what remained of the family of the priest Bassianus, three women and two children,² were now united near the temple of the Sun. This sanctuary, in great veneration throughout all Syria, possessed the right of asylum;³ it afforded shelter for their wealth and their persons. Macrinus, a timorous usurper, lacking the audacity which sometimes renders usurpation successful, left in the hands of his enemies all this gold—a sure means, in such a time, to bring about a revolution. Another imprudence was, that he sent a legion to camp in the vicinity of this treasure to which Mæsa and her daughters had the key, and near a city which, owing to Caracalla the title and privileges of an Italic colony, venerated his memory and his race.⁴

These three women, without counsellors, without support, undertook from the remoteness of their Syrian city to overthrow an emperor, and they overthrew him.

They had consecrated the elder of the children to the priesthood of the god of Emesa, hereditary in the family of Bassianus; they had him circumcised, in conformity with the custom of

¹ *Arca Cæsarea* or *Cæsarea Libanis*. Cf. Belley, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxxii. pp. 685 *et seq.*

² Soæmias had had a second son. (Orelli, No. 946, and Boeckh, *C. I. G.*, No. 6,627.)

³ Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 2.

⁴ *Digest*, l. 15, 1, § 4.

the country, and forbade him to eat pork. They themselves strove to produce an effect on the minds of the people by an affected or sincere devotion. An inscription gives to Mæsa the title of "very holy;"¹ coins of Soëmias represent her under the features of the Venus Celestia,² and Mammæa, through religious curiosity and political precaution, had entered into correspondence with Origen.³ There were many Christians and Jews in this region, whom these advances might win, without alarming the pagans. Then, as to-day, these sensual and impressionable populations suffered themselves to be deceived by the outward appearance of sanctity. In the East, marabouts who make use of religion for political ends are of all times. The three women caused this part to be played by the child in whom were centred their affections and their hopes.

Varius Avitus Bassianus, better known under the name of his god Elagabalus,⁴ was then in his fourteenth year;⁵ he had that plastic beauty which the Greeks regard as a gift from the gods; and when clad in a robe of purple embroidered with gold, his head encircled with a crown of precious stones whose iridescence sparkled like a luminous aureole about his brow, he ascended to the temple to fulfil the sacred rites, the crowd believed they beheld a child of destiny. The soldiers encamped in the suburbs of the city often came to this renowned sanctuary, and, yet more than the others, admired and loved the young pontiff, whom Severus had cradled upon his knees. Gradually the report spread that Elagabalus was more nearly connected with him who had been the real emperor of the soldiers. Servants of the palace



Elagabalus, on a Coin of Tralles.⁶

¹ *Sanctissima* (Henzen, No. 5,515).

² Eckhel, vii. 265. See above, p. 121, a statue, and p. 122, a coin of Soëmias, *Venus Celestia*.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 21. We must not in this fact see a leaning towards Christianity, for all the coins of Mammæa are pagan.

⁴ The name Elagabalus is never found on coins, any more than that of Caligula and Caracalla. These surnames have passed into history from the mouth of the people. His official name was *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*.

⁵ Herod., v. 3. Lampridius assigns him three years more (and the same to Alexander Severus), but Dion represents him as being yet a child, *παῖδιον* (lxxviii. 36 and 38), and makes him die at 18 (lxxix. 20).

⁶ Large bronze, the reverse of which we have given in vol. iv. p. 69.

of Emesa said he was the son of Caracalla,¹ and the money distributed, the promises made and hopes given, easily persuaded people who had an interest in being persuaded. For the success of this intrigue, Mæsa sacrificed her gold, Soæmias her honour; but neither of them cared for what they lost. The gold of Mæsa was placed at high interest, and Soæmias thought that the mantle of an empress would cover all.² As for the soldiers, they demanded nothing more to give to an effeminate Syrian the Empire of Augustus and Trajan.

One night Elagabalus repaired to the camp of Emesa, followed by wagons which bore the ransom of the Empire, and when day dawned he was proclaimed. They gave to him the names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (May 16, 218): a last tribute to those Antonines whose renown even then was magnified by remoteness, and whom the poets of the time ranked above the gods.³

A prefect of the prætorium, Ulpianus Julianus, happened to be in the vicinity, with a troop of Moorish cavaliers whom he believed to be devoted to Macrinus their compatriot. He hastened to the camp to force its gates; the attack, feebly conducted, was not successful, and a second attempt met the same fate. So much was not needed to make the fidelity of his soldiers waver. When they heard a *cubicularius* of the last prince proclaim in the name of the new, that the property and the rank of the dead man should belong to him who would bring to the camp of Emesa the head of a centurion or a tribune; when they saw their comrades display from the top of the wall him whom they called the son of Caracalla and the bags of Mæsa's gold, they slew their officers, and the ensigns of the two armies united.

On a first report of the prefect, Macrinus had seen in this revolt only an outbreak of women, whom he would easily satisfy. Soon a messenger from the camp of Emesa arrived: "I bring you the head of Elagabalus," said he, and flung down that of Julianus.



The God of Emesa.

¹ He assumed this title, which is found in the inscriptions: *divi Severi nepos, divi Antonini filius*.

² Lampridius (*Heliog.*, 2) accuses Soæmias of having led the life of a courtesan, *meretricis more vixit*.

³ . . . *Antoninos pluris fuisse quam deos* (Lamprid., *Diad.*, 7).

The sight of this bloody trophy which the rebels had sent him, the audacity of this soldier, who profited by the confusion to make his escape, caused anxiety in the heart of the prince, and he had



Elagabalus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 57.)

recourse to what seemed the great measure of safety with soldiers. That he might have occasion to promise to each legionary 5,000 drachmas, of which 1,000 to be paid down, he conferred the title of Augustus on his son. The letter which announced to the senate

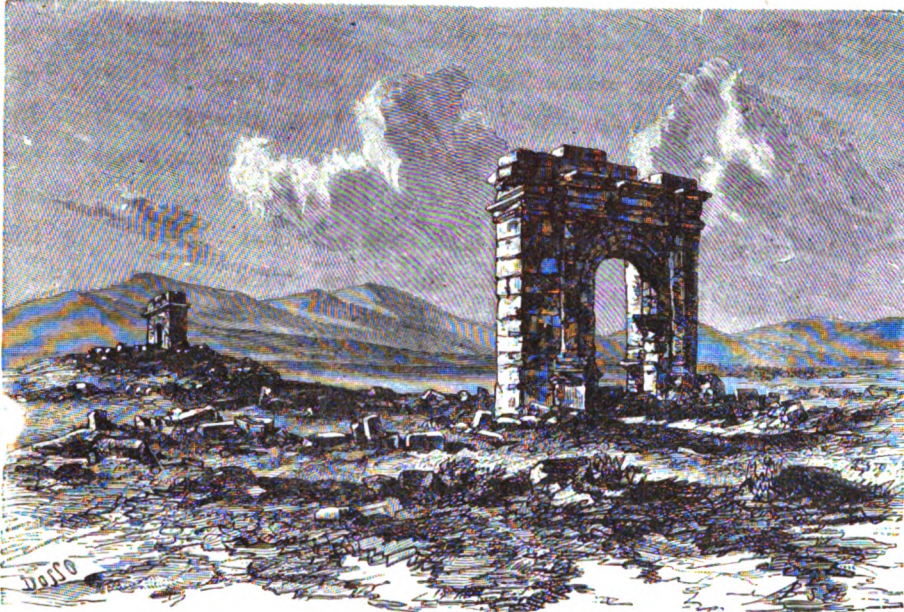
this elevation, promised to the Romans a congiary of 150 drachmas per head; from which we see that a soldier was then esteemed to be worth thirty-three times as much as one of the sovereign people. He also re-established all the military regulations of Caracalla.

The largesses inspired by fear came too late; every day deserters made their way from all points of Syria, singly or in bands, to the camp of Emesa; the legion of Albano, which was encamped at Apamea, deserted in a body, so that the army of Elagabalus became strong enough to go in pursuit of that of Macrinus. The encounter took place on the confines of Syria and Phœnicia; the eunuch or servant of Mammæa, Gannys, who led the soldiers of the young Cæsar, happened to be a skilful man of war. He took up a good position, and Mæsa, Soæmias, and even Elagabalus, cast themselves into the fray to inspire their troops. Macrinus, on the contrary, frightened by the tumult and by new defections, fled, leaving his prætorians to maintain valiantly the reputation of the corps; but when they became aware of the cowardice of their chief and the promise of Elagabalus, that they should preserve their rank and honours, they laid down their arms, and the high-priest of the Sun found himself master of the Roman world. This occurred June 8, 218.¹

Macrinus had sent in advance to Antioch an announcement of victory. When he arrived near this city he took a passport of the imperial post, cut off his hair and beard, and in disguise attempted in great haste to reach Byzantium and Europe. All went well at first, and he had crossed Asia Minor without opposition, when excess of fatigue and need of money obliged him to stop in a poor cottage in the outskirts of Chalcedon. A note written by him to an agent of the imperial finances to obtain funds led to his recognition; he was arrested and delivered up to the soldiers of Elagabalus, who had followed him from Antioch. He had charged trusty messengers to conduct his son to the Parthians, his recent allies. Horsemen overtook the child before he had passed the Euphrates and slew him. The news of his

¹ Is it in remembrance of this triumph that he founded in Palestine, on the site of Emmaüs, a city of victory, Nicópolis? (Eusebius, *Chron.*, *ad ann.* 224.) He made Emesa a colony possessing the *jus Italicum*. (*Digest*, l. 15, s. § 6.)

death reached his father while he himself was being brought to the conqueror. He threw himself from the top of his chariot and



Ruins of Zana, the Ancient *Diana* (*Revue archéol.*, ninth volume).

fractured his shoulder; the soldiers finished him. He was fifty-four years old and had not reigned fourteen months.

No monument of him is known, but an arch of triumph still standing in French Algeria, at Zana, the ancient *Diana*, was raised to him by his compatriots of Mauretania.¹

He had, we are assured, a plan of making a revision of the imperial rescripts, which were most frequently only decisions in special cases, with a view to preserving only those which were of a general character. It was a laudable intention, which required time for its execution, and this was not granted him.³



The God of Emesa.

The god of Emesa was represented by a black stone, which

¹ The inscription of the Arch of Zana (*Diana Veteranorum*), constructed directly after his accession, terms him *consul designatus*. Dion, in fact, informs us that Macrinus was not willing, as Plautianus had done (see p. 82), to reckon the consular ornaments which he had obtained from Caracalla as a first consulate. (L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, pp. 185 et seq.)

² *Aureus* of Uranius Antonius bearing the black stone richly ornamented and surmounted by a crown with points.

³ He had also undertaken to continue the alimentary foundations established by Trajan and the Antonines. (Lamprid., *Diad.*, 2.)

no doubt had the same origin as the black stone of Mecca. The terrestrial influence of these two aerolites¹ was very different, for we may say that the one brought down from sidereal space a grand idea of religious purity, and the other the principle of all disorder. The Arabs relate that when creation was complete, God summoned the angels to contemplate the work emanating from his hands. At sight of it the choir of celestial spirits uttered a cry of adoration: "Allah!" This holy word, which proclaimed the unity and omnipotence of the Creator, God shut up in the



Elagabalus in a Chariot drawn
by Two Women.²

heart of the black stone which Abraham deposited in the Kaaba. At the day of judgment it will open to disclose to view the divine formula in flaming characters, and to give testimony in behalf of those who have approached it with pure lips and a repentant heart.

This legend is beautiful; it transforms an act of vulgar superstition into a profession of moral and religious faith. The stone of Emesa had more worldly grandeur, but infinitely less of virtue. It was the image of the Sun, from which it appeared to have come; and, as in all religions, the sign becomes easily confounded with the thing signified, it was venerated like the Sun itself, the author of life, the principle of fecundity and generation, which they adored by acts analogous to those which it accomplishes in the bosom of nature.³

Elagabalus was the most complete representation of the unclean side of this naturalism. Hitherto the tyrants of Rome had at least

¹ "In the temple . . . one notices a great stone, rounded at the base and pointed at the top, of conical form and black in colour, which they say to have fallen from heaven." (Herod., v. 5.)

² Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 253 (white jasper, $1\frac{5}{100}$ in. by $\frac{82}{100}$ in.). This monument answers to the text of Lampridius: *junxit et quaternas mulieres pulcherrimas, et binas ad papillam, vel ternas et amplius, et sic vectatus est: sed plerumque nudus quum illum nude traherent*. The Greek inscription: *Long live Epixenus* (from ἐπιξενος, intruder), leads us to think that this cameo is a monument of a satirical nature.

³ Asia was full of these conical stones. Venus at Paphos, Gacion at Seleucia (see vol. iv. p. 313) and at Bosra, were thus represented. These cones, of sidereal origin, symbolized the generative power: the two mountains named Casius, near Antioch and on the frontier of Egypt, owed this name to their pyramidal form. (Cf. Mionnet, *Séleucide et Piérie*, Nos. 891 et seq., which give bronzes of Trajan representing a cone in a tetrastyle temple, with the legend, *Zeus Kasios*, and De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémitiques*, pp. 103-104.)

had something of the Roman character. In the son of Severus they had still found a soldier, the son of Soæmias was a pure Syrian, in whom united all that the East could produce of lascivious and shameful vices. His tastes turned to the most abominable life, his mind to the wildest aberrations. Hence he has ever remained in the memory of men as the symbol of enthroned infamy. Three things had produced this moral monstrosity: an impure religion, absolute power, and his youth.

After his victory Elagabalus assumed all the imperial titles, without awaiting the usual decree of the senate, and marched rapidly upon Antioch, which purchased exemption from pillage by the payment of 500 drachmas to each soldier. From there were despatched at once letters to the Conscrip Fathers, in which he agreed to govern like Marcus Aurelius, and issued sentences of death against the governors who had been slow to divine his fortune, against senators who had shown too much zeal in favour of Macrinus, and even against the skilful man who had won for him the battle of Antioch.¹

Each of the shocks which dethroned an emperor was succeeded by disorder, in which the Empire was painfully convulsed until a firm hand restored its equilibrium. The legions of Macrinus, sent to their cantonments, pillaged the villages along their route, and a great number of persons had visions of the imperial purple. They had just seen a simple knight come to imperial power, and now a child was mounting to it. There was then no more right nor constitution, no more senate nor Roman people, no more puissant aristocracy giving to Rome its Cæsars. "At the death of Nero," says Tacitus, "a terrible secret had been revealed, which was that emperors might be made outside Rome." At the accession

¹ Dion, lxxix. 3-4. One of the victims of Elagabalus, Valerianus Pætus, was condemned "because he had had portraits of himself made of gold, for the adornment of his mistresses." I point out this fact to indicate a Roman usage: the first act of an emperor was to coin gold pieces with his likeness upon them. To encroach on this right was a crime of majesty. Pætus was well aware of this, and was without doubt not so innocent as Dion says: "He was a Galatian," adds the historian: "they accused him of wishing to incite a rebellion in the neighbouring province, Cappadocia, and of having had coins struck with this intent, which were the cause of his death." This is the way all the usurpers began their career. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxvi. 7) relates that the partisans of the usurper Procopius brought about the defection of Illyria by circulating there pieces with his effigy, as proof that he was indeed the legitimate emperor.

of Elagabalus, another was taught them, which is, that it was not necessary to be elected by a powerful army, but that a few cohorts and shouts of the populace were sufficient to determine a revolution. Hence many persons fancied that with a little audacity it would be easy to force the gates of the palace. Two legates of legions, even a son of a centurion, a worker in wool, and others besides¹ attempted in various places to draw away soldiers after them. An unknown person went so far as to undertake to stir up a mutiny among the crews of the fleet of Cyzicus, while Elagabalus was wintering near there in Nicomedia. "So many worthless persons," says the historian Cassius, "had victoriously trodden the path to power, that it had become smoothed for all the adventurers who dared enter upon it." The era of the thirty tyrants draws nigh.

In Mount Taurus, Elagabalus had consecrated to his god the temple reared by Marcus Aurelius in honour of Faustina, and which Caracalla had dedicated to his own divinity. At Nicomedia he had himself painted in his sacerdotal costume: the picture was placed in the senate at Rome, above the statue of Victory, and each senator was obliged, before taking his seat in the curia, to burn incense before this image.² He entered Rome wearing a robe of purple embroidered with gold, a necklace of pearls, his cheeks painted with vermilion, and the lustre of his eyes heightened, like those of an Arab woman, by rubbing on henna. Mæsa and her two daughters followed him there. United in devising the plot, these three women did not agree in obtaining the advantages of the results. Mæsa, whose political ideas had been formed in the school of Severus, would have desired decency in conduct, order in expenditure—inopportune prudence, to which the child, intoxicated with power, gave no heed. Soæmias, on the contrary, thought that Elagabalus, being master of things human and divine, had no need to restrain himself in anything. Between these two women a division of power was effected in accordance with the taste of each. Business matters were irksome to the prince: he abandoned them to his prudent grandmother, on condition that she should not annoy him in his pleasures, and he

¹ Καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ ἄλλοθεν (Dion, lxxix. 7).

² Herod., v. 1.

gave her a seat in the senate near the consuls. To his mother he gave the presidency of a senate of women,¹ which was charged with the duty of determining for the matrons their costumes and precedence, the quantity of gold and precious stones that each might wear according to her condition, the ornaments of litters and carriages, etc.: a singular pre-occupation with etiquette in a court of upstarts in which the prince made a display of all the vices, confounded all ranks, and set a charioteer of the circus above a consular. As to the mother of Alexander, she kept herself in retirement and took especial care to keep her son with her.

The emperor was going to dishonour himself; but it should be recognized that although public morality was odiously outraged, the State did not suffer excessively from this deplorable reign.³ The executions during the first days, and the fidelity of the legions decisively obtained for the new government, rendered the ambitious prudent; the agitation subsided, and since the Germans remained quiet and the Parthians



Statue of Victory.²

¹ Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 4.

² Museum of the Louvre, No. 435. Statue in Greek marble, apparently celebrating two triumphs by the two crowns which she holds, one placed upon her head, the other in her right hand. A trophy is under her feet.

³ και μηδὲν μέγα κακὸν ἡμῖν φέροντα (Dion, lxxix. 8).

had enough to do to avert impending ruin, the cities of the frontier were at peace like those of the interior.

But at Rome, what exhibitions! Gluttony which might drive Vitellius to despair, lewdness such as to put Nero to the blush, scenes of infamy which can only be told in Latin! Elagabalus had entered into the city costumed like a priest of Phœnicia or a satrap of the Medes, bringing with him his shapeless god, the black stone of Emesa, which he honoured with barbarous songs, lascivious dances, and immolations of children.¹ He made of



Elagabalus, Priest of the Sun-god (*Sacerd. dei Solis Elagab. S. C.*). Large Bronze.

it the supreme divinity of the Empire. All Olympus was obliged to humiliate itself before this intruder, whom he solemnly united in mar-

riage with the Astarte of Carthage, giving to these deities for a bridal escort those new subjects to whom for centuries the Romans



The Conical Stone of Elagabalus on a Chariot drawn by Four Horses (*Sanct. deo Soli Elagabal.*). Imperial Coin of Emesa; Mionnet.

had attributed their fortune, and who consequently had aided them in acquiring it. Jupiter Capitolinus was reduced to the position of courtier to the Syrian idol,² and the sovereign pontiff of Rome became the priest of the Sun-god.³

Every year, says Herodian, he conducted his god into a magnificent temple which he had built for him in one of the suburbs of Rome. The idol was placed on a chariot sparkling with gold and precious stones, drawn by six white horses. No one rode on it, so that the god might appear to direct it himself. In front, the prince, supported by two guards, drove backwards in order to keep his eyes ever fixed on the holy image! Behind were borne the statues of all the gods, the imperial ornaments, and the precious furnishings of the palace; the garrison of Rome and the entire populace formed the escort, bearing torches and strewing the way with flowers and wreaths.⁴

Dion relates an adventure which took place about the same

¹ Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 11.

² *Omnes deos sui dei ministros esse aiebat* (Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 7).

³ *Sacerdos dei solis* (Eckhel, vii. 250); in the inscriptions, he joined to his title of emperor that of priest of Elagabalus (Henzen, Nos. 5,514-5).

⁴ Herod., v. 5.

time near the place where he himself was in command: "On the banks of the Ister appeared, I know not how, a genius who resembled in countenance Alexander of Macedon. He traversed Mæsia and Thrace, after the manner of Bacchus, accompanied by 400 men armed with thyrsi and clad in goat skins. They did no harm, and everything was supplied to them, lodging and provisions, at the expense of the cities, for no one dared oppose him in word or action—neither chief, nor soldier, nor procurator, nor governor of provinces; and it was in open daylight, as he had announced, that he advanced in procession as far as Byzantium. From there, having reached the territory of Chalcedon, he performed at night certain sacrifices, hid in the ground a wooden horse, and then disappeared."¹

These populations, stultified by gross superstitions, taking for a god the fanatic or the adroit swindler who lived at their expense, aid us to comprehend that other grotesque madman, creating a religious revolution at Rome in favour of his black stone. In the preceding chapter we have seen the superior men of this age directing their thought into the depths of heaven, there to seek that God who ever keeps from view. The two facts which we have now reported show the imagination of the simple-minded, princes or people, haunted by the same phantoms. The genii, the demons, are everywhere; every religion furnishes them; and the multitude, not knowing which to listen to, confounds them in a common and fearful adoration. It is the popular jumbling together of beliefs, which is produced after its fashion on a lower plane than the syncretism of the philosophers.

"In the temple of his god, where we have already seen all the occupants of the Græco-Roman Pantheon, he placed also," says his biographer, "the image of the great goddess, the Vestal fire, the Palladium, the sacred bucklers; he desired that they might there fulfil the rites of the Jews and the Samaritans, even the ceremonies of Christianity, so that the priests of Elagabalus might possess the secret of all religions."²

This secret the Christians believed that they possessed; and, seeing them oppose to this religious anarchy the unity of their

¹ Dion, lxxix. 18.

² Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 4.

belief and the discipline of their churches, we have a presentiment



Julia Cornelia Paula. (Bust in Parian Marble. Museum of the Louvre.)

that the hour of triumph is coming for them. The just loathing inspired by the high-priest of Emesa, must not, however, prevent our seeing that in the midst of these disgusting festivals an important fact lay concealed. The worship of the black stone did not accord with the Roman genius, which the Greeks had educated in respect to the plastic representation of the gods; but the monotheistic idea which this stone represented became a very Roman one. The worship of the Sun assumes more and more importance, for it was of all the pagan cults the most rational. We shall see that the Sun was the great god of Aurelian and that of the Constantine family. The

most miserable of the emperors accordingly plays, without suspecting it, a part in the religious decomposition of Roman society: this debauched fool had also in his way the intoxication of the divine. He is the representative of that confused medley of beliefs from which the faith in one only God is beginning to disengage itself. This confusion will be found in the mind of his successor, but with moral purity, while Elagabalus seeks and takes from it only that which may excite his passions.



Julia Aquilia Severa Aug[usta] (after a Large Bronze of the Cabinet de France).

For his idiotic luxuriousness and his infamous debauches we may refer to Lampridius. History notes these turpitudes or follies;

it does not delay over them. We need only say that, after the example of Asiatic monarchs who seek their ministers in the lowest ranks of society, he assigned the most prominent offices of the State to dancers and barbers, when he did not sell them to rich



Annia Faustina.

debauchees; that he treated the senate as a troop of slaves in togas, which was unhappily the truth; that his palace was sanded with gold dust, and that his garments of silk loaded with jewels were never worn twice; that he filled his fish-ponds with rose-water,² and that he had naval engagements represented on lakes of wine;³ that he finally dressed as a woman, painted his face, wrought at work in wool, and had himself styled *domina* or

¹ Bust of *pavonazetto*. (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No, 58.)

² Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 19. During the banquets, the ceiling opened to let fall upon the guests such a quantity of flowers that many were stifled by them.

³ *Ibid.*, 16, 22.

imperatrix, the emperor being at that time the son of a cook or some vigorous athlete. In less than four years he espoused four or five wives, whom he repudiated and took back again. The first, Julia Cornelia Paula, of eminent family, retained for one year only



Julia Mæsa. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 59.)

her title and honours; he carried off the second, Julia Aquilia Severa, from the altar of Vesta, an act of sacrilege which made even the Romans of that time tremble; the third, Annia Faustina, was descended from Marcus Aurelius; the memory of the great emperor only protected her a few weeks against the caprices of the imperial debauchee.

Meanwhile, Mæsa saw how such a manner of reigning must end. By adroit flattery she induced Elagabalus to bestow the title of Cæsar upon his cousin Alexander, adopting him as

his son. "He should devote himself," she told him, "to the enjoyment of his feasts, to his sacred orgies, and to his divine duties; another would have the care of affairs." This other was twelve years old, and the adoptive father numbered sixteen years; but the new Cæsar had already revealed his sweet and happy disposition, so that the grandmother and his mother centred in him the hope of their house. His good graces, his discretion, the strict masters whom he had about him, the perils which it was known that he incurred, and the secret largesses of Mammæa to the prætorians, obtained for him a popularity at which Elagabalus became incensed. He sought various means to put him out of the

way quietly. But Mammæa did not permit her son to taste any beverage or any dish sent by the emperor; she surrounded him with trusty servants, and the thoughtlessness of Elagabalus, which allowed any one to penetrate his designs, enabled them also to prevent them. Finally, one day he decided on an overt attack. He sent an order to the senators and to the soldiers to take from his cousin the title of Cæsar, while at the same time murderers were seeking for the child in order to slay him. This order provoked a sedition in which the emperor narrowly escaped death. He was obliged to go with Alexander to the camp of the prætorians, who required of him the death or dismissal of his minions, commanded the prince to change his mode of life, and ordered their prefects to see to it, and especially to prevent Alexander from imitating his cousin. One might think them French Cabochiens of 1413 enjoining morality upon the Dauphin, driving from the Hotel Saint Pol musicians and dancers belated too far into the night, and even the councillors who were displeasing to them, and whom they conducted to Parliament to be judged or slaughtered on the way there. There is, however, this difference: in 1413 Paris was in a revolution, and at Rome, in 221, the orders given by the soldiery to the prince had become the regular procedure.

On the first of January, 222, the two children were to go before the senate to take possession of the consular dignities. It required all the urging of Mæsa and the threat of a new sedition to induce Elagabalus to allow himself to be accompanied by his adopted son. But he absolutely refused to fulfil with



Elagabalus. (Statue, heroic size. Collection Mattei. Clarac, *Musée*, etc., pl. 768, No. 2,487 A.)

him, at the Capitol, the customary ceremonies. Another day he circulated a report of the death of Alexander, in order to judge, from what the soldiers might do, whether he might put him to death without incurring too much risk. Secretly informed that the young prince was alive, they demanded his presence among them with loud shouts, recalled the guard which they sent each morning to the palace, and withdrew to their camp. The trial resulted badly. Elagabalus hastened to appease them by showing to them the Cæsar. His mother and Mammæa followed him, each exciting the soldiery against the other. Mammæa at last carried the day. Violent clamours arose, then they came to blows; the friends, the ministers of Elagabalus, Soæmias herself, were slaughtered. The effeminate voluptuary, whom a crumpled rose-leaf disturbed, hid himself in the sinks of the camp. There he was put to death, and his corpse, dragged through the streets, not being able to pass through the outlet of a sewer, was flung into the Tiber, whither the god of Emesa was near following its pontiff. The senate consigned his memory to infamy, and history does the same. This was on March 11th, 222.

His cousin, aged thirteen and a half years,¹ was proclaimed Augustus and took the names of Marcus Aurelius Alexander, to which the soldiers added, in memory of him whom some gave him for a grandfather, the name of Severus.²

To mark distinctly that the oriental orgy was ended, and that the ancient deities dispossessed by the Syrian idol had resumed their sway, Alexander engraved on his coins the title of priest of Rome, *sacerdos Urbis*.³

¹ Herodian (v. 7) says that he was entering on his twelfth year when Elagabalus adopted him. He is generally assigned three years more.

² *Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander* (Eckhel, vii. 281). I have mentioned (vol. v. p. 522) the session of the senate at which Alexander declined the other names which the Fathers desired to confer upon him.

³ Eckhel, vii. 270.



Julia Soæmias Augusta.

CHAPTER XCIII.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS (MARCH 11, 222—MARCH 19, 235 A.D.).

I.—REACTION AGAINST THE PRECEDING REIGN; MAMMÆA AND ULPIAN; THE COUNCIL OF THE PRINCE.

ONCE more then, by the grace of the soldiers, the heritage of Augustus was in the hands of two women and a child. What vitality there was in this Empire, which, fallen under the rule of women, yet remained erect and imposing!

But these two women were of superior minds. We are acquainted with the skilful prudence of Mæsa and the elevated spirit of the mother of Alexander. The latter, by a well-ordered education, developed the happy disposition of this gentle and pious soul. She placed about her son the ablest masters, provided they were also the most honourable, and she taught him enough of literature and art to have a taste and respect for them; not enough to tempt him to bestow upon them the time demanded by public business. It will be remarked that Alexander expressed himself more easily in Greek than in Latin. This invasion of Greek into higher Roman society is a sign of the progress accomplished by another invasion, that of oriental hellenism and Alexandrian syncretism, of which this prince was also a representative.



Julia Mammæa
Aug[usta], Mother
of Alexander
Severus.
(Gold Coin.)

“From the day of his accession,” says Herodian,¹ “he was surrounded with all the pomp of sovereign power; but the care of the Empire was left to the two princesses, who made an effort to bring back good morals and the ancient dignified demeanour. They chose sixteen senators, the most eminent for experience and

¹ vi. i. A coin of 222 bears the words, *Liberalitas Aug.* This was the resuming of the *congrarium* granted, *ut moris erat, suscepto imperio*, says Eckhel.

integrity of life, to form the ordinary council of the prince.¹ Nothing was carried into execution without their advice. The people, the army, the senate, were charmed with this new form of government, which replaced the most insolent tyranny by a sort of aristocracy."

I do not know whether the senate was as satisfied as Herodian says with the new importance given to this *consilium principis*. We shall refer elsewhere to this institution, which took from the ancient masters of Rome their last prerogatives.

The Conscript Fathers gave themselves at least the pleasure of devoting to the infernal gods the prince or the consul who, in the future, should give a woman a seat in the august assembly. No doubt this decree of the senate appeared to them as worthy of memory as that which had ordered the victorious Pyrrhus to depart from Italy.²

"They made haste," continues the historian, "to restore to their sanctuaries the statues of the gods which Elagabalus had taken away. They removed from their places and honours the functionaries who had obtained them unworthily, and intrusted duties to the most capable citizens. . . . In order to preserve the prince from the mistakes which might be caused by absolute authority, the ardour of youth, or by some of the vices natural to his family, Mammæa scrupulously guarded the entrance to the palace and allowed no man to gain admission whose morals were of bad repute."

This reaction against the last reign, these precautions to save the new from the same excesses, were legitimate. They could not do this better than by the government of aged men and women, by this paternal and gentle authority, the calm and somnolence of which were calculated to protect this prince's minority, and to enable him to reach full age, if the soldiers consented to grant him time to do so.

¹ Lampridius (*Alex.*, 15) makes the number twenty. The council was complemented, in certain circumstances, by adding other senators, so that the number of fifty Conscript Fathers, required for the validity of a decree, might be attained. This council also made nominations to the senate. (*Ibid.*, 18.) The last great jurisconsults of Rome, Florentinus, Marcianus, Hermogenes, Saturninus, and Modestinus, numerous fragments of whose writings the *Pandects* have preserved to us, had seats in it, in company with Paulus and Ulpian.

² Lamprid., *Heliog.*, 18. Dating from the time of Alexander Severus we find no more *senatus-consulta*.

Into the imperial council Mammæa had called her compatriot Ulpian, whom she appointed prefect of the prætorium,¹ which made him the second personage in the state. In reality, considering the age of the emperor, Ulpian was the first,² for he was present at the audiences of the prince, reported matters to him with the solutions to be given, and had the conduct of the whole government. Under this great juriconsult,³ justice was impartial and the police service vigilant. Those who speculated on the misery of the people, the venality of a judge, or the compliance of a functionary had to render strict account; but no one lost his life or property without a judgment given after discussion on both sides.⁴ Many honourable rescripts were promulgated. They did not introduce any modifications into the law, but we see in them the provident kindness which is characteristic of this



Julia Mammæa, Mother of Alexander Severus.
(Bust of Pentelican Marble. Museum of the Louvre.)

¹ He appears to have been so under Elagabalus. (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 26, and Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 26.)

² See, for the powers of the prefect of the prætorium, p. 102.

³ Of the numerous works of Ulpian, the most important were eighty-three books *ad Edictum*, fifty-one *ad Sabinum*. Numerous fragments remain to us of his *Liber regularum singularis*. The extracts from these various treatises form a third of the *Digest*.

⁴ This is the assertion of Lampridius. Yet the death of the father-in-law of Alexander, that of Turinus, whom he caused to be suffocated, the murder of several of his councillors (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 67), and some others, were not the result of judicial orders.

reign,¹ and which we have also previously found in the legislation of the Antonines and of Severus. Mention is even made in them of the liberty of the subject: conditioned, it is true, by their good will and obedience.²

The ability of these wise councillors is further marked by certain details of administration, some of which were of real importance. The prefecture of the prætorium came to be of senatorial rank: the extension of the judicial cognizance of the prefect, who sometimes had to sit in judgment on senators, rendered this change necessary, and his decisions had the force of law when they were not contrary to existing constitutions.³ With Ulpian this office attained the zenith of its power.

Fourteen curators, all of consular rank, were charged with the duty of deciding, with the prefect of Rome, all affairs concerning the fourteen districts of the city.⁴ This edict furnished a municipal council to the capital of the Empire, the police of which had hitherto been subject to the sole authority of the prefect; in addition to which he prescribed that the resolutions, to be valid, should be adopted in presence of all the members, or at least of a majority of them. This council, appointed and not elected, was none the less for Rome a guarantee of better administration.

The assessors of the presidents were entitled to fees, which gave them the character of public functionaries, but increased the expenditures of the treasury;⁵ and it was forbidden to the provincial governors, as well as to the persons employed about them, to engage in business or usury in the countries under their rule. We have seen⁶ what wise recommendations Ulpian made to them for the protection of the common people. It had long been the custom to make grants of lands to the veterans: he established the rule that officers and soldiers put in possession of domains on the frontiers might transmit them to their children, when the

¹ For instance: . . . *Cavetur ut si patronus libertum suum non aluerit, jus patroni perdat* (*Digest*, xxxvii. 14, 5, § 1).

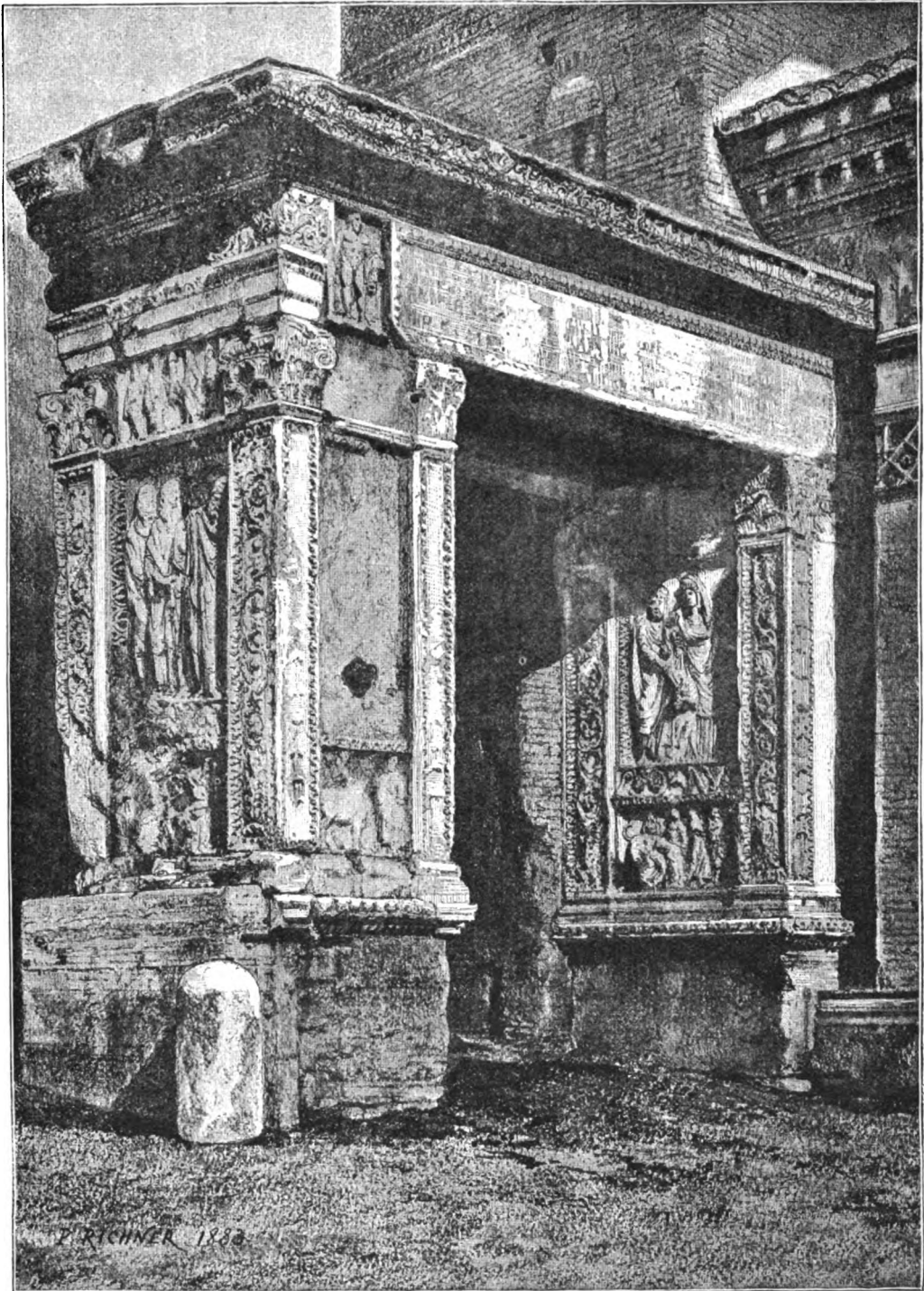
² *Digest*, xlix. 1, 25: . . . *tantum mihi curæ est eorum, qui reguntur, libertatis, quantum et bonæ voluntatis eorum et obedientiæ.*

³ *Code*, i. 26, 2, ann. 235.

⁴ *Lamprid.*, *Alex.*, 32.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 45. Pescennius Niger had already wished to introduce this reform, *ne consilarii eos gravarent quibus assidebant* (*Spart.*, *Nig.*, 7).

⁶ Vol. v. p. 472.



The Arch of the Goldsmiths at Rome (p. 293).

latter followed the profession of arms; otherwise the land reverted to the imperial treasury.¹ These were military benefices and the beginning of a new order of property.

The post of *dux*, that is, of chief of the army, without territorial command, which we have seen originating under Severus, appears to become a regular office.²

Finally, the government constituted what may be called deposit banks,³ and he organized into corporations the trades which had not as yet taken that form; he assigned to each one a *defensor*, as will be given later to the cities,⁴ and he established for them a special jurisdiction. Some were very rich, that of the goldsmiths, for example, who erected an arch to Septimius Severus. It was a new order of industry produced or developed.



Moneta restituta.

II.—GENTLENESS, PIETY, AND WEAKNESS OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

What part had the prince in these measures? With an emperor of thirteen the councillors must have retained power for a long period. But it may be said that all which they did in the interests of the subjects responded, if not to the thought, at least to the heart of the prince.

The biographer of Alexander has sought to make of this reign what Xenophon had made of that of Cyrus, a beautiful *morality*, and, although this scribe of Constantine had not yet embraced the religion of his master, he has, to flatter him, represented the least pagan emperor as half Christian. From this has resulted that Alexander has been the spoiled child of history, as if, on coming out of the corrupt atmosphere in which they had just been living, and before entering the bloody gloom of the age following,

¹ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 57.

² Lamprid., *ibid.*, 51. Capitolinus, in the life of Gordian III., also speaks of *duces honorati*, that is, honorary dukes.

³ Lamprid., *ibid.*, 38. Medals, *Moneta restituta*, etc., attest also a monetary reform. (Eckhel, vii. 279); but the explanations of Lampridius on this subject (39) throw no light on the question.

⁴ Lamprid., *ibid.*, 22 and 33. This *defensor* was no doubt a different person from the *patronus*.

⁵ MON. RESTITVTA. *Moneta* standing, holding a balance and a horn of plenty. (Medium bronze of Alexander Severus.)



EUBELI DEL Dosso pinxit

Imp. Fraillery.

DAMBOURGEX chromolith.

GOLD PLATE CALLED THE PATERA OF RENNES

(CABINET DE FRANCE)

they had dwelt with complacency upon this pleasing figure, which youth, virtue, and misfortune have consecrated. In certain respects this good fame of Alexander is legitimate. After the saturnalia of the previous reign he exhibits an emperor pure in morals, simple in tastes, and who made his life a public example more efficacious than all legal enactments. One feels an attachment for this amiable prince who wished the public crier to proclaim, while criminals were being chastised, these words graven on the front of his palace: "Do not to another what you would not have done to yourself;" who wrote in verse the lives of the good princes,¹ and each day went into his *lararium* to pass some moments before the images of those whom he called the benefactors of humanity, princes or philosophers, founders of empires or religions;² who, finally, constantly read over the *Republic* of Plato, the treatise *de Officiis* of Cicero, and the *Epistles* of Horace, to adopt from these noble books his rules of conduct. Every seventh day he ascended to the Capitol and visited the temples of the city, without, however, making rich offerings in them, thinking with Persius, that the worship loved by the gods is the practice of virtue, and that they have no need of gold:

. . . . *In sanctis quid facit aurum?*

But he was liberal to the poor, to his friends, and to those of his officers who had well fulfilled their duties.

We remember the grand alimentary institution of Trajan; he continued and extended it,³ and founded another; he lent money to poor families that they might buy land, and required of them only an interest of three per cent., payable from the product of the funds.⁴ He often even made a gratuitous gift of land, slaves,

¹ *Vitas principum bonorum versibus scripsit* (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 27).

² Lampridius, who supplies this information (*Alex.*, 28), adds this bit of detail: "He did not enter into his oratory unless *si facultas esset, id est, si non cum uxorē cubuisset.*" This was a general rule of which Ovid had already spoken (*Fasti*, ii. 329, and iv. 657). The Church inherited this custom. "This kind of abstinence," says Abbé Greppo, "was practised in the primitive Church prior to participation in the holy mysteries, as still takes place in the churches of the East, whose ministers are not constrained to celibacy." (*Trois mém. d'hist. ecclési.*, p. 280.) The Russian peasant observes the same rule the day preceding the Sabbath.

³ *Puellas et pueros Mammæanas et Mammæanos instituit* (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 56). A coin of Plautilla, which represents a woman carrying a child, shows that Severus also took care of this institution. (Eckhel, vii. 226.)

⁴ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 21. As to imposts, it is impossible to admit with Lampridius that he

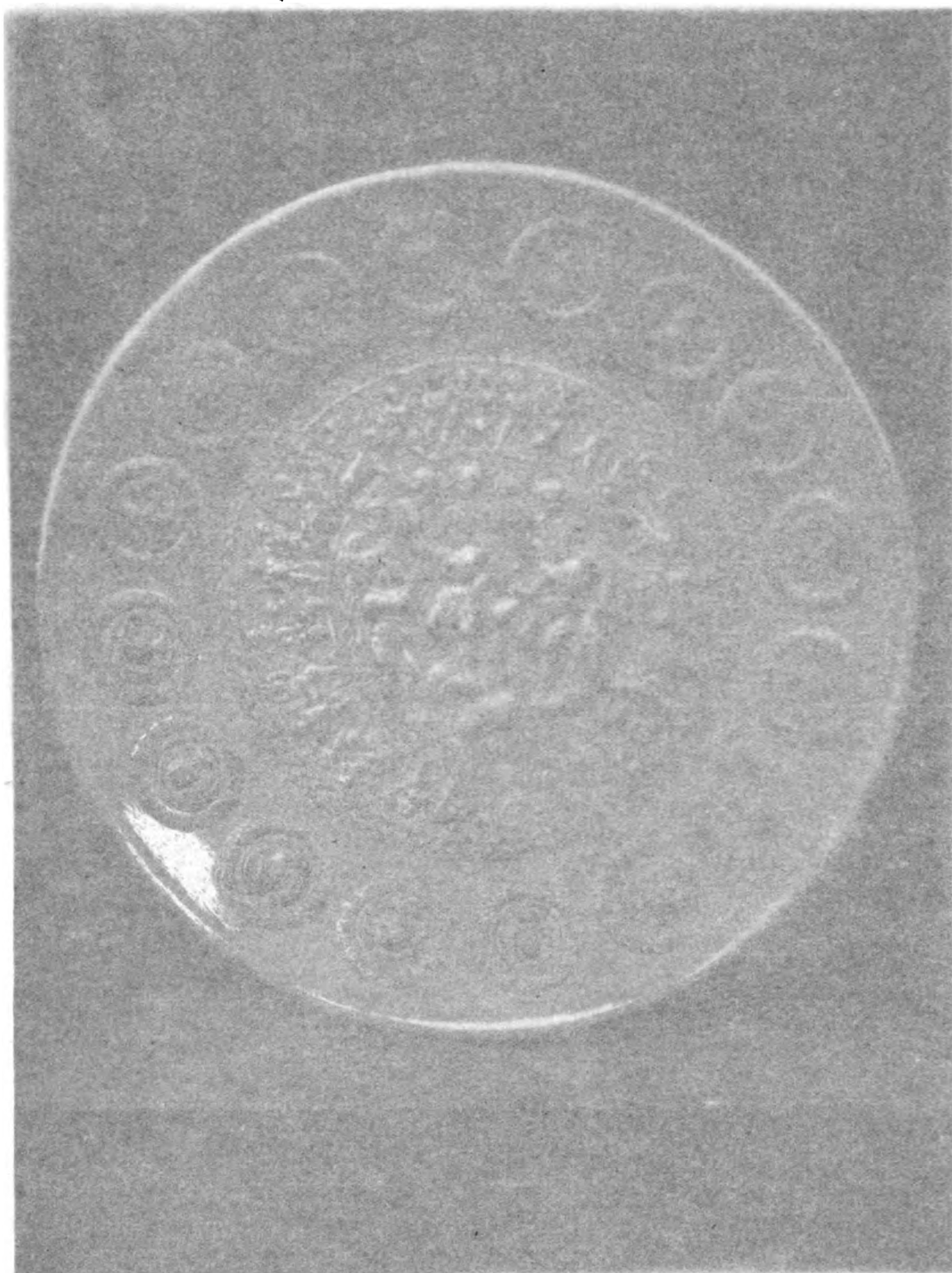


Fig. 1. Gold plate.

GOLD PLATE CAL.

1000

[illegible][illegible]

1. The *Shu Ching* (Book of Changes) is a text of 270 hexagrams, each consisting of six lines, which are said to have been created by the mythical figure Fu Xi. The *Shu Ching* is a collection of 64 hexagrams, each consisting of six lines, which are said to have been created by the mythical figure Fu Xi. The *Shu Ching* is a collection of 64 hexagrams, each consisting of six lines, which are said to have been created by the mythical figure Fu Xi.

² *Phyllis* appears in *Memorabilia* in the text of Empedocles, 1. 1. 10. A version of Phyllis, which represents a woman carrying a child, appears that Sappho also had to be identified in the text, l. vii. 290c.

⁷ The epilogue to *Le 21*. As a young man, it is my job to admit yet to show that he



EUMELI DEL. Dosso pinxit

Imp. Fraillery.

DAMBOURGZ chromolith.

GOLD PLATE CALLED THE PATERA OF RENNES

(CABINET DE FRANCE)

cattle, and implements of agriculture. If he augmented the tax on the industries of luxury, on the goldsmiths,¹ gilders, furriers, etc., he diminished the other imposts, and lamented that fiscal agents were a necessary evil. He granted remissions to a number of cities, on condition that the money which he allowed them should serve to rebuild their ruined edifices; he restored at his own expense many ancient bridges and constructed new ones. And finally, he founded schools, paid professors, pensioned pupils, and recompensed advocates who took nothing from their client:² these are our scholarships and our judiciary aid.



Sallustia Orbiana, Second Wife of Alexander Severus.³

For himself, great frugality and much economy, to the extent of being reduced to borrowing silver ware and slaves, when he gave a state banquet; toward all, plebeians or senators, even towards his own domestics, an affability which in the emperor did not let the master be seen. At twenty he was a sage.

This wisdom, which was not the fruit of experience but a gift

reduced them to the twentieth of what Elagabalus exacted. On the payment of the impost in gold, see above, p. 246.

¹ A masterpiece of goldsmith's work of this epoch is a cup of massive gold, discovered in 1774, at Rennes, while demolishing a house of the metropolitan chapter, and called in the *Cabinet de France*, *Patera of Rennes*. It had been hidden six feet under ground in the time of Aurelian, for the imperial coins most recently found in the same locality were of Posthumus and Aurelian. It is composed of an *emblemata*, or central part, and a border adorned with sixteen aurei of emperors and empresses from Hadrian to Geta, which places its fabrication at the time of Severus. The *emblemata* represents a challenge between Bacchus and Hercules; in the frieze which surrounds the principal subject and complements its thought, Bacchus triumphs over Hercules. The decoration is completed by the sixteen gold coins encircled with wreaths of acanthus and of laurel. This cup, stolen from the *Cabinet de France* in 1831, was found intact some days afterwards under an arch of the Pont Marie. We give it in an extra plate. For further details see Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, pp. 357 et seq., No. 2,537.

² *Rhetoribus, grammaticis, medicis, aruspiciis, mathematicis, mechanicis, architectis salaria instituit, et auditoria decrevit, et discipulos cum annonis pauperum filios modo ingenuos dari iussit. Etiam in provinciis oratoribus forensibus multum detulit, plerisque etiam annonas dedit, quos constitisset gratis agere.* (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 44.)

³ The empress Sallustia Orbiana wearing a diadem; on the reverse, FECUNDITAS TEMPORVM. Orbiana seated; before her, Fecundity kneeling, holding a horn of plenty and carrying two children. (Bronze medallion.)

of nature, this goodness which showed itself in everything, does honour to the man: of the prince other things are demanded. His filial tenderness was weakness when he did not dare to resist his mother, who, troubled by so many catastrophes, sought in heaping up treasure¹ a guarantee against evil days; as if, for her and her son, in case of defeat, there was any other refuge than death. This weakness even becomes odious if, as Herodian relates, it allowed Mammæa to drive from the palace his young bride, who claimed the honours of an *augusta*, and who deserved them;² if he suffered his father-in-law to be put to death for having complained to the administrators of justice of the time—the soldiers of the prætorium—of the outrages which he had received from the empress.³

His regret at not being able to abolish all the imposts is the expression of a woman, or of a courtier of the rabble, and his love for the *Republic* of Plato, the revelation of a mind which the good sense of Horace, his other favourite, did not preserve from fair illusions. The prohibiting senators from investing their money, capitalists from lending at more than three per cent., those whose consciences were disquieted from presenting themselves at the imperial receptions: these moralities, proclaimed by the herald or affixed to edicts, issued from a good disposition; but how was their execution to be assured? The regulations about costumes, to distinguish the orders of citizens, about garments for summer and winter, for fair weather and rain, were other puerilities, of which Ulpian and Paulus surely prescribed very little. Before appointing a functionary, he published his name, and invited the citizens, in case the candidate of the prince had committed some crime, to denounce him, adding, however, that the informer would be punished with death if he did not furnish proof of his accusation. This is a twofold absurdity: a serious government is bound to make

¹ See on this subject the sarcasms of Julian in the *Cæsars*.

² The name of this young woman is not known; but after having repudiated her, Alexander re-married, and though no author has spoken of his second wife, we have coins of hers and an inscription in which she is named with the title of *augusta*: *Gnæa Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana Augusta*. See Eckhel, vii. p. 284, and *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, ii. 3,734.

³ Others accuse the father-in-law of a conspiracy against his son-in-law, which is hardly probable. The catastrophe was doubtless brought about by a woman's quarrel. The young empress may have had the lot of Plautilla, without deserving it, for she loved her husband tenderly. (Herod., vi. 5; Lamprid., *Alex.*, 49.)

its own inquests, and no one was tempted to respond to an appeal which had so terrible a penalty. But Alexander Severus wished to transform the Empire into an ideal republic.

Praise is still lavished on the pious thought which led him to place, in his *lararium*, Apollonius of Tyana by the side of Jesus, Orpheus beside Abraham: a vague religion of humanity, the confused aspirations of which are, however, sufficient for some choice souls. S. Augustine also knew a matron who had constructed a miniature chapel in which she burned incense before the images of Jesus and Paul, of Homer and Pythagoras.¹ These acts of homage to sanctity and genius honour the man, but it was not with a belief so simple that one could direct people eager for the marvellous.

Like the prince whose name and virtues he possessed, the young emperor would have been in private life the foremost of men; in sovereign power he was, far more than Marcus Aurelius, inadequate. This is because the government of human things is a hard task. The great men in this are men of command, those who can comprehend and are of strong will. These qualities were especially necessary in a state such as the Roman Empire, and, it must be acknowledged, Alexander Severus did not possess them. His bust in the Louvre, with its weak and undecided features, suggests a mild-mannered person, incapable of acting, and who seems to stare without seeing. Julian, in the *Cæsars*, shows him sitting in sadness on the steps leading to the hall where the emperors and gods are going to banquet; Silenus mocks at him and his mother, the hoarder of treasure; Justice even consents indeed to chastise his murderers, but she turns away "from the poor fool, the great simpleton, who in a corner bewails his misfortune!"

For several years the soldiery, satiated, had left the Empire at peace. But to preserve discipline among these coarse, greedy, and violent men, who knew their strength and no longer knew the Empire, the magistrates, or the law, would have required a prince who might impress upon them a respectful fear at the same time with obedience, who would keep them in harness, glut them with

¹ *Liber de Hæresibus*, iii. 7.

booty and glory, that is to say, pride. With its mighty army of mercenaries the Empire was condemned to have no more great generals. Severus had been one: Alexander was not. So the civil order, which the former had protected against his soldiers, was ruined by the latter.

It is said that, before renouncing philosophy and the arts, he had consulted the Virgilian lots, and that the poet-prophet had responded by the famous lines:

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento.

Lampridius gives to his hero the qualities which these verses demand for the exercise of the sovereign power; he makes of him a fierce defender of the ancient discipline. "The soldiers," he says, "called him Severus on account of his excessive sternness;"¹ and as a proof he shows the population flocking together on the passage of the army, who "took the soldiers for senators,"² seeing the gravity of their mien and the wisdom of their conduct; or else he is citing certain classic reminiscences which the prince utilized. A senator known for his peculations comes and salutes him at the curia; Alexander renews against him the apostrophe of Cicero to Catiline: *O tempora, O mores! vivit, inmo in senatum venit!* A legion mutinies; he hurls at it the words of Cæsar: "Retire, Quirites." Some officers, who had not been able to restrain their soldiers, were, it is true, put to death, but at the end of a month the culprit legion was reinstated. They also speak of troops decimated. The following facts do not permit us to give to this reign such a character for severity.

A quarrel arose in Rome between the civilians and the prætorians. Both sides maintained their quarrel;³ but, for the populace to dare to affront the troops, they must have been driven to extremities by many deeds of insolence, and we know that the soldiers were not sparing of them. There was fighting for three days, and many were slain. At last, the prætorians,

¹ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 25.

² *ut non milites sed senatores transire diceret* (*ibid.*, 49).

³ See what is said of the Roman *plebs*, in the appendix to Book lxxix. of Dion, by the anonymous author who has written this passage.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS, MARCH 11, 222, TO MARCH 19, 235 A.D. 299

driven from the streets, set fire to the houses; the conflagration threatened to involve the whole city when the two parties consented to desist. It is not known what part the government had in this affair; but we have the right to say that such disorders occur only under a wavering authority, and we may ask ourselves



Alexander Severus. (Bust of the Vatican.)

what the legionaries of the provinces did, if the prætorians, so affectionate to the young prince, conducted themselves in this manner to his face.

Mammæa had at first placed at the head of the prætorians two tried captains, Flavianus and Chrestus; later she also gave them Ulpian for a colleague. These men of war did not relish

finding in the prætorium lawyers who, bringing there the regular habits of magistrates, had the orders executed. The new prefect was displeasing to the cohorts and to their chiefs, who formed a scheme for getting rid of him.¹ Ulpian anticipated them by killing the two prefects and their accomplices. This tragedy provoked another. The whole corps took up the cause of the victims, and Ulpian was several times in danger of death. In a final and formidable riot he took refuge in the palace; the soldiers forced its gates and slew him at the feet of Alexander, who covered him in vain with his imperial purple.² This was in 228. One might already imagine oneself on the shores of the Bosphorus hearing janissaries demand the head of a vizir.

A certain Epagathus, an old confidential agent of Caracalla and Macrinus, had played a part in this catastrophe by inciting the soldiers against Ulpian. He was only a freedman; but they did not dare to punish him for fear of exciting a new revolt. He was charged with a mission to Egypt, then recalled under a pretext into Crete, where the executioner awaited him.³ This seraglio justice would of itself prove the incurable weakness of this government.

The following account of Dion is another indication of this. Our historian was not a great warrior, he ought never to have adopted strong resolutions. Yet when he returned from his government of Pannonia the prætorians found that he had there shown himself too severe in discipline. "They demanded my punishment," he says, "fearing lest they should be submitted to a similar rule." Instead of paying attention to their complaints the emperor gave me the consulate. But the irritation of the prætorians made him fear that, seeing me with the insignia of this dignity, they might kill me, and he ordered me to spend the remainder of my term of office at some place in Italy, outside Rome."⁴ The prudent consular did better: finding that public life was becoming too difficult, he abandoned Rome, Italy, even his

¹ Zosimus, i. 11.

² *quem sæpe a militum ira objectu purpure sue defendit (Alexander).* (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 51.)

³ Dion, lxxx. 2, 4.

⁴ *Id.*, lxxx. 4 and 5

great book of history, which he closed at this last narration, and with this line of Homer:

"But Jove beyond the encountering arms, the dust,
The carnage, and the bloodshed and the din
Bore Hector."¹

Dion had nothing in common with Hector, but it was from a bloody conflict that he likewise retired.

We here take leave of a colourless writer, a man, however, who, having studied the Republic in its grandeur and its decadence, the Empire under Augustus and Nero, Hadrian and Commodus, was able to follow the logical connection of this history unfolding across the centuries, under the double action of political wisdom and of necessities produced by circumstances. If we inquire what were his sentiments in the matter of government,² we shall see that, in spite of the acts of cruelty which he had related, in spite of those which he himself had witnessed and well-nigh been the victim, Dion was a great partisan of the imperial monarchy. When the emperor was a bad one, they longed for a change of prince, they did not desire a change in the form of government. No one at that time imagined any other, and, it must also be admitted, no other was possible. Dion only asks of the prince that he should be on good terms with the senate, his council. This had previously been the wish of Tacitus, and it had been the practice of the Antonines. Unfortunately, since Caracalla, and more so every day, the prince and the consuls, prefects of the prætorium and senators, were all at the mercy of the soldiers, and the characteristic of such rule is frequency of riotous disturbances.

Seditions, indeed, broke out everywhere; some of them, says a contemporary, were quite formidable;³ and it was necessary to cashier entire legions;⁴ those of Mesopotamia killed their chief, Flavius Heracleo, and made an emperor, who, to escape from them, threw himself into the Euphrates and was drowned. Another assumed the purple in Osrhoene. A third tried to assume it at

¹ *Iliad*, xi. 163. (Bryant's trans.)

² Dion, lii. 13 *et seq.*

³ *Id.*, lxxx. 3. Cf. Zosimus, i. 12.

⁴ Cf. Lamprid., *Alex.*, 53, 54, 59; Herod., vi. 4, 7; Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, xxiv. 3; Dion, lxxx. 4.

Rome even. In the case of this last, the emperor, informed of it, invites him to the palace, takes him to the senate, to the army, overwhelms him with matters of business and breaks him down with fatigue. After a few days the ambitious person asks leave to return to his house and his obscurity.

These seditions and attempts miscarry, but the Empire is agitated by them, and they afford encouragement to the enemy. In Mauretania Tingitana, on the frontier of *Illyricum* and that of Armenia, invaders have to be repelled; the Germans sack a part of Gaul, and the Persians claim back from the Empire the ancient provinces of Cyrus—Asia as far as the Cyclades.

III.—THE SASSANIDS.

Since the day when Arsan the Brave had revolted against the Seleucidæ 470 years¹ had elapsed, a very long duration for an Oriental dynasty. The Parthian monarchy had extended from the Euphrates to the Indus, but the Arsacids, men of shrewdness or force according to the occasion, had nothing of the organizing genius of Rome. They neither established a permanent, and hence regular army, nor an administration binding together the diverse elements of the state so as to form a homogeneous whole. They suffered to exist about them a mighty feudalism,² the cause of constant trouble, and, in the provinces, populations which, having in common with the rest of the Empire nothing except the tribute paid to the great king, retained their customs, their national memories and chiefs; that is to say, the hope and the means of some day regaining their independence. The indignities which Trajan, Avidius Cassius, and Septimius Severus, Caracalla even, had inflicted upon the Parthian monarchy, had destroyed its prestige, which the treaty with Macrinus did not restore.

In the mountains of Persis lived a man of royal blood, Ardeshir or Artaxerxes, regarded as a descendant of Darius, and said to be son or grandson of Sassan, whence the name of his race, the

¹ Or 476 according to other reckonings. Cf. De Sainte-Croix, *Mém. sur le gouvernement des Parthes*, p. 30.

² Dion, xli. 15; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 10, and Herod., vi. 12.

Sassanids.¹ Admitted into the household of the governor of Persis, he attracted notice by his courage and address, gained the favour of the people at the same time as that of his master, and, the latter having been dethroned, he slew his successor, raised a revolt among the Persians, as Cyrus had formerly done, drew in the neighbouring nations, with whom he had by anticipation secured a good understanding, and vanquished the Parthians in three battles. In the last Artabanus was killed, and Ardeshir assumed the tiara (226-227). On the cliff of Nakschi-Roustan, in the environs of Persepolis, one yet sees two warriors engaged in strange combat. It is Ardeshir wresting the diadem from his rival. By consecrating this souvenir near the ancient sanctuary of the Achæmenids, he wished to testify before all eyes that his victory was the restoration of the ancient empire of Cyrus.

Artaxerxes I.²

Oriental monarchies are instituted as rapidly as they decay. In a few years the mountaineers of Persis had come back into the capitals of the first Achæmenids, "and all the kings had put on the sash of submission, suspended from their ears the ring of servitude, and taken upon their shoulders the harness of obedience."³ As successor to a state whose springs of action were worn out by long use, Rome now beheld, along its eastern frontier, an empire abounding in warlike zeal, as these new dominions always do.

The revolution just accomplished was religious as well as political. The Arsacids, subjected to the influence of the civilization which Alexander had carried into Eastern Asia, had become Hellenized. They delighted in the customs of Greece, spoke its

¹ According to Sainte-Croix (*ibid.*, p. 22) the Persians had retained their national chiefs, and Ardeshir, at the moment of revolt, governed the country by virtue of this position.

² Artaxerxes wears the round tiara adorned with the symbol in the form of a caduceus, called *mahrou*. The Pehlvi legend gives the name of the prince. (Cornelian, cut in cabochon, $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. high by $\frac{87}{100}$ broad. Gem of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,339.)

³ Mirkhond, *Hist. des Sassanides*, tr. Sylvestre de Sacy, p. 278.

language, adored some of its gods, had the dramas of the great poets of Athens represented at their court,¹ and in the legends on their coins, which were in Greek, they adopted among other titles that of Philhellenes.² This mental



Coin of Artaxerxes, bearing on the Reverse a Lighted Pyre.³

culture disposed them to tolerance, and Christianity had profited by it to penetrate into their provinces. But the tributary nations had preserved the old worship of Irân, Mazdeism: the consecrated fire was always burn-

ing on the *pyres*, and the magi were numerous. They served the cause of him who was announced as the avenger of Ormuzd and the restorer of the laws of Zoroaster.



Ormuzd.⁴

This monotheistic religion, one of those which do most honour to humanity, placed below the infinite being, Ahoura-Mazda, *izeds* or good genii, celestial spirits and ministers of the will of the Most High. Hence it did not require many expressions of flattery to induce the magi to transform a powerful and religious king into a visible *ized*; and Sapor could say, without wounding any one: "Do you not know that I am of the race of the gods?"⁵

In return for the assistance which these priests gave him, Ardeshir accorded them great influence. "He restored," says a Greek historian, "the magi to honour."⁶ This body of clergy, again restored to power, will make intolerance

¹ See vol. iii. p. 248.

² De Sacy, *Mém. sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, p. 44.

³ At the right, the head of Artaxerxes, with the tiara bearing the star, symbol of the sun, and the legend: "The Adorer of Ormuzd" On the reverse, a pyre, from which dart flames. Legend: "The Divine Artaxerxes." Silver coin.

⁴ De Sacy, *Mémoire*, etc., p. 36-41. On the monotheistic character of Mazdeism, see the articles of M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *Journal des Savants*, June and July, 1878.

⁵ The bust of Ormuzd, surrounded by flames and placed on a pyre. Pehlvi inscription. Annular seal. (Intaglio on veined agate, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter. *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,336.)

⁶ 'Εξ οὗ καὶ πασι Πέρσαις οἱ Μάγοι ἐπιδοῦσι (Nicéph., *Hist. eccl.*, i. p. 55, ed. of 1630);

the political law of the Sassanids and will let persecution loose against the Christians; but the religious and national zeal of these princes will also give to the new dynasty a vitality and renown which the preceding had not known.¹ As the danger to the Roman Empire is increasing in this quarter, it will be compelled to withdraw its forces from the line of the Rhine and the Danube, in order to fortify that of the Euphrates and the Tigris; and to watch this new enemy from a nearer point, it will end by displacing the centre of its power, by removing its capital from the west to the east.

The war of four centuries which is about to commence between the two empires, is therefore one of those many wars which religious zeal has kindled. It is characterized at first, with regard to both nations, by a return to memories of the expedition of Alexander: on one side admiration and confidence, on the other hatred and maledictions. We have seen Caracalla honouring the memory of the Macedonian hero, the second Severus taking his name, and the legions organizing in phalanx. It seemed as though the shade of the Greek conqueror was going to march before the Roman army to guide it on the road to Ctesiphon. On the other side of the Tigris, this Alexander whose generous soul we are wont to extol, had become to the magi, in their patriotic and religious lament, "the accursed" who slaughtered the nobles and priests, who "burned the books of revelation," and who "is burning in his turn in eternal flames." Even to this day the Parsees do not speak of "Iskender Roumi" except as an abominable tyrant. "After him," said they, "religion was brought low and the faithful into oppression, until king Ardeshir had re-established the true faith."² These conflicting sentiments announce the grandeur of the struggle.

Agathias (bk. ii. pp. 64-5) thinks the same. M. de Harlez (*Avesta*, p. xxxv.) says that Ardeshir was of the race of the magi and himself a magus.

¹ On their coins the Sassanids assume the title of "servant of Ormuzd," and on the reverse they have placed "the altar of fire," a representation and title which are found on the medals of the Arsacids. See De Sacy, *Mém. sur diverses antiq. de la Perse*, pp. 171 et seq.

² See the article of M. James Darmesteter, *la Légende d'Alexandre chez les Perses*, in vol. xxxv. of the *Bibliothèque des Hautes-Études*.

IV.—EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE PERSIANS AND THE GERMANS;
DEATH OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

Before engaging in close contest with the great empire of the West, the son of Sassan turned his weapons against the neighbouring populations of Roman Mesopotamia. He attacked the city of Atra, the camp of refuge of the Scenite Arabs, against which he was not more fortunate than Trajan and Severus, and he attempted to overthrow the Arsacids of Armenia, who from the summits of their mountains and inaccessible fortresses defied invasion. These expeditions no doubt had but a secondary interest to him, at least this two-fold check did not lessen his hopes, and in 231 he invaded the Roman province.

At this news Alexander and his pacific councillors wrote to the Persian a beautiful letter, full of the most edifying advices. The ravages continued; Nisibis was besieged and the enemy's scouts penetrated as far as Cappadocia. "All these lands belong to me," said Ardeshir, and it seemed as if he was going to take them. There was no alternative at Rome but to resign themselves to war: great preparations were made, and from each province, from each army, went forth detachments who directed their course toward Syria. Alexander quitted his capital in tears, but firmly resolved to do his duty, if not as a soldier, at least as an emperor.¹ He took the route by way of Illyria and Thrace, collecting soldiers on his march, and entered Syria with a large army. He there found the troops given to every disorder and to mutiny; perhaps there had even been a revolt, if the proclamation of an emperor by the army of Mesopotamia may be referred to this time. On the arrival of the prince and reinforcements sent by the legions of Pannonia all became quiet. A phalanx of 30,000 men was organized in remembrance of successes obtained by the phalanx of the Macedonian hero; Alexander even wished his guard to have argyraspides, or shields of silver. Four hundred Persians magnificently dressed and armed came and summoned the emperor to evacuate Asia; he considered the demand insolent, and, refusing

¹ Herodian says (vii. 2) that he was accused of indolence and timidity in war.

to recognize them as ambassadors, he shut them up in Phrygia, where villages and lands were given them, and then entered on the campaign in 232.

At this point accounts differ. According to a contemporary, the emperor divided his forces into three corps: the first took the route by way of Armenia, a country in alliance with the Romans, to penetrate into the territory of the Medes; the second by the desert, to reach the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates and directly threaten Persia; the third marched right on through Upper Mesopotamia, but with extreme delay, for which they accuse Mammæa, who feared to expose her son. The army of the north amassed much booty, suffering however considerable losses and without obtaining any serious result, because this route could not conduct them to the vital parts of the new empire. The Persians opposed slight forces to this somewhat remote attack; they concentrated against the army of the south, which was crushed, then against that of the centre, which, composed in great part of soldiers accustomed, on the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, to cold and dampness, was prostrated by the dry and burning heat of the desert. Under this climate, which requires sobriety, "the Illyrians" drank and ate



Julia Mammæa as Venus Pudica.¹

¹ Museum of the Louvre. Statue in Pentelican marble, formerly assigned to Julia Soæmias. The antique head is reproduced; the attributes of Ceres have been added by a modern artist. The empresses were often represented in the character of Venus. The Museum of Naples possesses a hall styled that of the Venuses, which are portraits rather than ideal figures.

as in Germany: this error in diet decimated them; the mortality brought on the plague, and it became necessary to fall back after a few successes of doubtful value. Alexander himself fell sick from fatigue and anxiety. As in the time of Antony, the retreat of the army of the north across the mountains of Armenia was disastrous, and the Roman corpses again strewn the ways of this country in the year 233. But they made no account of the dead. These soldiers, recruited among the barbarians¹ and the dregs of the Roman population, left behind them neither relatives nor friends



Dead Persian Warrior. (Marble of the Museum of Naples.)

deploring their death, and it was easy by means of largesses to persuade the survivors that they had just completed a skilful and victorious campaign.

In truth, neither side was vanquished. The Persians might congratulate themselves on a great success, but Mesopotamia, guarded by the fortresses of Severus, was not encroached upon, not a particle of Roman territory was conquered; and, if they had exterminated one imperial army, if they had stopped the advance of another, it was not without having suffered considerable losses. So, as soon as the danger of a Roman invasion had disappeared, their irregular troops dispersed, each carrying home his booty. Yet the Persians had not attained their purpose, and the Romans

¹ The army which Alexander subsequently led into Gaul was composed of barbarians: *Omnis apparatus . . . potentissimus quidem per Armenios et Osrhoënos et Parthos et omnis generis hominum* (Lampnid., *Alex.*, 61). Herodian (vi. 17) adds that many Moors were also found in it.

had fulfilled theirs. So far from being conquered, Roman Asia was delivered. The victory unquestionably remained with those who had obtained the result which they desired. But the two empires had come into collision once more without either of them crushing the other, and it continued so until a new element, the religious and aggressive fanaticism of the Arabs, changed the conditions of the struggle.

The second account is a song of triumph for the Romans.

Extract from the acts of the senate, the seventh day before the kalends of October; speech of the prince:

"Conscript Fathers, we have vanquished the Persians. A long discourse is unnecessary; it is only of importance that you should know what were their forces and their preparations. They had 700 elephants bearing towers filled with archers. We have captured 300 of them; 200 were killed on the spot; we have led hither eighteen. They had 1,000 chariots armed with scythes; we might have brought 200 of them, the horses of which have perished, but we did not think it necessary, because it would have been easy to present others to you. We have defeated 120,000 horsemen, and killed during the war 10,000 of their cataphracti.² We have captured a great number of Persians, whom we have sold. We have reconquered all the territory which is between the two rivers, Mesopotamia, which the licentious Elagabalus had allowed to be lost. We have put to rout this king Artaxerxes, whom his renown and his forces rendered so formidable; and the land of the Persians has witnessed his flight, abandoning his ensigns in the same localities where we had once lost ours. This, Conscript Fathers, is what we have done. The soldiers come back rich; victory makes them forget their fatigue; it is for you now to decree supplications in testimony of our gratitude to the gods." (September 25th, 233.)



Coin Commemorative of the Congiary given by Alexander Severus.¹

¹ LIBERALITAS AVGVSTI V SC. Alexander seated upon a stage; behind, the prefect of the prætorium and a soldier; before, Liberty; at the bottom, a citizen mounting the steps. (Large bronze. Cohen, No. 288.)

² Cavaliers covered with defensive armour from head to foot. See Amm. Marcellin., xvi. 10.

On the morrow, in memory of this grand success, a congiary was given to the people and they celebrated the Persian games. The eighteen elephants which were displayed there led them to believe in the 300 which they pretended to have captured.¹ There could then be no doubt of it: Rome had now renewed the glory of Severus and Trajan.²

Rome, at least, had an interest in this bulletin of victory being credited. Germany was uneasy. Seeing the dismantling of the camps which barred the route to Gaul and to Illyria, the barbarians had found the occasion propitious for renewing their acts of brigandage. For a long while the line of the Rhine had ceased to be threatened, so much so, that in place of the eight legions which the first emperor had kept in this quarter, they now retained only four. It had therefore been easy for the Germans to pass between the enfeebled garrisons and extend their ravages into Gaul. Hence, while waiting until the Illyrians should have returned from the East, it was well to have their return preceded by the report of a great victory. They were quite certain that the words pronounced in the senate would resound on the Rhine border.

Several months were employed in reorganizing the forces of the West, and in 234³ Alexander set out for Gaul. After reaching the environs of Mayence with his mother, he made another effort

¹ Perhaps there may have been none at all. Lampridius (57) speaks of a car of triumph drawn by four elephants; the medals only show a chariot and four horses. (Eckhel, vii. 276.) On his side, Ardeshir attested his victory to his subjects by causing gold coins to be struck. The emperors permitted neither the provinces nor their allies to emit gold coin, the aurei with the emperor's effigy were alone in circulation; the Roman merchants could accept no others, and all trade was conducted with these coins. Procopius relates that Justinian declared war against the Arabs because they had paid the tribute in pieces of gold not bearing the imperial likeness. (*De Bello Goth.*, iii. 33; Zonaras, xiv. 22.) In the interest of the commercial relations of their subjects the Arsacids had been obliged to submit to this necessity, and had not had gold money. The Sassanids fabricated it, but in small quantity. (Mommesen, *Hist. de la monnaie romaine*, tr. Blacas, p. 16.)

² An inscription recently deciphered at Kef (Sicca Veneria), in Tunis (*Bullet. épigr. de la Gaule*, 1883, p. 3) mentions an offering of the *splendidissimus ordo* of the decurions, *Fortuna Reduci Aug.*, for the triumphal return of Alexander Severus. This inscription, and another of Pesth, leads us to think that Mammæa had accompanied her son into the East, as she followed him in the expedition against the Germans; this persistence "of the avaricious mother" in remaining always at the side of the prince was no doubt one of the causes of the catastrophe which cost both of them their lives.

³ *Profectio Aug.* (Eckhel, vii. 277). Lampridius (*Alex.*, 60) pretends that a Druidess told him, *Gallico sermone*, not to expect victory and not to rely on his soldiers. The Druids had fallen to the rank of sorcerers, telling fortunes. It is known that Aurelian and Diocletian consulted them to know the future.

to avoid war. He proposed peace to the Germans, gold and presents of all kinds, greatly to the disaffection of his soldiers, who wanted to keep this gold for themselves. In the army there was at that time a chief named Maximin, who had been born in the most barbarous part of Thrace.

At first a shepherd, he had become a soldier, and by his lofty stature and strength he attracted attention, and had risen from grade to grade up to the command of the new levies, whose drilling Alexander had confided to him. These recruits were for the most part rough and coarse Pannonians like himself, but wholly devoted to a man who possessed their qualities and their faults, and on the contrary filled with contempt for the tranquil virtues of the emperor. Furthermore, they reckoned that the reign of Alexander had lasted long enough, that the recent war had exhausted his treasury, the remainder of which the avarice of Mammæa kept under lock and key; that, in short, there would be every advantage in a change of princes, since the new one would pay richly for his dignity, especially if they should choose Maximin, who, without noble birth or illustrious record, would owe everything entirely to them. One day they threw a purple mantle over his shoulders and marched in arms towards the imperial residence. At their approach Alexander ordered his guards to go and apprehend the culprit; they hesitate, then refuse, and allow the assassins to enter, who put to death the son and the mother,²



Alexander Severus.¹

¹ Statue of heroic size, in Grecian marble. (Museum of Naples.)

² In the seventeenth century there was discovered at Rome, near the Porta San Giovanni Gate, the sarcophagus of Alexander Severus and Mammæa. (Cf. below, p. 313.) The bas-

or, as Herodian says, "the parsimonious woman and the pusillanimous child;"¹ some accounts make him die a cowardly death. (March 19th, 235.)

Alexander had reigned thirteen years, though his age was only twenty-six.² He is the last of the Syrian princes. If among them we reckon Severus, on account of the influence exercised over him by Julia Domna, this dynasty had ruled the Empire more than forty years: a brief space of time which was marked by great events and bloody tragedies, but during which completely disappeared what was left of the Roman blood and spirit. But for the jurisconsults, who preserved the especially Roman science, the customs and beliefs make us feel in the midst of an Asiatic monarchy. The Empire is inclining to the Orient, and soon will be lost in it.

The respect of Alexander for Abraham and Jesus, and the ancient relations of his mother with Origen, had rendered him favourable to the Jews and the Christians.³ The latter enjoyed during his reign a profound peace and a sort of legal existence. In a contest which the Church of Rome had with some inn-keepers in the matter of some public land, he pronounced in favour of the Christians: "Better," said he, "that this locality should become a place of prayer than a place of debauchery."⁴ He had been struck with the manner in which the Church proceeded at its sacerdotal elections, and for a moment thought of imitating it for

reliefs placed above the figures of the emperor and his mother represent: the dispute of Achilles and Agamemnon; the imprisonment of Chryseis; Achilles preparing to avenge the death of Patroclus; finally, Priam demanding the body of his son. This sarcophagus, which we give on page 313, contained what is called the "Portland Vase," in blue glass with white ornaments, now in the British Museum. We reproduce it in an extra plate.

¹ Julian, in the *Cæsars*, repeats this judgment.

² Or twenty-nine years and some months, according to Lampridius. There are doubts as to the precise date of his death. Eckhel (vii. 282) inclines to the beginning of July. To the reign of Alexander is referred an inscription of the Fratres Arvales describing a curious expiatory sacrifice, because the lightning had struck down some trees of the sacred grove of the goddess Dia. Among other victims immolated *ante Cæsareum genio d. n. Severi Alexandri Aug.*, was found a *taurus auratus*; *item divi num. XX ververices XX*. These *divi* are, from another inscription of the year 183: Augustus, Julia (Livia), Claudius, Poppæa, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus, Faustina the Elder, L. Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, and since Commodus, Commodus himself, Pertinax, Severus, and Caracalla. (Orelli, No. 961, after Marini, *Atti de' fratelli Arvali*, pl. 43, p. 167.)

³ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 49. This was the very expression of the Gospel: *domus mea domus orationis*.



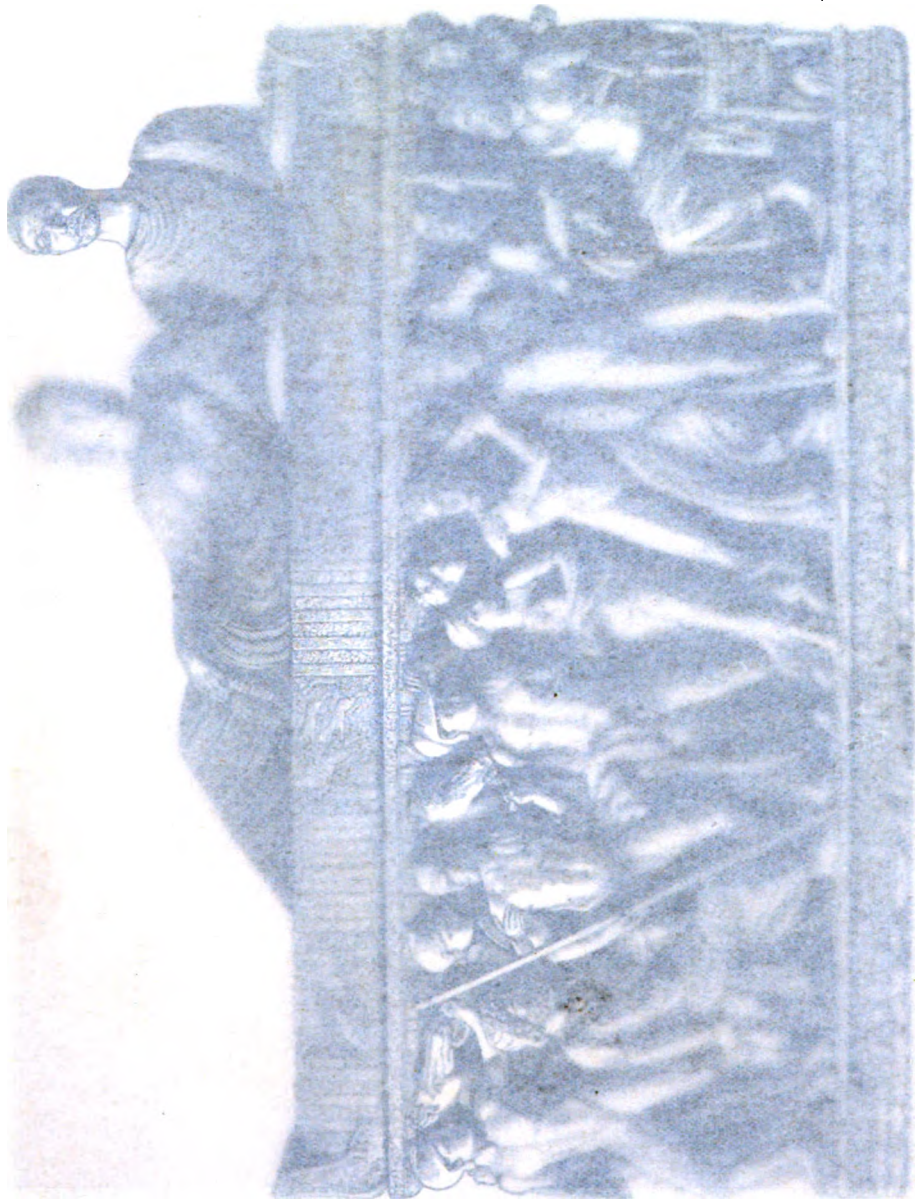
EUMELI DEL DOSO pinxit

Imp. Fraillery.

DAMBOURGZ chromolith

THE PORTLAND VASE

FOUND IN THE SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS





1853

Imp. Library

Deane & Co. 100, 101

THE PORTLAND VASE

FOUND AS THE SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS



Ch. BARBANT

Sarcophagus of Alexander Severus and Mamea. (Museum of the Capitol.)

the functions of state.¹ Of this thought there only remained, as we have seen, the invitation given to the people to denounce the faults of the candidates proposed for the offices. Lampridius pretends that Alexander wanted to build a temple to Christ, to enrol him in the ranks of the gods, and that the priests dissuaded him from it, declaring, on the faith of the sacred books, that if he executed this project, the other temples would be abandoned.² That might be said of Constantine, but could not be of the son of Mammæa, the Christians at that time not being sufficiently numerous to inspire this apprehension. However, they profited by the tolerance of Alexander to build their first churches, which are shortly afterwards mentioned by Origen.³



Coin of Mammæa in the Likeness of Juno.⁴

Of Mammæa they have also made a Christian; a singular Christian, this empress called on her coins the beneficent Juno, to whom the senate decreed an apotheosis, and for whom they instituted a festival which the pagans celebrated as late as the fourth century!⁵ Like her son, she had desired to become acquainted with the new faith,⁶ and many had that curiosity. Eusebius relates that a governor of the province of Arabia requested the bishop of Alexandria and the prefect of Egypt to send Origen to him, that he might confer with him about the new doctrine.⁷

The reign of this young and unfortunate prince, to whom in spite of his weakness we must accord a peculiar regard, was then the moment when the past and the future, the two great social forces, could come together without mingling, and live in peace until the transformation should be effected.⁸ In fact, a compromise was not impossible between the Empire, now become disdainful

¹ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 45.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, 42.

³ *In Matth. hom.*, xxviii. Origen says that they were burned, probably during the reign of Maximin.

⁴ IVNO CONSERVATRIX. Juno standing, holding a patera and a sceptre; a peacock is at her feet. Reverse of a silver coin.

⁵ Lamprid., *Alex.*, 26. All her medals are pagan.

⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 21.

⁷ *Id.*, *ibid.*, vi. 19.

⁸ Zonaras (xii. 16) pretends that there were many Christians at the court of Alexander: . . . πολλοὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀλ. οἶκον ἦσαν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκότες θεόν. Mangold, *de Ecclesia primæva pro Cæsaribus ac magistratibus rom. preces fundente*, 1881, thinks that in the first two

of its old divinities, and a Christianity which would have been respectful towards the established order. The one accepting religious tolerance as its rule of government, the other, satisfied with the liberty allowed it, continuing peaceably to win souls, but not gaining power by violence; making conquest of the world by virtue of moral truth and not as a victorious party which establishes itself by force in the positions from whence it has dislodged its adversaries. Unhappily, the revolutions of this world are not effected with this wisdom. The spirit of Tertullian has replaced in the Church that of Clement, and in the State the violent will also succeed the pacific. On both sides, force will be employed; by Diocletian, in the name of the gods; by the successors of Constantine, in the name of Christ, and the Empire will be shaken to its foundations.

centuries liturgical prayers for the emperors and magistrates were said in the Christian communities.

¹ This Medusa is carved on the outside of the famous cup of Oriental sardonyx, known as the Tassa Farnese. It was found near the Castle of S. Angelo (Hadrian's Tomb), or at the Tiburtine Villa, and is now in the Museum of Naples.



Medusa, or Ægis.¹

TWELFTH PERIOD.

MILITARY ANARCHY (235-268 A.D.). BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE.

CHAPTER XCIV.

SEVEN EMPERORS IN FOURTEEN YEARS (235-249 A.D.).

I.—MAXIMIN (235-238); GORDIAN I. AND GORDIAN II.; PUPIENUS AND BALBINUS (238).

AS the Roman aristocracy and the provincial nobles abandoned military service, the sons of barbarians entered it, and, reaching the higher grades, disposed of the troops and consequently of the Empire.

Caius Julius Verus Maximinus by his father's side belonged to the Getæ; by his mother's, to the Alani. When Severus, on his return from Asia in the year 202, traversed Thrace, he celebrated, on occasion of a festival, the usual military games. Maximin, whose herculean strength had made him famous among his comrades, was matched against some of the emperor's attendants, and conquered sixteen of them in succession. This prowess gained him the honour of being at once enlisted in the army. Three days later, seeing the emperor pass on horseback at full gallop, he kept pace with him on foot. Severus continued the race for some time, then proposed to him to take part in a wrestling match, fatigued as he was. Immediately Maximin threw seven of the most active soldiers one after another, and upon this received the gold collar and was admitted to the guards. This new Ajax,

who was as brave as he was strong, rose rapidly through the grades, but would serve neither under Macrinus, who had killed the son of his benefactor, nor under Elagabalus, whom he despised—two praiseworthy sentiments which should be set down to his



Maximin.¹ (Museum of Naples.)



Maximus (Son of Maximin).²

credit. He re-entered the army in the reign of Alexander, who made him tribune with the rank of senator. The rest of the story is well-known. Disgusted with an emperor whom his mother held in leading-strings, the troops were eager to have a true soldier at their head, and they made choice of the man who possessed all the physical qualities of one—strength, agility, and dexterity.³ His

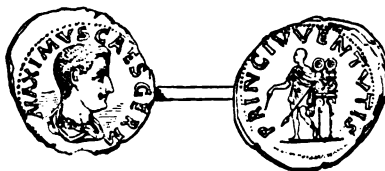
¹ Heroic statue, the antique head preserved. (Luni marble.)

² Statue of Greek marble, the antique head restored.

³ I make no mention of the extravagant stories of his strength and voracity. They are credible only on the supposition that Maximin was a morbid case of polyphagy, of which Létourneau gives such curious instances in his *Physiologie des passions*.

son Maximus, not yet twenty years of age,¹ was saluted Cæsar and prince of the Roman youth.

The extraordinary fortune to which Maximin had attained did not remove from his mind the consciousness of his own unworthiness, and placed him in an attitude of hostility towards all who possessed what he had never had, ancestors, a name, education, and wealth. He dared not appear in Rome. This



Maximus, Cæsar and Prince of the Youth.²

city full of glorious memories, this senate of which he was not yet an actual member,³ an assembly remaining still the shadow of a great reality, intimidated the barbarian. The friends and councillors of Alexander, all his household, and among this number many Christians, were at once put to death; soon after a conspiracy, real or feigned, cost the life of Magnus, an ex-consul, and of several other persons.⁴ In the army were many troops of African and Asiatic origin, Osrhoenian and Armenian archers, Moors armed with javelins, Parthians who had fled from the Persian dominion, all devoted to the dynasty which had arisen out of Leptis and Emesa. The favourite of the Pannonians and the murderer of Alexander was doubly odious to them; it was their desire to overthrow him and proclaim as emperor, against his will, an ex-consul whom one of his friends assassinated through spite at not having had the preference himself. This murder disorganized the rebellion; new victims fell, and



Germans concealing themselves among Rushes. (Column of Antoninus.)

¹ Maximus was killed in his eighteenth or in his twenty-first year. (*Capit., Mar.*, 1.)

² MAXIMVS CÆS. GERM., around the bare head of the prince. On the reverse, PRINC. IVVENTVTIS. Maximus standing, holding a wand and a javelin; behind, two standards. (Silver coin. Cohen, No. 4.)

³ *Neque ipse senator esset* (Eutrop., ix. 1.)

⁴ Capitolinus says, four thousand. (*Mar.*, 10.)

Maximin made haste to seek sanction for his power by gaining a victory over the Germans.

These barbarians made no resistance to a serious attack. Abandoning to the Romans their harvests and their wooden houses, which were burned, they took refuge in the depths of forests, whither they believed the legions would not dare to follow them, and in marshes through which they alone knew the way. Maximin, however, pursued them into these retreats, killed a considerable number of them and sent to the senate, with his letters announcing the victory, a picture representing himself as fighting surrounded by enemies, while the horse upon which he is seated is



Maximinus Germanicus.¹

half buried in the mud. He asserted that he had ravaged the country over a space of 400 miles. Other wars, of which we have no particulars, gave him the titles of Dacicus and Sarmaticus. From Sir-

mium, which he had made the centre of his operations, he commanded the line of the Carpathians, and proposed to penetrate as far as the northern seas: this son of the Goths was desirous of crushing that barbarism whence he had himself emerged.²

A design like this, and a life passed in the camps of the Danube in rigorous climates, give the man a certain savage grandeur. But the senators left idle in the curia, the languid dwellers in Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, who, from the recesses of their luxurious villas could not discern the perils that the north concealed in its mysterious depths, and the populace, deprived of their wonted pleasures, were indignant at the affront offered to the imperial purple. Maximin was called the Cyclops, the Busiris, the wild beast; men openly desired his death, and in the theatre verses were declaimed like these: "The elephant is huge, but men kill him; the lion is strong, but men kill him; the tiger is

¹ Laurelled head of Maximin. On the reverse, Maximin and his son, standing, holding a victory. Between them, two kneeling captives. (Large bronze of the *Cabinet de France*.)

² In 256 he assumed the title of Germanicus (Eckhel, vii. 291). His victories over the Germans belong therefore to that year.

terrible, but men kill him. Beware of all, thou who fearest none; for what one alone cannot do, many together can." The rude soldier gave back contempt for contempt to the effeminate revilers whose hands could not grasp the sword, to these crowds living on charity and public games, who had never seen other blood flow than that of gladiators, while the emperor replied by sentences of death to those who insulted him. Notwithstanding the efforts of the empress, who strove vainly to soften this savage disposition,¹ murders and confiscations multiplied, and hatred increased against the Thracian who dared to say openly that an Empire like this could be governed only by the most uncompromising severity.

This hatred Maximin discerned everywhere, even amidst flatteries, and his cruelty only increased in consequence. Those even who had aided his fortunes became guilty of having known his humble beginnings, and he caused these embarrassing witnesses of his obscurity to disappear. As there was safety for him nowhere except with the army, he gorged it with gold, and the public treasury not furnishing enough, he pillaged cities and temples, coined the statues of the gods into money and confiscated the funds destined for games and distributions; citizens were slain while endeavouring to defend the statues of their divinities. A catastrophe was becoming inevitable, and an eclipse of the sun which occurred at this time was believed to announce it.

About the middle of February, 238,² an insurrection of peasants broke out in Africa. One of the most obnoxious of the agents of this fiscal tyranny, the procurator of the province of Carthage, had condemned many landowners of Thysdrus to fines which were ruinous to them. They applied for a delay of three days, and employed that time in calling in from the adjacent country their

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xiv. 1.

² This period presents serious chronological difficulties, which have been removed by Eckhel (vii. 293-5), and by Borghesi (*Sull' imp. Pupiano*, in his Works, v. pp. 488 *et seq.*), and especially by L. Renier. In the latter's memoir upon the inscriptions of the Gordians, he establishes, moreover, that Capellianus was in command in Numidia, and not, as has been always believed, in Mauretania; that the Third Augustan legion was disbanded after its defeat; that the true name of Balbinus was Decimus Cælius Galvinus Balbinus (no inscription had given it until that of Bouhira, recently discovered); that, finally, a rescript inserted in the *Code* (ii. 10, 2) proves that Pupienus and Balbinus were dead by the tenth before the kalends of July (June 22). In the reorganization of Africa by Gordian III. the Numidian lieutenantcy was suppressed, and Cæsarian Mauretania became, and remained until the time of Valerian, a prætorian province, governed by a legate who commanded the entire army in the African provinces.

husbandmen, who entered the city by night, armed with clubs and hatchets concealed under their clothing. At break of day the conspirators with this band attacked the dwelling of the proconsul, killed him, and then hastening to the dwelling of the procurator, who was at this time in Thysdrus, they invested him with a purple robe, and, in spite of his reluctance, proclaimed him



Thysdrus (El-Djem): View of a Circular Gallery in the Amphitheatre or Colosseum.

Augustus. Gordian was the person of highest rank in the Empire. He was said to be a descendant of the Gracchi; his mother, Ulpia Gordiana, belonged to the family of Trajan; and his wife was the great-granddaughter of Antoninus Pius. He was, moreover, a scholar, a poet, and a man of integrity; he had immense wealth, but he was eighty years of age, and content with having passed through so many revolutions without loss of life or fortune, this

assiduous reader of Plato and Aristotle, of Cicero and Virgil,¹ would have been glad to end his days peacefully. But the choice was not allowed him. Moreover to touch the imperial purple,



The Elder Gordian. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 64.)

though but for a moment, was to be like him of old who laid hand upon the Ark, his life must be the penalty.

Gordian accepted, and Carthage, which had not seen an emperor since Hadrian, received with transport the new Augustus. He associated with himself his son, who had been one of his

¹ Gordian had composed a poetical Antoniniad. Capitolinus thus describes one of his palaces: "In their villa, which yet stands upon the Prænestine road, may be seen a tetrastyle temple of two hundred columns, of which fifty are of Carystian marble, fifty of Claudian, and fifty of Numidian; there are also three basilicas a hundred feet in length, and thermæ, which are surpassed in beauty only by those of Rome." (*Gord.*, 32.) "While ædile, Gordian gave at his own expense twelve spectacles, one each month, where gladiators in number from three hundred to a thousand were engaged. On one occasion he let loose in the amphitheatre a hundred wild beasts of Libya; another time, a thousand bears. At the August games he furnished to the populace two hundred stags, thirty wild horses, ten elands, a hundred Cyprus bulls, three hundred ostriches, thirty wild asses, a hundred and fifty wild boars, two hundred chamois, and two hundred deer." (*Ibid.*, 3.)

lieutenants, and immediately despatched emissaries to Rome with letters for the consuls, the senate, the people, and the prætorians, and assassins to destroy the prætorian prefect, the pitiless agent of the cruelties of Maximin. They also were to spread the false



The Younger Gordian. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 65.)

rumour that the emperor had been murdered in camp in Pannonia. The prefect being attacked unawares was stabbed in his own tribunal. In his letter to the senate Gordian declared that he would submit to the decision of that august assembly. Since the time of the true Antonines the Conscript Fathers had not heard language like this. It gave them courage, and without waiting to

see if the imperial offices were really vacant, they decreed them to the two Gordians, father and son, in a secret session¹ (March, 238). The people were, for once, of the same mind with the senate; a ruler who scorned to come to Rome appeared to them false to all his duties. They rejoiced therefore at the report of Maximin's death, and welcomed with acclamations the emperor whom the Fathers had given them. The revolution would have failed of its chief interest if it had been on paper only; a sanguinary reaction smote the officers and partisans of the Thracian and the informers who had served his cruelty. Under this pretext every man rid himself of an enemy, and debtors murdered their creditors. The prefect of the city perished in one of these tumults.



Unique Inscription of the Elder Gordian.²
(Museum of Bordeaux.)

Meanwhile messengers had been sent out to communicate to the provinces the impulse which had begun with Rome and Carthage. Their despatches, written in the name of the senate and the Roman people, called upon the nations to succour the common country and acknowledge the two rulers who had just freed the world of a wild beast.³ Maximin at first ridiculed these new "Carthaginians," and promised his soldiers that this revolt of the senate should give them rich booty. There was, in truth, nothing of Hannibal in the Carthage of the time, and when the Numidian legate, Capellianus, arrived from Lambesa and Thevestes with his legion, the Third Augustan, the citizens who had come out to oppose him gave way at sight of the Numidian horse, and in their precipitate flight

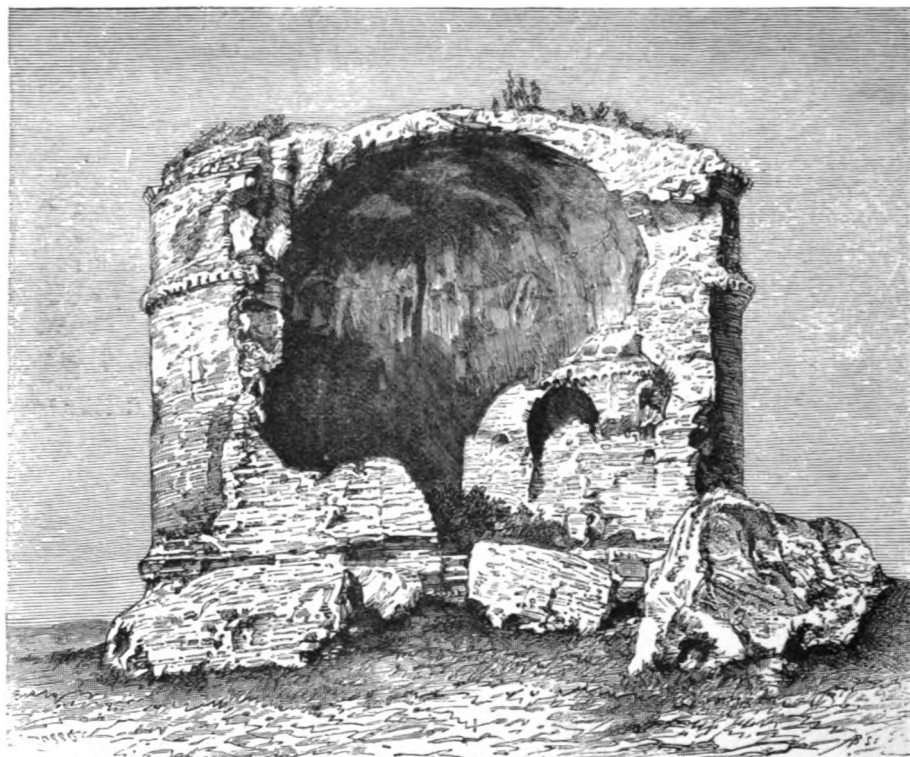
¹ For a *senatus-consultum tacitum*, the scribes and attendants, all, in fact, who were not senators, went out of the curia, and the members of the senate themselves prepared the reports and decrees.

² From the restoration by M. Ch. Robert, in vol. iv. of *Mémoires de la Société archéolog. of Bordeaux*.

³ The letter is addressed: *proconsulibus, præsidibus, legatis, ducibus, tribunis, magistratibus, ac singulis civitatibus, et municipiis et oppidis et vicis et castellis*. (Capit., Mar., 15.) The two Maximins were at the same time declared public enemies, and a reward offered to any person who should kill them. (*Ibid.*, 16.)

crushed one another in the gates of the city.¹ The younger Gordian was slain in the tumult, and his aged father in despair took his own life; the two had reigned a few days over a month. This news struck consternation at Rome. Embarked in so terrible an enterprise the senate could not fall back; it was compelled to be either the victim or the executioner.

Ideas which later were more fully developed had begun at



Ruins of the Tomb of the Gordians (from a Photograph by Parker).

this time to germinate. In the time of Caracalla Herodian had believed that a division of the Empire was possible. In the deliberation which took place after the arrival of the news from Africa, a senator proposed the appointment of two emperors, one to remain at Rome and have charge of civil affairs, the other to be with the army for the direction of military operations. This was the system which Diocletian carried out. The proposal was well

¹ Capitolinus (*Max.*, 19) speaks, however, of an *acerrima pugna*.

received, and the senate proclaimed two *Augusti*, Pupienus,¹ a military man, and Balbinus, who had won honour in the civil career. To render these powers absolutely equal, the title of Pontifex Maximus, which had never before been shared, was given to both, and the two Gordians were pronounced *divi*.

A great crowd had gathered outside the Capitol when the senate was in session.

At the news of the decision a violent clamour was raised, especially against Pupienus, who as governor of the city had severely repressed those infractions of the public order that the



The Two Gordians, proclaimed *divi*.²

lower classes so willingly commit or excuse. Accordingly, when the new emperors with their suite attempted to go the imperial palace, they were driven back into the Capitol. The Gordians being extremely rich had many adherents who had proposed to derive advantage for themselves from their reign. Of this family there remained a boy—grandson through his mother of the proconsul of Africa³—who was at this time in Rome. Upon the elevation of his grandfather and uncle the senate had given him the prætorship and the title of Cæsar, although he was but twelve years of age. After the African disaster men were in request, and the boy was forgotten, but those whose interests were concerned had not forgotten him, and they instigated the mob; who by their clamour



Gordian III. Cæsar. (Silver Coin bearing on the reverse the legend: *Pietas Augg.* Cohen, No. 73.)

¹ Their names were: *M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus* and *Decimus Cælius Balbinus*. The latter claimed descent from Balbus, the Spaniard, the friend of Pompey and Cæsar.

² Medallion of bronze struck at Ægæ in Cilicia, confirming the apotheosis decreed by the senate: *quos ambo senatus augustos appellavit, et postea inter divos retulit*. On the obverse, the laurelled heads of the two Gordians facing each other; the legend (in Greek): The Divine Gordiani, the venerable Roman, African, Augusti. On the reverse, an eagle upon an altar, and: The inhabitants of Ægæ, Severiani, Hadriani, the neocoros city (having a temple of the Augusti), the navarchia (having a marine arsenal), in the year of Ægæ 284 (238 A.D.).

³ An Algerian inscription (*J. Renier*, No. 1,431) calls him *divi Gordiani nepos et divi Gordiani sororis filius*. To the same effect, Herodian, vii. 27.

forced the senate to renew the decree naming the young Gordian Cæsar.

So Rome had three emperors; but she had civil war



Balbinus. (Bust of the Capitol.)

nevertheless. Maximin had left in the city only a few prætorian veterans, and this soldiery, whose insolence we have often mentioned, was always regarded with ill-will by the nobles and the populace. One day two of these soldiers, unarmed and as spectators, entering the temple where the Conscrip Fathers were deliberating,

passed beyond the altar of Victory, a serious breach of etiquette. To this they added some insolent demeanour, or possibly some threatening language in the name of their emperor: the exact offence is not known; but an exasperated senator stabbed them both, then rushing out into the open square held up his bloody dagger, exclaiming that it must needs be that these enemies of the



Maximin. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

senate and of the Roman people perish. The crowd fell upon the prætorians who chanced to be in the city; many were killed, and the remainder shut themselves into their camp, which the gladiators belonging to the nobles vainly sought to take by attack; these old soldiers made a strong resistance, and at times sallied out with great slaughter among their assailants. To restore peace Balbinus issued edicts and entreaties, but he was driven out of the tumult with sticks and stones, but without intentional injury. The affair

was a private quarrel between town and camp, of a kind often seen before and since in military governments. The citizens finally cut off the water supply of the camp, hoping to force the prætorians



Pupienus. (Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.)

to open their gates. The latter did indeed open them, but it was to fall upon the mob with levelled pikes, and pursue them into the city, where the combat went on. Assailed in the narrow streets by stones hurled down upon them from the roofs, the soldiers set fire to the houses, and in the midst of the conflagration

soldiers and populace became reconciled, while uniting to plunder whatever the flames had spared. A great part of the city was destroyed.

Maximin now found himself in the position in which Severus had been forty-five years before; but he did not show the prudence of the African emperor, and his army, having no supplies awaiting them along the road, advanced slowly. It is true the disposition of the provincials was no longer the same; the inhabitants fled at the approach of Maximin and his barbarians, and the cities which he entered were empty of men and provisions.¹

The senate had time therefore to raise troops in Italy, to fortify positions, and to cut the roads. The fleet of Ravenna had carried off or destroyed all the coast vessels, and allowed nothing to arrive by way of the Adriatic for the army of Pannonia.² Twenty ex-consuls had divided Italy among themselves, to make it a fortress as it were, and from Ravenna, where he had collected his army, Pupienus directed the movements of all. This city, the Venice of the Romans, afforded him an excellent strategic position. Thence he kept guard over Upper Italy and the lower course of its two great rivers, the Po and the Adige; his fleet kept him in communication with Aquileia, and he covered the road to Rome. The Italians cordially aided his preparations; they felt that they were about to fight for the old renown of Italy against a fresh invasion of the Cimbri. The gods were made to speak: in Aquileia the auspices declared that Belenus promised success.³ Moreover, good news came in from the provinces. Most of them had declared for the senate, and the legions which remained faithful, especially those of the Rhine where Pupienus had been in command, sent him detachments which enabled him to officer a considerable number of recruits. In Africa, Capellianus, after his victory at Carthage, had pillaged the province to enrich his soldiers, to prepare his own way to the imperial power if Maximin should be overthrown.⁴ But the governor of Mauretania defeated and killed him; the Third Augustan legion was disbanded; its name was effaced from the

¹ *Sublatis omnibus quæ victum præbere possent* (Capit., *Max.*, 21).

² Capit., *Max.*, 23.

³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 22; Herod., viii. 7.

⁴ Capit., *Max.*, 19. Cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 3,177.

monuments it had erected, and the troops remaining were sent into Rhætia.¹ Maximin, therefore, remained isolated.²

When he reached the banks of the Isonzo, the torrent, swelled by the melting of the snows, rolled broad and rapid, and the fine



Sarcophagus of a Centurion of the Third Augustan Legion.* (Museum of the Louvre.)

stone bridge which spanned it had been broken down. Here the army was detained for several days while rafts were constructed from casks and planks found in the deserted houses.

On the opposite side, some miles distant from the stream, was Aquileia, the real gateway into Italy on this side. Whether

¹ This legion was reconstituted about the year 253, in the reign of Valerian, whom it, with the whole Rhætian army, had aided in obtaining the imperial power.

² . . . *orbem terrarum consensisse in odium Maximini* (Capit., *Max.*, 23).

³ White marble, found among the tombs along the Appian Way. It represents eleven Loves forging arms, in allusion to the employment of the centurion: *Blaera Vitalis* 7 (centurio) *leg. III. AVG. B. M. M. D.* [*Bene Merenti Mater Dedit*?]. (*C. I. L.*, vol. vi. No. 3,645.) "The artists of the Roman epoch were accustomed to treat religious traditions lightly, and attribute to Loves or to children certain occupations which in reality only belong to grown men. In this class of ideas the sarcophagus under consideration is one of the most instructive." (Frühner, *Notice*, etc., No. 341, and p. 321; also Henry d'Escamps, *Descr. des marbres du musée Camp.*, pl. 108.)

Maximin should take it, or whether its inhabitants should allow him to traverse it with his famished hordes, in either case the great and wealthy city would be ruined. Accordingly these descendants of Roman colonists had resolved to make a desperate resistance. They closed the gaps in their walls, amassed immense quantities of provisions, and prepared all military supplies. The women, copying famous examples, had given their hair to make rope, an act consecrated by a temple built in Rome to the Venus of the shaven head. Two ex-consuls, one formerly a *dux* in Moesia, and a very able soldier, conducted the defence. There were but few troops in the city, but all the inhabitants enrolled themselves as a garrison, and the bravest of the neighbouring country people had thrown themselves into the place.

They were able to defeat all designs and to repel all attacks, and set on fire the besieging machines employed by the enemy. Maximin, exasperated by these repeated defeats, finally put to death the officers who had so unsuccessfully conducted his affairs. Great indignation was aroused at this unjust conduct; provisions, moreover, were lacking, the army saw neither supplies nor succour come to it, the whole Empire appeared to be hostile, and the emperor was not one of those leaders who give their soldiers courage to fight against a world.

The soldiers of the Second Parthica were the most uneasy. Their wives and children and all that they possessed being left at Albano was at the mercy of their adversaries. To save them the soldiers murdered Maximin and his son. This emperor's reign had lasted three years and a few days (238).¹

Upon this the army demanded entrance into the city, but the people of Aquileia would by no means agree to this. They let down provisions from their walls, requiring pay for the same, and also opened markets at their gates, and the strange sight was seen

¹ Maximin was sixty-five years of age (*Chron. d'Alex., ad ann. 238*, and Zonaras, *Ann.*, xii. 16). The ecclesiastical writers (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 28) place in his reign a persecution, which they call the sixth. Sulpicius Severus has no knowledge of this; he speaks only (*Hist. sacr.*, ii. 16) of a few priests who were persecuted . . . *nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit*. The persecution was probably limited to some local oppression. In Cappadocia, for instance, of which Firmilianus was bishop. Cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* 75: *erat transcundi facultas eo quod persecutio illa non per totum mundum, sed localis fuisset . . . ut per Cappadociam et Pontum*; and the Church has no authentic martyrs in this reign. Eusebius mentions not one.

of the besieged supplying the besiegers with food. Pupienus coming in all haste from Ravenna to this army destitute of a chief, received their oaths of fidelity to the three emperors of Rome, and sent the troops away to their encampments, after having, as was fitting, paid them liberally in gold the price of blood.

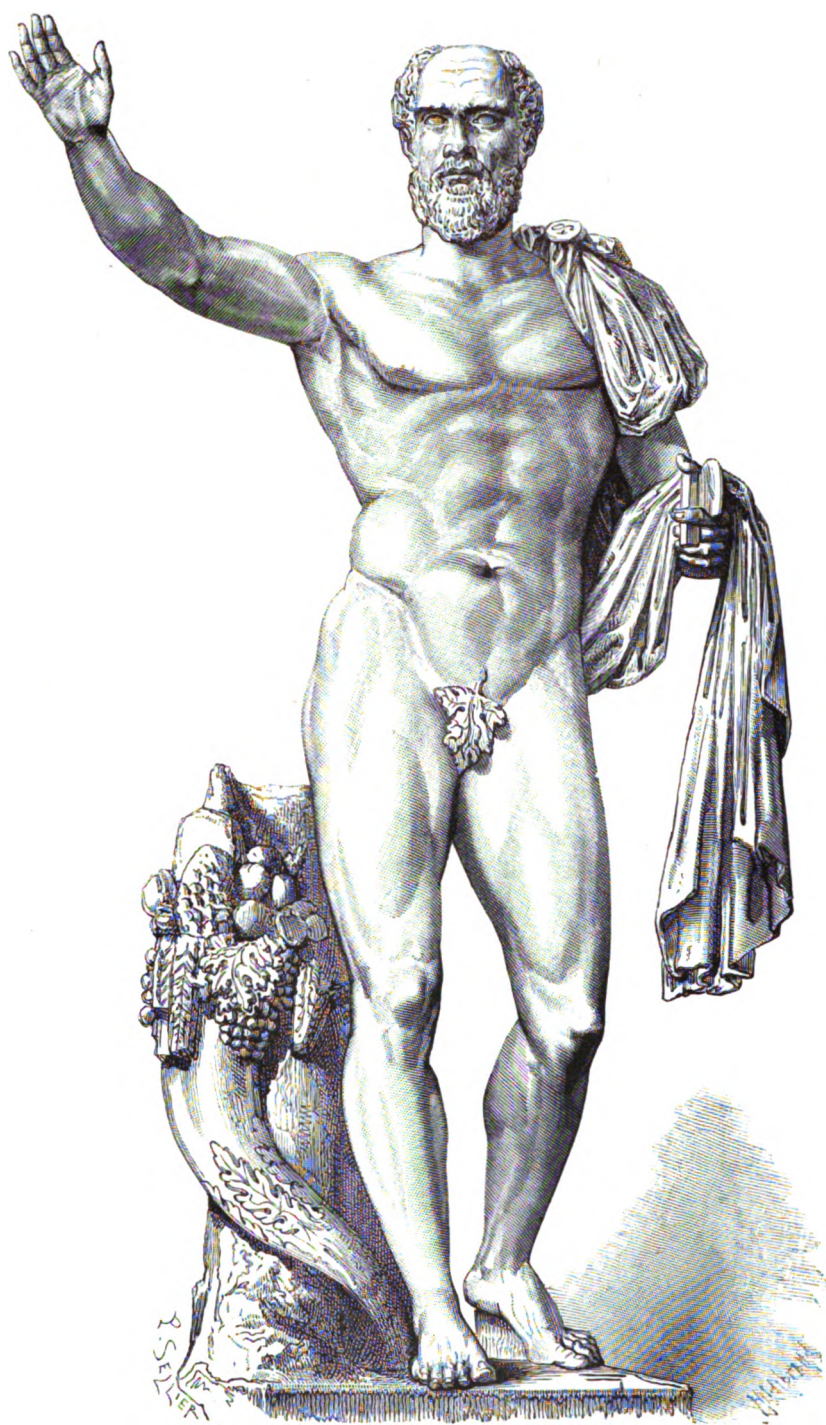
During these transactions the senate had lived from day to day in all the anxieties of a man who sees the knife at his throat.



Equestrian Statue of an Emperor crowned with Laurel.
(Guattani, 1786, and Clarac, pl. 967, No. 2,497.)

Therefore their joy was as extreme as had been their terror, and they testified it by the vastness of their display of gratitude to the gods and the emperors; to the former, solemn thanksgivings and hecatombs of victims; to the latter, triumphs without a combat, trophies, triumphal chariots, gilded equestrian statues, and, by way of novelty, statues carried by elephants.

When the noise of acclamations had ceased and the flames of sacrifice were extinguished, Pupienus calmly examined the situation, and found it still full of dangers. "What do you



Heroic Statue of Pupienus. (Museum of the Louvre.)

expect will be our recompense for having delivered Rome from a monster?" he one day asked his colleague. "The love of the people, the senate, and the whole human race," Balbinus replied with simplicity. "Our recompense will be," the old general said, "the hatred of the soldiers." And he saw the real consequence.

Pupienus and the Public Peace.¹

The two emperors at first lived on terms of cordial friendliness; to attest their harmony they caused coins to be struck representing two hands clasped with the legend: *patres senatus, amor mutuus*; also this: *fides mutua*.² But Balbinus regarded with contempt the obscure birth of Pupienus, the latter despised his colleague's weakness, and after a few days distrust sprang up between them. It was difficult for the combination devised by the senate to have had any other result, and this result was sure to bring about a catastrophe. The prætorians with silent hatred endured "the senate's emperors," and their hatred increased with the acclamations wherewith the Conscript Fathers saluted these men chosen by the supreme council of the state. They feared lest there might be renewed against themselves the execution made by Severus in the case of the prætorians of Julianus. In a *senatus-consultum* these words had been imprudently used:



Two Hands Clasped with the Legend: PATRES SENATUS. (Silver Coin of Pupienus.)

Large Bronze of Balbinus.³

"Thus act those rulers who have been chosen by wise men; thus perish the rulers who were chosen by the inexperienced."⁴ This

¹ IMP. CAES. PVIEN(us) MAXIMVS AVG., around the laurelled head of the emperor. On the reverse, PAX PVBLICA SC. and Peace, seated. (Large bronze.)

² Eckhel, vii. 305.

³ IMP. CAES D(ecimus) CAEL(ius) BALBINVS AVG., and the laurelled head of Balbinus. On the reverse, LIBERALITAS AVGVSTORVM SC. Balbinus, Pupienus, and Gordian III. seated on a platform. Liberalitas standing; a citizen ascending the steps.

⁴ Herod., viii. 21.

was a bravado, and the soldiers comprehended it. One day when scenic representations had drawn away from the palace a large number of its usual guards they hastened thither. Pupienus desired at once to summon the German guard; Balbinus, suspecting some treachery on the part of his colleague, refused to allow it to be called in. While the two emperors were disputing, the prætorians forced the gates, seized them both, and dragged them across the city with every insult, exclaiming: "Here are the emperors of the senate and the Roman people!"¹ It was their intention to carry their prisoners to the camp to put them to death with slow tortures. But the German guard approaching, the prætorians murdered the emperors at once and left their dead bodies in the open street (June, 238).

Less than five months had sufficed for the triple tragedy of which Rome, Carthage, and the camp of Aquileia had been the theatre. The senatorial restoration had lasted just long enough to give the soldiery time to recover from the surprise this audacious attempt had caused them, and it could last no longer, for the senate had neither material nor moral force; the power was elsewhere. From Commodus to Diocletian the soldiers were the true masters of the Empire, and the evils of this dominion were only for the moment dispelled when the army had at its head chiefs at once able and strong, like Severus, Aurelian, and Probus. The constitution of the Empire required for prosperity a strong hand at the helm, but nature is not so lavish of superior men; and human wisdom had not by good institutions supplied what nature did not furnish.

¹ With the reign of Pupienus and Balbinus ends the work of Herodian, which, notwithstanding all its faults, is very useful for this epoch so poor in historians. We mention, for the year 238, the publication of the book by Censorinus, *de Die natali*. About this time also Commodianus, the most ancient of the Christian poets, wrote his *Instructions*, eighty pieces of barbarous verse. His *Carmen apologeticum* is of the year 249. Gennadius (*de Script. eccles.*, 15) says of this author: *Scriptit, mediocri sermone quasi versu, librum adversus paganos. Et quia parum nostrarum attigerat litterarum, magis illorum destruere potuit dogmata quam nostra firmare.* The initial letters of the twenty-six last verses form these words: *Commodianus mendicus Christi*. Another example of these acrostics, with a barbaric prosody and metre, is found in an Algerian inscription. (L. Renier, No. 2,074.)

II.—GORDIAN III. (238–244).

Within a few months six emperors had perished, and only a boy was left, Gordian III.¹ The murderers carried him away with them to the camp. They had made him Cæsar through hatred of Pupienus and Balbinus; now that he was left alone they proclaimed him Augustus; a ruler twelve or thirteen years old was the chief who suited them best. Meanwhile the Empire, wearied out with so many tumults, rested tranquil for a few years. There is mentioned only an insurrection in Africa, which was quickly suppressed by the governor of Cæsarian Mauretania (240).² But affairs at court went badly. Gordian II. had had as many as twenty-two

Gordian III.³

concubines; to guard this harem he had adopted the Oriental method of employing eunuchs, and his nephew came into possession of this dangerous household. Ill-defended by his mother against them and the freedmen, Gordian allowed them to be masters of the palace and the treasury, which they plundered at will. Their

¹ "He is said by most authorities to have been eleven years of age, but some consider him thirteen, and Junius Cordus believes that he was sixteen." (Capit., *Gord.*, 22.)

² L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 99, and *C. I. L.*, vol. vi. No. 1,090.

³ Luni marble. Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.

sway lasted till 241 or 242; at this period the young emperor married Tranquillina, the daughter of Timesitheus, and appointed his father-in-law prætorian prefect.¹

This Timesitheus, who had filled with integrity important financial positions, and many times served as governor of a province,

vice præsidis, proved to be a man, and he thrust back into obscurity those who ought never to have emerged thence. One of his letters to Gordian shows the extent of the evil and the vigour of the remedy: "To Augustus, my master and my son, Timesitheus his father-in-law and prefect [greeting]. We rejoice to see that you have escaped from the disgrace of this age in which eunuchs and men whom you regarded as friends trafficked infamously in all things. Our rejoicing is the greater in that you yourself applaud this fortunate change, which proves also, my respected son, that you were not to blame for these abuses. It could not indeed be endured longer that eunuchs should dispose of military commands; that honourable services should be left unrewarded; that the caprice or interest of a few men should



The Empress Tranquillina as Ceres.
(Statue in the Museum of the Louvre.
Parian Marble.)

cause the innocent to perish and set free the guilty; that the treasury should be emptied by those who were constantly scheming to prejudice you against the best citizens, who were bringing the wicked forward and driving good men away, and trafficked in the very words that they themselves ascribed to you. Let us,

¹ C. *Furius Sabinius Aquila Timesitheus*. (Spon, *Antiq. de Lyon*, edition of 1857, p. 163.) See his *cursus honorum* in De Boissieu's *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 245.

therefore, thank the gods who have given you the will to heal the woes of the state. It is pleasing to be the father-in-law of a ruler who is willing to know all, and drives from his presence the men by whom he himself seemed formerly to be offered for public sale."

To this letter Gordian replied: "The emperor Gordianus Augustus to Timesitheus, his father and prefect. If the mighty gods were not protecting the Roman Empire, we should still be, as it were, exposed for sale by the eunuchs, themselves bought in the public markets. I at last understand that it is not a Felix whom I should place at the head of the prætorian cohorts, nor a Serapammon in command of the Fourth legion, and, not to enumerate in detail, that I ought not to have done many things that I have done. But I render thanks to the gods that you, whose fidelity is well known to me, have taught me what the captivity in which I was held had prevented me from understanding. What could I do when Maurus sold the government, and when, acting in concert with



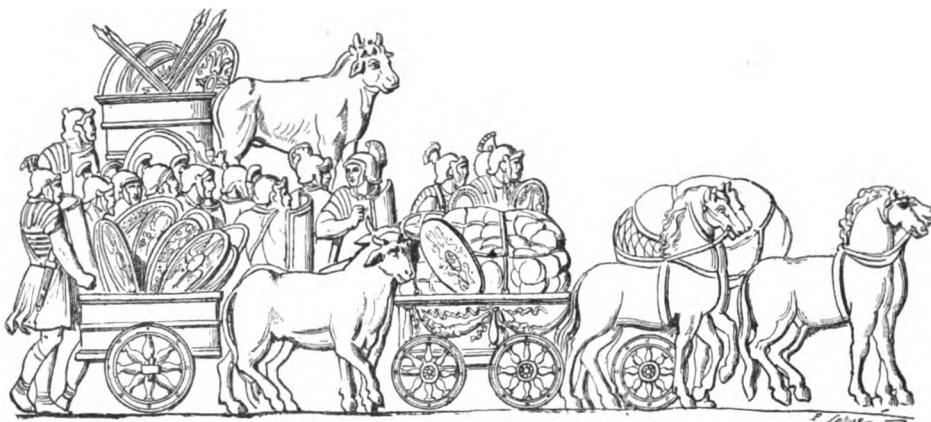
Coin of Tranquillina.¹

Gaudianus, Reverendus, and Montanus, he praised these men and blamed those? What could I do but approve what he had told me, it being also confirmed by the testimony of his accomplices? In truth, my dear father, an emperor is very unfortunate when the truth is concealed from him. He cannot go out and learn it for himself, and he is obliged to hear what he is told and to decide according to the information men bring him."

Timesitheus was not only renowned for his eloquence and integrity, but also, when the occasion required, he could show himself a good general. He caused the fortifications of cities and frontiers to be repaired, and collected vast quantities of provisions in these strongholds, so that the armies could be supplied from them in case of need. The posts of the first importance were supplied with a year's stores of corn, pork, vinegar, barley, and

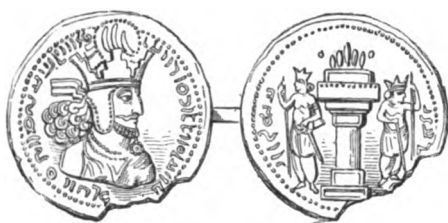
¹ SABINIA TRANQVILLINA AVG., surrounding the bust of the empress. On the reverse, FELICITAS TEMPORVM SC. Felicitas standing.

straw; and others with supplies for one or two months. He investigated the condition of the arsenals and made sure that the weapons in the soldiers' hands were in good order. He sent away



Provision and Baggage Waggoners. (Bas-relief of the Antonine Column.)

from the camps all useless persons, old men and children, who hindered the movements of the troops and consumed the rations. Discipline was the more easily maintained because he watched



Coin of Shapur or Sapor I.¹

with the utmost vigilance over the needs of the soldier, and even in the most remote marches secured the seasonable arrival of provisions. He also revived the old usage of surrounding the most temporary camps with a ditch; and as he visited the

outposts often, even during the night, he kept watch upon the conduct of all. In a short time a man like this, able and devoted to the public welfare, restored their military virtues to the troops, and the army again became the formidable weapon that it had so long been.

Of this the Persians became aware. Satisfied or exhausted by the first collision which had taken place in the reign of Alexander Severus, they had remained tranquil until about the close of Maximin's reign; but new Asiatic dynasties do not at once abandon

¹ Bust of Sapor, with legend: The worshipper of Ormuzd. On the reverse, a pyre between two standing figures; legend: Chapouri. (Gold coin.)

the tent for the harem. To consolidate their power they have need from time to time to give scope for the warlike ardour which gave them their existence. Ardeshir again threatened Armenia and the Roman provinces. Upon his death in 240 he was succeeded by his son Shapur, or Sapor, who for a third of a century (240-273) remained the indefatigable enemy of the Romans. This monarch directed a formidable invasion which penetrated the heart of Syria. He took the strong cities of Atræ, Nisibis, and Carrhæ, crossed the Euphrates and menaced Antioch.¹ At news of this Gordian opened the temple of Janus (241),² a ceremony which seems then to have occurred for the last time, and with a



Coin commemorating the Crossing of the Hellespont by the Emperor.²



Sapor I.⁴



Persian Horseman.⁵

large army set out for the valley of the Danube, which the Sarmatians and Goths had been ravaging for four years;⁶ the

¹ Mirkhond, *Hist. des Sassanides*, French translation by Sylvestre de Sacy, p. 288.

² Reverse of a medium bronze of Gordian III. with the legend *Trajectus Aug.* Gordian is seated in the prow of a prætorian galley, around which three dolphins are swimming. At the present day shoals of porpoises follow vessels in the Hellespont.

³ Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 27.

⁴ Engraved stone (sardonix) of three layers, 23 millim. by 20. Pehlvi legend, of which four letters only can be clearly made out. Cf. Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der deutsch. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xviii. pl. vi. 4. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,344.)

⁵ Intaglio of the Sassanid style. Perforated cone, 10 millim. in diameter. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,377.)

⁶ The *initium belli Scythici* dates from the reigns of Maximin and Balbinus, in 238. (*Capit.*, 16.) In this first invasion the Goths destroyed Istria, upon the Euxine.

Alani had even reached as far as the neighbourhood of Philippopolis in Thrace, where they defeated a Roman force. The barbarians could not make any stand against the large army led by Gordian, which drove away these pillagers as it passed along.¹

In 242 the emperor crossed the Hellespont and made his way rapidly to the Euphrates.

The Persian cavalry offered no better resistance than the Goths had done, but the history of these engagements is lost. We have only a few lines in a despatch from the emperor to the senate: "After the narrative of the advantages gained by our advance, each one of which merits the honour of a triumph, we have broken the yoke already placed upon the neck of Antioch and have delivered Syria from this king and his dominion. We have restored Carrhæ and the other cities to the Empire. We are now at Nisibis and, the gods favouring, shall soon be at Ctesiphon, if they preserve to us Timesitheus, our prefect and father, who plans and conducts everything. To him we owe this success, and shall owe others yet. Therefore, vote supplications to the gods and thanks to Timesitheus." The senate decreed to the emperor a quadriga of elephants, and to the prefect a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses, with this inscription: "To the tutor of the state."²

Unfortunately, not long after the wise tutor died, carried off by disease or perhaps by poison which Philip had administered (243). This Philip was an Arab of Trachonitis,³ son of a robber chief famous in that country, and for a time following his father's mode of life. Enrolled in the Roman army he rose from one grade to another until after the death of Timesitheus he was made its highest officer. Gordian appointed him to succeed the man whom he had perhaps murdered as prætorian prefect, and the operations

¹ . . . *delevit, fugavit expulit atque submovit* (Capit., *Gord.*, 26). On the tomb of Gordian are engraved the words, *Victor Gothorum*. (*Ibid.*, 34.)

² Capit., *Gord.*, 27. An inscription recently discovered in Algeria gives Gordian seven imperatorial salutations. (*Bull. de corresp. afric.*, 1882, p. 119.)

³ His name was M. Julius Philippus, and that of his wife, Marcia Otacilia Severa. See L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, No. 2,540. According to Aurelius Victor (*Cæs.*, 28), he was born at Bostra, which is said to have been called from him Philippopolis. Ecclesiastical councils distinguish between Bostra and Philippopolis, which is said to have been built on the ruins of the former (Labbe, *Conc.*, vol. viii. pp. 644, 675). M. Waddington has discovered the ruins of Philippopolis, where are yet to be seen a theatre, an aqueduct, baths, temples, and numerous public edifices; but the wall was never completed; Philip had not time to finish his work.

against the Persians continued. A great battle gained near Resaina on the Chabaras had opened the road to the Persian capital, when suddenly a sedition broke out.

The new prefect had fomented it by intentionally disorganizing the service his predecessor had so well established. Secret orders led the supply trains astray and hindered the boats laden with provisions from reaching the camps. When Philip saw discontent springing up and growing, he employed emissaries to go about among the tents and the groups of soldiers and complain of Gordian: an emperor so young was incapable of ruling the state and commanding the army; a colleague ought to be given him who would take the place of Timesitheus. The army,



Philip the Elder.¹

impelled by famine, placed the Empire in the power of Philip, and directed that he, as tutor, should rule jointly with Gordian.²

The friends of the young emperor could not deceive themselves in regard to this division of authority imposed by the soldiers: it was a master set over him, and the insolent behaviour of Philip made the situation perfectly evident. They prepared a counter-revolution. When they believed themselves sufficiently in force

¹ Bust in the Louvre, not designated with certainty. (Luni marble.)

² Zosimus, i. 18.

they obtained a convocation of the army, as if it were a deliberative assembly. Gordian, ascending his tribunal, complained before them of the ingratitude of Philip, whom he had, he said, loaded with favours, and he asked for justice from the soldiers, that is to say, the deposition of the emperor whom they had appointed. But the opposing party were victorious, and it was Gordian who was deposed. Here Capitolinus places a scene of unworthy supplications, in which Gordian ignobly descends all the steps of power, begging



Medal commemorative of Peace with the Persians.¹

first a share in the Empire, then the rank of Cæsar, or the title of prætorian prefect, lastly, the grade of *dux* and his life. We have no more reason to believe in this young man's cowardice than in his great courage; but at twenty a man does not die thus. Gordian was killed near Zaitha, the city of olive-trees, where his assassin erected to his memory a splendid tomb, which a century later was yet standing."² Three other emperors, Valerian, Carus, and Julian, were destined to die in these deserts.

Philip wrote to the senate that the soldiers had chosen him emperor in the stead of Gordian, deceased by natural causes, and the senate decreed to the latter apotheosis, and to the former the imperial titles. The Conscript Fathers consoled themselves for their secret grief by granting to all the surviving members of this ill-fated family, once so prosperous, exemption from wardship, legations, and municipal burdens (*munera*). This was all that they had it in their power to give (February or March, 244).

III.—PHILIP (244).

Instead of prosecuting the war against the Persians, discouraged as they were by their defeat at Resaina, Philip made haste to conclude peace, on terms advantageous to them,³ and returned to

¹ PAX FUNDATA CUM PERSIS: reverse of a silver coin of Philip the Elder.

² Amm. Marcellin., xxiii. 5. The government of Gordian III. had great legislative activity; the *Code* of Justinian mentions 240 ordinances of this reign. One of them is important: it granted to soldiers who had accepted, unawares, a burdensome inheritance, the advantage of being held to the payment of the debts only to the extent of the assets (*Code*, vi. 22). Hence the institution of the inventory.

³ Eutropius, ix. 2; Zonaras, xii. 18, 19.

Antioch. Eusebius, who is disposed to represent this murderer as a Christian, says that it was related in his time¹ that Philip, wishing with the empress to celebrate Easter in Antioch, the bishop, S. Babylas, forbade them admission to the church; upon which both humiliated themselves, made public confession of their sins, and took their places among the penitents. These rumours in the end became

accepted truths,² although it is not easy to see what interest the Church had in claiming such a proselyte. It may be that this Arab had in his youth a know-



Philip, the Empress Otacilia, and Philip the Son.³

ledge of the Christian religion; that, following the example of Mammæa, he had established relations with Origen,⁴ and it is certain that during his reign, as during that of Alexander, the Christians enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity;⁵ but all his public conduct was that of a pagan emperor. According to the legend of one of his coins, he believed that his accession had been predicted by Apollo,⁶ and the medals of Otacilia Severa bear profane types,

¹ Ὁ λόγος κατὰ (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 34).

² S. Chrysostom, Orosius, and Zonaras admitted them, and S. Jerome says of Philip (*de Vir. ill.*): *qui primus de regibus rom. christ. fuit*. But these authors all lived or wrote after the penitence of Theodosius, and it was well to increase the authority of that famous example by confirming the rumours that had naturally grown up among the believers in respect to the public penitence of a whole imperial family whose toleration had caused them to be suspected of sharing in the Christian faith. At the end of the fourth century, a bishop, when that bishop was S. Ambrose, might forbid an emperor entrance to his church: a century and a half earlier no man would have dared to do it.

³ CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM. Busts of Philip and Otacilia, and of their son. On the reverse: EX ORACVLO APOLLINIS; a round temple with four columns, and within it a statue of Apollo. (Bronze medallion.)

⁴ Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, vi. 33) possessed two letters written by Origen, the one to Philip, the other to the empress. But he does not say that he finds there the proof that these imperial persons were Christians.

⁵ Except at Alexandria, if we may believe Eusebius (vi. 41). But this so-called persecution was probably only one of the riots so common in that city, in which Christian as well as heathen perished.

⁶ *Ex oraculo Apollinis* (Cohen, iv. p. 201, No. 4; see above). He caused Gordian III. to be proclaimed *divus*, and performed all the pagan rites of the Secular Games. There

sacrilegious honours that a Christian believer would have refused. On the other hand, at that time of religious confusion many persons were uncertain what they believed. The rational syncretism of the Alexandrian philosophers became an unreasoning syncretism in many minds. Thus a singular monument, though of much later date, represents a Saint George with the head of a sparrow-hawk, that is to say, a hero of Christian legend is confused with an Egyptian god Horus.² The so-called Christianity of Mammæa and Otacilia was of the same nature and even more vague than this.



Reverse of a Coin
of Otacilia.¹

The events of Philip's reign are almost unknown to us. The



S. George with the Head of a Sparrow-Hawk.
(Identified with Horus.)



Roman with the Head of a
Sparrow-Hawk.

Augustan History from Gordian III. to Valerian, that is to say, from 244 to 253, is lost, and to fill this gap we have only the meagre or doubtful summaries of Zosimus and Zonaras, who wrote,

occurred during his reign a riot at Alexandria against the Christians, which was arrested only when civil war made a diversion. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 41.)

¹ IVNO CONSERVATRIX. Juno veiled, holding a patera and a sceptre. (Denarius.)

² Cf. *Horus et S. Georges*, Memoir by M. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue archéol.*, 1877.

the former in the fifth century, the latter in the twelfth. They speak of a ceremony which stirred all Italy, the celebration of the Secular Games on the thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome (248).¹ To do honour to this great occasion all the magnificence of imperial festivals was displayed, and the enthusiasm of the nations responded to the pomp of the ceremonial. The god Terminus having steadily advanced for a thousand years, the multitude might well believe that he was not now about to recede.



Coin commemorating the Thousandth Anniversary of Rome. (Reverse of a Large Bronze of Philip.)

And, in considering this constant good fortune through so large a space in the duration of humanity, the degenerate sons of old Rome allowed their poets to predict for the Empire a new millennium. But shouts of victory were about to cease: a successor of Augustus and Trajan was ere long to perish under the blows of the



Aureus of Philip the Son, Cæsar and Prince of the Youth. (Cohen, No. 28.)

Goths; another was to be a captive in the hands of Sapor; and already he had been born who was to reduce the ancient queen of the world to the condition of a mere Italian town.

Philip's son (M. Julius Philippus) was but seven years of age; he made him Cæsar, and (in 247) Augustus, forgetting the fate of those imperial boys for whom the purple had been but a shroud. The emperor placed all his kindred in positions of importance. His brother Priscus commanded the army of Syria; his father-in-law (?), Severianus, that of Mæsia. He moreover treated the senators with respect, and seems to have ruled moderately, without cruelties or confiscations. However, he caused the palace of Pompey, the property of the Gordians, who had much embellished it, to come into the possession of the state. The Carpæ, a people of Getic origin, probably resident on the banks of the Pruth, had come down into the lands of the lower Danube. It appears probable that Philip went in person to expel them and made two campaigns in that war (245-6).² Upon his return to Rome the

¹ The thousandth year of Rome began, accepting Varro's calculation, the 21st of April, 247. The year was allowed to be completed before the games were celebrated. (Eckhel, vii. 324.)

² *Victoria Carpica*, *Carpicus Maximus*, legends on two of his coins; another, giving him

news arrived that the Syrians, exasperated by severities of Priscus, had proclaimed an emperor, Iotapianus, who called himself a



J. CHAPUIS

The Younger Philip. (Bust found at Civita Lavinia. Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 69.)

descendant of Alexander, and that some rebels in Moesia had proclaimed another, Marinus.¹ Philip, in much anxiety, consulted the senate. Decius, one of the members of that assembly, who knew

the title *Germanicus Maximus*, announces some victory over the Germans. (Cohen, iv. p. 202, No. 5.)

¹ We have imperial coins of two other usurpers who cannot be placed, Pacatianus and Sponsianus. The workmanship of the coins indicates the time of Philip or Decius. (Cohen, iv. pp. 229, 231, and pl. xi.)

the value of the new Augusti, announced that these mock kings would not be able to maintain themselves; and in fact they fell



Ruins of the Thermæ of the Gordians. (Photograph by Parker.)

of themselves. Philip, however, believed it useful to send to the army of the Danube the wise adviser who had so well understood the turn affairs would take. Decius long resisted, foreseeing that

these legions who, for fourteen years had made no seditious movements, would seize the first pretext to give themselves the pleasure and profit of a revolt, and so it proved; Decius had scarcely entered the camp when the soldiers saluted him emperor in spite of himself. Those who had been concerned in the late enterprise, whom Decius had been commissioned to punish, had devised this new scheme by which they would at once save themselves from chastisement and secure a *donativum*.



Coin of the Elder Philip,
with the Legend:
Victoria Carpica.

Decius wrote to his master that as soon as he should have returned to Rome he would lay aside the purple. The emperor did not credit this promise, and marched against the army of Pannonia; an engagement took place near Verona,¹ and he was defeated and slain. The prætorians left at Rome murdered his son (249): the boy was now twelve years old, and had never been seen to smile.²

¹ The *Chronicle of Alexandria* represents him as forty-five years of age at the time of his death. For results of the Gothic invasion, see chap. xvi.

² Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 28. This tragedy took place early in the autumn.



Reverse of a Bronze Medal of the Two Philips and Otacilia, with the Legend:
GERM(anici) MAX(im)i, CARPICI MAX(im)i.
Victory, standing in a Quadriga, assists Philip, Otacilia, and their Son to enter it.
(Cohen, No. 5.)

HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

VICTOR DURUY.

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

EDITED BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

AND COMPILED AND ARRANGED BY KELLY & CO.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ABOUT 2500 ENGRAVINGS, 100 MAPS AND PLANS, AND
NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

VOLUME VI.—PART II.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF COMMODUS TO THE DEATH OF
DIOCLETIAN.

WITH 191 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, 3 MAPS, AND 2 CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.



LONDON:

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1886.

PRINTED BY KELLY & CO., GATE STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C., AND KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

[The rights of translation and reproduction are reserved.]

COPYRIGHT (1886) BY ESTES & LAURIAT.

CHAPTER XCV.

THE EMPIRE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

I.—THE BARBARIANS.

THE Roman Empire, extended around the Mediterranean Sea, included the most favoured regions of the temperate zone: fertile lands covered with rich harvests, and beautiful cities in which civilization had made its first development. Notwithstanding the periodical catastrophes which occurred at Rome or in the camps, this region was a vast oasis in the midst of the triple barbarism of the North, the South, and the East. For the moment, that of the South was not formidable. The desert horsemen were not yet dreaming of abandoning the date-trees which fed them, and the wells of which they had drunk since Abraham's time, for the sake of disseminating a new religion through the world. Only the Blemyes, from time to time, disturbed Upper Egypt, and on the Arabian coast the Saracens began to attract notice—witness the foolish history related by the *Chronicle of Alexandria*, of lions and serpents placed along their frontier to deter them from crossing it.¹

In the East, myriads of men were in agitation, formidable in frontier wars, but organized into great states, and by that very circumstance rendered incapable of those vast migrations which tread cities and empires under foot.

In the Northern regions, on the contrary, that great movement westward still continued which had begun in the remotest ages with the first migration of the Aryans. Not being able to encroach upon the settled inhabitants of Iran, the nomad hordes bore northward, passed through the *Völkerthor*, "the gate of the nations,"²

¹ Amm. Marcellinus says (xxii. 15): *Scenitas Arabas quos Saracenos nunc adpellamus*.

² This is the name German authors give to the plain which extends from the last slopes of the Ural to the Caspian Sea.

and crowded the great Sarmatian and Germanic plain in a floating mass, scantily attached to the soil, a pastoral rather than an agricultural people, whom an old writer accuses of recognizing no right but that of the stronger,¹ a habit which has existed in all times, and still exists. They were most dangerous neighbours. Notwithstanding the ungrateful and severe climate, these prolific races increased rapidly,² and in the midst of their poverty for ever turned their eyes towards the countries of the sun and of gold. Thrice already, within historic times, they had attempted to enter them.

In the time of Marius, while 300,000 Cimbri and Teutones ravaged Gaul, Spain, and Northern Italy, others had rushed into the Hellenic peninsula, and had devastated it from the Adriatic to the Black Sea.³ When, after the victory of Vercellæ, Marius had set upon his buckler the head of a barbarian with protruding tongue, it was to signify that Rome had stifled the barbaric world in her mighty arms.

But forty years had scarcely passed when this formidable enemy reappeared with threatening aspect: 120,000 warriors, the vanguard of the great nation of the Suevi, and 430,000 Usipetes, or Teneteri, undertook the conquest of Gaul. They were already in possession of its eastern portions, when Cæsar drove the former back into the German forests and exterminated the latter between the Rhine and the Meuse. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius an immense coalition again threw even Rome itself into anxiety; the Marcomanni came as far as Aquileia, and the emperor was obliged to establish himself for several years on the banks of the Danube with the principal forces of the Empire.

Thus in three centuries there had been three formidable attacks, the Cimbri, Ariovistus, and the Marcomanni, and in the interval between the great invasions, a multitude of combats and endless alarms along the Rhine and the Danube. This Northern barbaric world was like a sea of men, whose waves, now violent, now feeble, beat incessantly against the Roman entrenchments.

¹ *Jus in viribus habet* (Pomp. Mela).

² *Scauzia insula officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum* (Jordanes, 4).

³ See vol. ii. pp. 483 *et seq.*

With Cæsar, Augustus, and Trajan, Rome had taken the offensive; she had crossed the Rhine and the Danube, and on the one hand penetrated as far as the Elbe, where she could not maintain herself, and on the other as far as the summit of the Carpathians, across conquered Dacia. But the Germans could not be grasped; in peace as well as in war they eluded the influence of Rome. From the contact with an ancient civilization they had gained nothing. Ammianus Marcellinus still shows them in the time of Julian possessing no cities in their own country, and afraid to dwell in those which they had conquered. "A walled inclosure seemed to them a net in which men were caught, and the city itself a tomb where people were buried alive."¹ One of their great tribes, the Suevi or Suabians, were called "the wanderers."² From deserters and prisoners of war and Roman traders, who bought from them the amber of the Baltic or the long fair hair of their women, they asked only instruction in making their attacks more formidable. Rome found, therefore, in this vague and fugitive world no firm points where she could establish herself, and whence she could command the entire country. Accordingly, after some vain attempts, she refused to enter it again. Her policy in regard to the Germans was to cover with fortresses the Roman bank of the two great rivers, and to throw across this defensive line—which



Young Dacian. (England, *Marm. Oxon*, pl. 20. and Clarac, *op. cit.*, pl. 834 B, No. 2,161 J.)

¹ xvi. 2.

² *Die Schwebende* (Zeller, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, i. p. 81). Tacitus represents the Germans as saying to the Ubii: *Postulamus a vobis, muros colonie, munimenta servitii detrahatis* (*Hist.*, iv. 64).

extended uninterruptedly from the North Sea to the Euxine—pensions to the chiefs to win these warriors to peace, many intrigues in order to divide them, and a little gold to attract their bravest soldiers into the service of the Empire.

These precautions sufficed until the time when the migration of the Goths overthrew Eastern Germany, and brought as far as the Euxine the men who were to be the chief agents in the destruction of the old world.

The Goths, or Good Doers, *Gut thind*, who have left in the Scandinavian peninsula their name and the traces of their abode, had quitted it at an unknown but recent period, under the leadership of two powerful families, the Amalidæ (Amalungs) and Baltidæ (Baltungs), who were regarded as the descendants of Odin and of Freya, the Venus of Northern mythology.¹ These priest-kings, who, however, had no sacerdotal character, judges of the people in time of peace and military leaders in war, subjugated the Vandals, who were probably also of the same race with themselves,² and a crowd of other tribes whom they incorporated with themselves or drove aside either to the south or west. The number of the Goths increasing³ with their victories, which drew to them all adventurers eager for war and booty, the great mass of the nation was broken up into two bodies: one, the Goths of the East, or Ostrogoths, under Filimer, crossed the Vistula, and subjugated the Sarmatians as far as the Euxine; the other, the Goths of the West, or Visigoths, settled around the mouths of the Danube. A few tribes set in motion by this great migration went still further westward: the Gepidæ, in Transylvania, where the Romans now held only the fortified posts; the Vandals and Heruli, in the Moravian Carpathians; the Longobardi, in the upper valley of the Oder; the Burgundians, in those of the Saale and the Main. It is possible even that some of these tribes reached the southern frontier soon enough to have a share in the war with the Marcomanni in the time of Marcus Aurelius, or that the pressure exercised by them

¹ "The Baltidæ," says Jordanes (20), "are, after the Amalidæ, the noblest of the Goths." The Vandals had kings of the family of the Astingæ (*id.*, 22). Ptolemy, in the time of the Antonines, mentions the Goths as already established on the lower Vistula. The place vacated on the shores of the Baltic was occupied by the Slavs.

² Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iv. 14; Procop., *Bell. Vand.*, i. 1.

³ *Magna populi numerositate crescente* (Jordanes, 4).



View of the Carpathian Mountains.

upon the Germans of the South obliged the latter to seek their fortunes across the Danube.

By the success of this migration the Goths found themselves brought into the neighbourhood of the civilized world. The rich pasture lands of the Black Sea fed their flocks; the fertile Ukraine gave them more corn than they needed; the Sarmatian rivers gave their vessels access to the Euxine, girt by a belt of cities full of wealth easily to be captured; and while the Carpathians, which the legions had never yet ventured to cross, concealed their movements, they had, in the open space between the extremity of these mountains and the sea, a gateway always giving them access into the Roman provinces. They remained, therefore, for the present tranquilly and fearlessly multiplying in these fruitful regions, whence their warriors could almost see the enormous booty in store for their courage.

Their national songs, which Jordanes had the opportunity of reading, but unfortunately did not preserve for us, related their exploits. They boasted of having subjected the Marcomanni to tribute and the chiefs of the Quadi to obedience. Their rule, therefore, or their influence, extended from Bohemia to the Tauric Chersonesus, and their name was dreaded far and near. Their first appearance in Roman history is in the year 215. To attach to themselves the powerful nation whose hand was so heavy upon their ancient enemies,¹ the Romans subsidized the Goths, which did not prevent the Roman provinces from soon having cause to dread these dangerous neighbours. While the body of the nation remained stationary, some adventurous band was always detaching itself, and at its own risk and peril crossing the Danube or the Euxine. Did the Goths essay, like the Germans in Trajan's time, to enter into relations with the great Oriental Empire? We do not know; but when Sapor invaded Roman Asia they fell upon Mœsia. As early as 238, in the time of Pupienus and Balbinus, they destroyed an important city in this province, and in 242 Gordian encountered them here, where they had probably remained since their earlier inroad. He killed a large number of them, and

¹ Jordanes, 16: . . . *Sub cujus sæpe dextra Wandalus jacuit, stetit sub pretio Marcomannus.*

by the aid of money¹ was able to rid himself of the rest. It was but for a short time, however; they had learned the road to these rich countries, and later would return in force sufficient to destroy a Roman army and kill an emperor. There have been counted in a space of thirty years (238-269) ten important invasions made by them; and they rested for a century (269-375) only after they had driven the Roman garrison out of Dacia Trajana.

While in the north-east masses of men accustomed to fight under great military chiefs pressed heavily upon the frontier, about the Upper Danube, the Rhine, and the Lower Mein the barbarians were organizing in a manner to give their warlike enterprises that unity of action which they had hitherto always lacked.

During the first and second centuries of the Christian era history knew only the Germany of Tacitus; in the third that Germany seems suddenly to have disappeared and another appears. Under the double pressure of Rome and the Gothic invasion the Germans had felt the need of a kind of union among their tribes, not however going so far as to establish actual confederations, and the Roman frontiers being at the time so poorly defended their warriors formed the habit of making inroads into these provinces so long closed against them.

At the epoch where we now are nothing is said of the social and religious organization which Tacitus has described, nor of the tribes known to him: we hear of the Alemanni, the Franks, and the Saxons; later of the Thuringians and Bavarians, designations at once ethnographic and geographic.²

"The Alemanni," says Agathias, "are a mixture of different peoples, which is signified by their name, 'the men of all races.'" But the Suevi were the dominant people, and gave their name to the Decumatian lands, henceforward called Suabia. The Franks were also "the men armed with the *framea*," or, more probably, "the free men,"³ that is to say, those soldiers of the Catti, Sicambri, Bructeri, Chamavi, Tenctheri, and Ansivarii, who, without

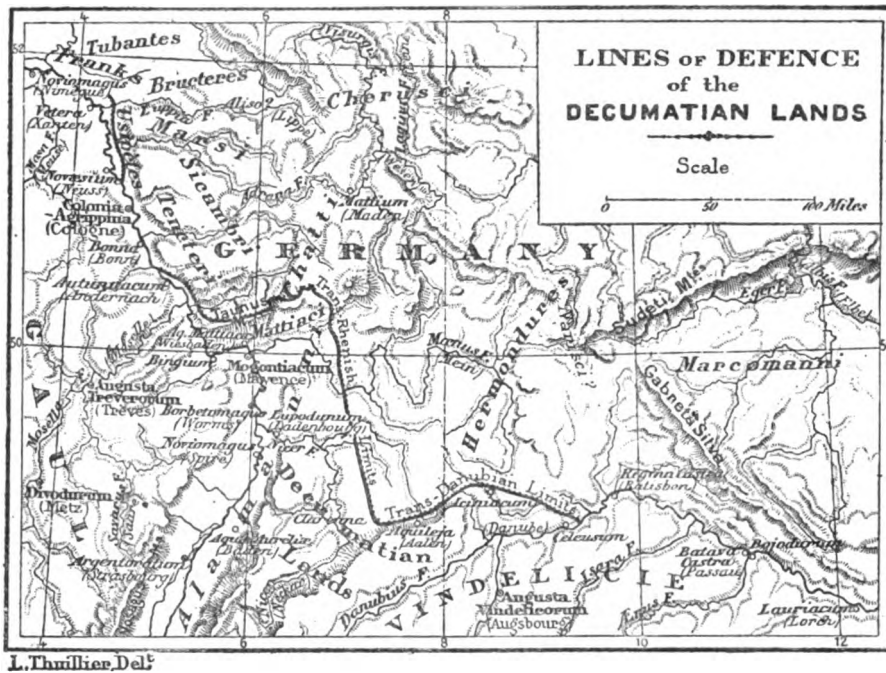
¹ See p. 279, and in the *Excerpta de Legationibus* of P. Patricius, Bonn edit., i. 24, the account of the deputation of the Carpæ at Menophylis.

² In respect to this new grouping of the populations of Western Germany, see Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, vol. i. pp. 160-229, edit. of 1881.

³ Wachter (*Glossarium Germanicum*) derives the name from *Warg*, *Wrang*, exiled, banished, which does not correspond with the idea of an agglomeration of tribes.

the general participation of their respective tribes, engaged in war under individual leaders. The Saxons, "the men of the long knife," *seax*, recruited their bands among the Chauci, the Frisii, the Angrivarii, and what remained of the Cherusci.

These peoples had no permanent directing council or sole chief, although all the tribes belonging to one group, or most of them, sometimes united to wage a national war. More frequently,



Lines of Defence of the Agri Decumates.

however, there were formed among them free associations of warrior bands acting together for a definite purpose, which purpose having been accomplished or else defeated they separated again to reform after a time for some new enterprise.¹ These undisciplined bands were the more to be feared because Rome could have with them neither real peace nor open war.

As the aborigines of America had their hunting grounds, so each of these nations had its territory to pillage: the Alemanni,

¹ G. Waitz (*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, i. 342) says: *Ueberhaupt weiss die altere Zeit nichts von eigentlichen Bundesverfassungen*. This is true; but Sozomenus (iii. 6) shows the Saxons acting, in a given case, as a nation, and Julian was obliged to encounter at Strasburg seven confederated Aleman kings (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 12). But seven other chiefs of the same nation held aloof.

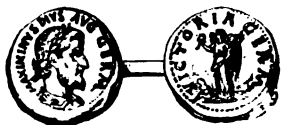
the region extending from the Main to the Alps and from the Bohemian Forest to the Vosges, that is to say, the Roman provinces of Upper Germany and Rætia; the Franks, those of Lower Germany and Belgica; the Saxons, the ocean and the British Islands.

Under Caracalla the Alemanni had invaded the Decumatian lands; here they experienced a defeat which drove them back and kept them quiet for twenty years. Milestones have been found in this region bearing the names of Elagabalus and Alexander, a proof that these emperors were obeyed there.¹



Coin of Maximin,
with the Legend:
Victoria Germanica.²

Under Alexander the Franks had with impunity scoured the whole of Gaul, killing and pillaging at random, until, satiated with booty, they returned to their encampments, indifferent to the fate of their companions whom they had left along the road. Maximin pursued these plunderers into the depths of their forests, and believed that he had smitten the barbaric world with a terrible blow: upon his coins we read the legend, *Victoria Germanica*, so often imprinted on Roman money, and never true save for the moment, since the blow was always struck into empty space.



Victoria Germanica. (Gold
Coin of Maximin.)³

In the middle of the third century, then, Germany organized itself for an attack: in the East, an innumerable nation, ruled by a family who were regarded as favourites of the gods, and who were able to prepare enterprises carefully and judiciously and to conduct them with unanimity; in the West, warlike confederations, and a multitude of chiefs incessantly flinging their bands at the Empire, like *bandilleros* flinging their lighted darts at the bull in the arena. Assailed by the contemptible enemies which he cannot reach, the powerful creature

¹ These milestones being discovered near Baden-Baden, while others, bearing the name of Septimius Severus, were found much further to the East, Wintersheim (ii. 214) concludes from this fact that the Roman frontier had already been pushed back in the West, under Elagabalus or Alexander.

² Maximin standing, crowned by a Victory. (Medium bronze.)

³ MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. Laurelled bust of the emperor. On the reverse, a standing Victory; at her feet, a German, his hands tied behind his back.

is confused, distracted, he roars and falls to the ground. Such was to be the fall of the Roman colossus; but, for it, the *fiesta del toro* was destined to last two centuries.

The danger increased then all along the northern frontier. All the outposts of the Empire which covered the main position are lost or will shortly be so. The Decumatian lands are invaded; Dacia has now but a few scattered garrisons which will be recalled by Aurelian; a city which up to this time had been as the eye and hand of the emperors over the Scythian world, Olbia,¹ which the Antonines had protected, where statues had been erected in honour of Caracalla,² disappears at this time from history, and the other allies of Hadrian at the mouths of the great Sarmatian rivers³ are at the mercy of the Goths. Soon Rome will fall back behind the Danube, and even the great river



Scythian Coin, struck at Olbia.
(*Dictionn. numism.*, vol. i. p. 667,
No. 1,268.)



Head Band of Gold, with a Medallion of Commodus, found in a Tomb in the Crimea.

will no longer protect her, for already Istriopolis, an important city of Dobroudja, had been destroyed, and the Alani had penetrated into the valley of the Ebro. Whilst the barbaric world made this step forward, Roman commerce had fallen back; her traders no longer dared venture into the lands of the North. Imperial coins found in these regions are, with a single exception, pieces of date anterior to the third century.⁴

¹ Capit., *Ant.*, 9.

² Böckh, *C. I. G.*, No. 2,091. After the year 250 A.D. we hear no more of Olbia.

³ See vol. v. pp. 29 *et seq.*

⁴ Note by M. de Witte to the *Hist. de la monn. rom.*, vol. iii. p. 116. He ought, however,

Upon the Black Sea, the kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus being no longer able to do police duty for Rome, piracy reappeared. In Asia, the national and religious revolution effected by the Sassanids was the cause of another danger, and these threatening events occurred when the Roman power of resistance had diminished. The dark days were beginning.

II.—THE ROMAN ARMY.

It has been a common remark that the nations included within the Roman Empire were old, that life had exhausted them, that their blood was impoverished, and that, following the common law of living things, they had reached the stage preceding death. These reasons, furnished by the convenient doctrine of historic fatality, could never have appeared very satisfactory. And at the present day it is absolutely required that a more serious examination be made of the morbid symptoms which errors produced and wisdom could have prevented.

And first the danger appeared so great on the frontiers only by reason of the interior situation.

It is no longer Hannibal at the gates of Rome: the enemy approaching are only hordes whom the ancient Roman legions would have driven before them like whipped curs. In the first century A.D. the Marcomanni, in the second the Dacians, were as formidable as the Goths were now, and the Germans of the West had been as desirous as were the Frankish and Alemannic bands to invade Gaul or Italy. They were at that time arrested because the Roman world had, together with an army worthy of itself, a great man for leader who ruled twenty years. After him another for an equal length of time watched over the Empire and the frontiers. Under the mighty hand of Trajan and of Hadrian the barbaric world bent the knee. Severus still held it motionless and timid. But children had succeeded men, fools were in the place of the wise, reigns of a few days' length had followed those lasting for years; a policy of chance had taken the place of a

to say also that the base coin of copper and silver at this time issued by the imperial mints could be forcibly circulated only in the Empire. Nations outside would naturally refuse this token money, which had no intrinsic value. (See pp. 382 *et seq.*)

policy of foresight. Civil and military institutions are all relaxed; the government no longer governs, and the state totters upon its yielding and crumbling base.

Montesquieu represents the Roman Empire at this time as a kind of irregular republic, somewhat like the former regency of Algiers, where the soldiery at will appointed and deposed the dey. The remark is just: the Roman people never employing its electoral right, and the senate, which was powerless to make its own right respected, having suffered the prætorians to seize its prerogative, the armies of the frontiers deprived the prætorians of the lucrative opportunity. This appears to us shameful, and is so; but it was inevitable that the military power, the one thing surviving amid the ruins of the institutions of Augustus, should dominate all. Contemporaries were not astonished at it. For centuries the army had been the Roman people under arms: this remote souvenir was not yet completely effaced; and even made up as it was, the army which defended the

Empire was the only body which appeared worthy of representing it. S. Jerome thought thus, for he compares the election of the bishop by the priests to the election of the emperor by the soldiers.

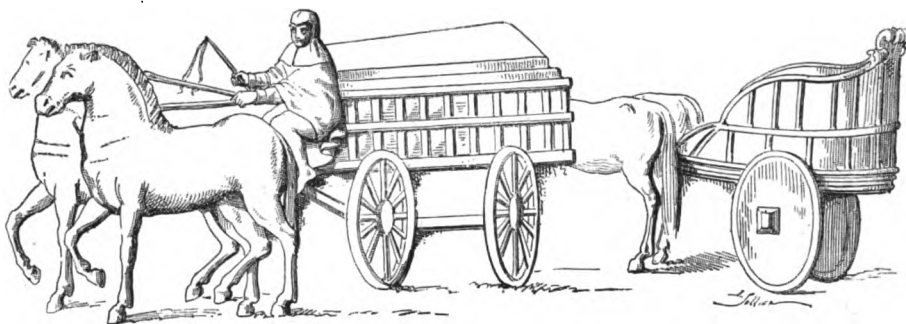
But unfortunately the new army is very different from the old. It was the legionary infantry that conquered the world; but



Legionary Foot-Soldier, Standard Bearer.¹

¹ Found at Mayence, and preserved in the museum of that city. On the left shoulder Luccius bears a helmet with lowered visor; a long and a short sword hang at his belt; he holds in the left hand his buckler, and in the other the standard adorned with the civic crown. Cf. Lindenschmit, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit*, etc., pl. iii. fig. 1, and p. 19.

the infantry is now disdained, and, a certain sign of the decline in military matters, the cavalry gains in importance daily. It always equals the infantry in number, while in the time of Polybius, by a contrary excess, the legion had but one horseman to ten foot-soldiers.¹ Commanders of cavalry are appointed: Balista under Macrinus, Aureolus under Gallienus, Aurelian under Claudius II., Saturninus under Probus; and this title gave them great authority.



Carts for Transportation of Baggage. (Pompeii.)

The barbarians served chiefly in the cavalry, and its increase shows how the foreign element was increasing in the Roman army.

At the same time the camp became embarrassed with an enormous baggage train. A letter of the emperor Valerian shows what the commander of a legion required annually for his military household: 715 bushels of corn, 1,430 of barley, 13 cwt. of pork, 400 gallons of old wine, 300 skins for tents, etc.,² without counting

¹ Marquardt, *Handb.*, vol. ii. p. 584; and *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, vol. xxv. p. 473. According to Gen. Rogniat, the proportion ought to be one in six; according to Napoleon, one in four. This varies according to the character of the country where the war is carried on. At the present time it is one in four in the French army. (Budget of 1877.)

² "We have intrusted to Claudius the tribuneship of the Fifth Martian legion. (It will be noticed that at this epoch the commanders of the legions were only tribunes.) You will give to him out of our private treasure for his annual salary, 3,000 *modii* of corn (the *modius* being very nearly a peck), 6,000 of barley, 2,000 pounds of pork: 3,500 *sextarii* of old wine (the *sextarius* being about a pint and a half), 150 *sextarii* of good oil, 600 of oil of second quality; 200 *modii* of salt, 150 pounds of wax; a sufficient quantity of hay, straw, vinegar, fruits, and vegetables; 300 skins to make tents, six she-mules, three horses, ten camels, and nine mules annually; 50 pounds of silver ware and 150 gold philips (*aurei*) of our coinage annually, and at the new year 160 *trientes* (a third of the *aureus*). You will give him eleven pounds weight of pots and jars for wine, eleven more of kitchen utensils; two red military tunics annually, two silk-trimmed cloaks, two clasps of gilded silver, one of gold with copper point, a shoulder-belt of gilded silver, a ring with two stones weighing an ounce, a bracelet

the pay, which was 25,000 sesterces in good gold pieces,¹ at a time when commerce had only debased coin at its command.² We see further what burdensome and sometimes singular dues they received from the state, and can estimate also what crushing burdens were imposed on the treasury by all these favours, often moreover doubled and trebled. In giving to Probus the office of governor of the East, the emperor Tacitus gave him advantages five times greater than the usual salary of this office. The *impedimenta* of the officers corresponded doubtless with that of the commander, and it is easy to see how the Roman army, retarded by such enormous baggage, could scarcely, in spite of their numerous cavalry, ever come up with an active enemy who arrived suddenly and disappeared as rapidly as he came.

In this army there were also a crowd of useless persons who on days of battle were not present in the ranks. It was regarded as a useful reform when Alexander Severus reduced the number

seven ounces in weight, a collar weighing a pound, a gilded helmet, two bucklers embossed with gold, a cuirass (which he will return), two Herculean lances, two short javelins, two reaping-hooks, four others for hay, a cook (whom he will return), two of the most beautiful female captives, a white garment of half silk and another of Girba purple, an under-tunic of Mauretanian purple, a secretary (whom he will return), an architect (whom he will return), two pairs of Cyprus cushions for the table, two under-tunics without borders, two sheets, a toga (which he will return), a laticlave (which he will return), two footmen who will be always at his orders, a carpenter, a prætorian steward, a water-carrier, a fisherman, a pastry-cook; 1,000 pounds of wood daily, if there is enough, otherwise, as much as the locality can furnish; four shovelfuls of charcoal daily, a bath-man and the wood necessary for hot baths, failing which, he will be obliged to employ the public thermæ. You will furnish at your discretion other things of minor importance; but you will not fix their value, so that if any article be lacking, he could not require its equivalent in money." (Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 14.) See also what Valerian ordered the urban prefect to furnish daily to Aurelian during his stay in Rome, without counting what was supplied him by the prefects of the treasury (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 9). The French regulations furnish a general of division for campaign rations: 2,465 kilos of pork, 175 of rice, 48·75 of salt, 61·25 of sugar, 46·75 of coffee, 730 litres of wine. This allowance is for a year, and is furnished ¹ daily during the campaign, and in time of peace is suspended. But the Romans made no distinction between the peace and war footing, so that the enormous allowances enumerated above were permanent, while the French treasury supports this expense only in time of war. Under Louis XV. the French army had enormous baggage. The ordinance of March 9th, 1756, gave each lieutenant-general thirty horses, and each colonel fourteen, and they actually had twice that number, with an immense train of carriages and waggons. Consequently these armies could not move. (See the *Comte de Gisors*, by Camille Rousset, pp. 182 *et seq.*)

¹ *cujus militiæ salarium, in auro suscipe.*

² *Hist. de la monn. rom.*, iii. 143, No. 1. Probus received for his pay as tribune only 100 aurei, and the remainder in denarii and sesterces; but the total amounted to 28,000 sesterces instead of 25,000, the 3,000 sesterces additional representing the difference in exchange, or what the tribune lost in receiving part of his pay in denarii and sesterces instead of receiving the whole in gold.

of orderlies to ten for a legate, six for a *dux*, and four for a tribune; a proof that the number had before that time been much larger, and it doubtless again became so in later reigns, these restrictive ordinances being unpopular.

Two things further prevented a general from requiring of his



Roman Horseman, found at Bonn and preserved in the Museum of that City. (Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*, pl. vii. No. 1.)

troops those rapid marches which had so many times enabled the Roman army to surprise an enemy and strike decisive blows. The soldiers had been accustomed to carry with them provisions for seventeen days, unless they were in an enemy's country. Alexander relieved his legionaries of this burden, and established their camps in such a way that they could receive their provisions without fatigue. On a march mules and camels brought them along, but in this case another train was required to supply with

food the beasts of burden and their drivers; the line of *impedimenta* lengthened, and the army became the more unwieldy. Moreover the order of battle was changed, and the soldier's arms modified. As, from day to day, the number of barbarians in the army increased, it had become necessary to abandon the earlier organization of the legion, which required a mathematical precision in the movements and much skill in camp labours. The quality of the soldier deteriorating, less was asked from individual experience, more from collective power. Caracalla had organized a Macedonian phalanx, and Alexander Severus increased it to 30,000 men, a dense mass difficult to break into but also difficult to move, and in which much strength was wasted. Lastly, these soldiers, so desirous to live comfortably and needing so many things, found the weapons of the republican legionaries too heavy for them; they required a smaller buckler, less fatiguing to their enfeebled arms, and the cuirass and helmet of iron became a burden from which they begged the emperor Gratian to relieve them.¹



Dromedary carrying Baggage.
(Bas-relief from the
Column of the Emperor Theodosius
at Constantinople.)

It had been now many years that the semestrial tribunes had only nominally fulfilled the law requiring of them a period of service in the legions, and Roman senators would not tolerate camp life. One of them had obtained from Commodus exemption in the matter of military service;² Caracalla had excused them all from it, and Gallienus forbade it to them;³ and an old author is surprised at finding a young man of good family in the service.⁴ The decurions of the provincial cities demanded the same privilege as the Roman senators, and the law, sanctioning this inward desertion, closed the army against them for ever.⁵ It was the

¹ Vegetius, i. 20. The phalanx did not last.

² Borghesi, *Œuvres compl.*, v. 311; L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 18. Alexander Severus had thought of making a similar rule. (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 45.)

³ Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 33: . . . *ne imperium ad optimos nobilium transferetur, senatum militia vetuit, etiam adire exercitum.*

⁴ *Id.*, *Valer.*, 32: . . . *quanquam genere satis claro.*

⁵ Constitution of Diocletian, in the *Code Just.*, xii. 34, 2, and maintained by his successors.

whole aristocracy, great and small, which, in an empire founded by arms and incapable of maintaining itself without their aid, now



Legionary with Helmet, armed with the *Pilum*.²

refused to bear them. The effects of this change began to appear about the middle of the third century. The sons of the Roman and provincial senators, who had filled the great military and civil offices, were replaced in the army by men of low degree. Some of these soldiers of fortune became able generals, but for the most part they were men of ignoble ambition, who, destitute of the patriotic pride of the early consuls, were willing to tear the Empire into thirty pieces that they might each for an instant be adorned with a rag of the purple.

The separation of the civil and military orders, whose union had made the fortune of the Republic and formed the great administrations of the early Empire,¹ is still further marked by the creation of

a new grade, that of *dux*, or commanding general who at the same time had no territorial command and consequently no civil interests to protect. This measure, which is seen dawning under Septimius

Cf. *Code Theod.*, viii. 4, 28, anno 423, and *Code Just.*, x. 31. 55: *Si quis decurio ausus fuerit ullam affectare militiam . . . ad conditionem propriam retrahatur*, anno 436.

¹ See vol. v. p. 516.

² Found at Wiesbaden and preserved in the museum of that city. (Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*)

Severus, and has become established in a general manner in 237 A.D.,¹ was useful, for it has endured to this day, but with the condition that the high military posts should be assigned only to men worthy of holding them, and that it should never open the way to high civil office. But Macrinus gave to two freedmen the government of Dacia and Pannonia, and to a former spy, who knew not how to read,² the consulship and the office of urban prefect. A few years later a man of mixed race, Getan and Alanian, a mere soldier, was invested with the purple of Cæsar, and he by whom this emperor was overthrown was the son of a blacksmith.³

This army now forbidden to the noblesse of the Empire, and shortly after to the townspeople of the cities, was recruited from the dregs of the provincial population. In the time of Septimius Severus a jurisconsult could say: "Formerly the military service was obligatory, and he was punished with death who did not respond to the call. Now we have abandoned this severity because our cohorts are recruited from volunteers."⁴ But these volunteers were poor wretches who had neither household gods nor homes, like those vagabonds with whom in the last century the recruiting officers of the French army filled their regiments, where they became the soldiers of Rossbach. There was indeed a certain conscription: every city was required to furnish a definite number of men and horses, and this was a tax upon property. Both were obtained as cheaply as possible and delivered over to the recruiting officer, *productio tironum et equorum*. These words are in the text of the law under the head of municipal obligations: "The furnishing of recruits, horses, and other animals or necessary things . . . is a personal obligation."⁵

Besides these soldiers taken by contract were others who were a danger to the state, those obtained from among the nations whom the army had to combat. Aurelius Victor, speaking of the legions of that time, writes: "The soldiers! the barbarians, I had

¹ See the senatus-consultum sent at this date to the proconsuls and military chiefs. (Capit., *Macrin.*, 15.)

² Dion, lxxviii. 14.

³ Pupienus was, it is said, the son of a blacksmith or a wheelwright.

⁴ Arrius Menander, *Digest*, xlix. 16, 4, § 10.

⁵ Arcadius Charisius, in the *Digest*, l. 4, 18, § 13.

almost said."¹ When Aurelian was intrusted with the defence of Thrace the emperor gave him a legion, but also 300 Ituræan archers, 600 Armenians, 150 Arabs, 200 Saracens, 400 men of Mesopotamia, 800 *cataphracati* (men clad in mail), who were to come from the same region; and, to show him that he could count on capable subordinates, Valerian wrote him: "You will have with you Hartomund, Haldegast, Hildemund, and Cariovix"²—all Germans. At the battle of Emesa in 272, one of the best generals in the army, Pompeianus,³ was a Frank. Many others conceal for us their barbaric origin under Roman names. These Lembazii, Ripareses, Castriani, and Dacisci, who at that time formed the entire garrison of Rome, were not all men of the old provinces.⁴ The Roman army then was composed, in the different ages of its history, in the following manner: first of citizens, then of Italians, then of provincials, and now the barbarians are entering: it is a descending scale.

Following the able policy of the republican senate, the emperors, in concluding a treaty with the Goths or Vandals, stipulated that the children of the barbarians should be given up as hostages, and received them, both boys and girls, into the noblest houses in Rome. The boys were educated like the Roman youth, and the girls were married to Roman officers in the intention that these wives would keep their husbands informed as to what might be going on over the frontier. Hunila was of royal blood among the Goths: Aurelian gave her a handsome dowry and married her to Bonosus, one of his generals, a valiant boon-companion who in a battle of cups defeated all the barbarians, and plucked from them their most secret thoughts.⁵

Certainly there is no heroism in military virtues like these; but there was not a hero left under the standards. In the time

¹ Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 37: *militibus ac pæne barbaris*. After defeating an army of Goths, Claudius II. selected a number to fill the gaps in his cohorts. Ten years later Probus incorporated 16,000 Germans into his legions; all the emperors did the same. Under Theodosius barbarians were more numerous than Romans in the Roman army.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 11.

³ S. Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* 272.

⁴ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 38.

⁵ *Id.*, *Bon.*, 14.

of Alexander Severus the Syrian legions declined to fight with the Persians,¹ and at Trebizond and Chalcedon, Romans more numerous than the Goths fled before them.² Finally, from amidst these men who had nothing of the Roman soldier except his costume, went out deserters carrying over to the enemy the secret of Roman tactics, drilling the enemy's troops, forging his weapons, building his ships, even constructing for him engines of war wherewith to attack fortresses: at the siege of Philippopolis the Goths made use of all the engineering contrivances known to the Romans at that time.³ Implacable as traitors are to those whom they have betrayed, they incited invasions, showed the way, and took the lead in the pillage, while their comrades remaining under the standards made and unmade emperors. It was a deserter who in 259 guided the Goths in the



Ituræan Archer. (Museum of Mayence.)⁴

¹ Dion, lxxx. 4. He adds that they were disposed to go over to the enemy.

² See, in Zosimus, the invasion of Asia Minor by the Goths and Scythians in the time of Valerian. Jordanes says (16) of deserting legionaries in the time of Decius and of Philip: . . . *milites ad regis Gothorum auxilium confugerunt*. A multitude of the soldiers of Niger had gone over to the Parthians, and to leave the door open for their return, Severus had modified the terrible penalties denounced by law against deserters.

³ See Dexippos, No. 2, in vol. iii. p. 678, of the *Fragmenta historicum Græcorum* (Didot).

⁴ The inscription is as follows: Monimus Jerombali f(ilius) mil(es) coh(ortis) I Ituræor(um)

conquest of Bithynia, and it was perhaps a military sedition which gave up to the Persians the emperor Valerian.¹

Thus we see the standard is lowered among the soldiers no less than among the officers, and consequently in the government. And whose is the fault? It is the fault of the citizens of every rank, who will no longer endure the military service, and of the rulers, who know not how to compel them to it. We have already remarked that the appearance of superior military organization always marks the advent of a new dominion, for the reason that the army in many respects sums up in itself the civilization of a people. The empires of Persia and of Athens, of Thebes and of Macedon, of Carthage and of Rome, succeed each other in the order of the improvements made in military institutions. At the period with which we are now occupied these improvements had reached a limit which could be passed only by the aid of sciences unknown to antiquity, and centuries must elapse before these new sciences were discovered. The Greek genius, which was above all speculative, had been able to create mathematics and astronomy, and to begin mechanics and natural history; but mathematics alone have not—as chemistry and physics have—the virtue of leading man to the control of the material world; and these poets, these philosophers, these artists, who made the civilization of the old world, were not able to arm it with forces conquered from nature. To protect itself against the barbarians the Roman world had, therefore, means scarcely, if at all, superior to those which the barbarians employed. When, by the pensions which the imperial government paid, and by the commerce carried on in time of peace with the Roman traders, by the booty snatched from the provinces, and by the lessons which deserters taught them, the Goths, the Alemanni, and the Franks had procured themselves the necessary resources for the development of their metallurgic industries, they were able to give themselves an armament almost as formidable as that of the Romans. They had the superiority of courage, and their religion, like that which Mahomet gave the barbarians of the south, inspired them with a martial ardour which the

ann(orum) L. stip(endiorum) XVI h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Monument found at Mayence. Cf. Lindenschmit, *Tracht*, etc., pl. v. No. 3, and p. 22.

¹ Zonaras, xii. 23.

Romans no longer possessed. On the field of battle the legions had the advantage of discipline, of a better arrangement, and of traditions of military art which were not wholly lost, and this superiority would have secured to the Empire constant victories if these legions, which for two centuries had been the strength of the state and the confidence of the Cæsars, had not now become the scourge of the former and the terror of the latter. Accordingly, the chief care of the emperors now to come will be to put an end to barrack-revolts by a violent reaction against the military order. To save themselves from the continual attacks of the soldiery they will effect an administrative revolution which will appear to give themselves more security, but will not increase the safety of the Empire; they will divide the army in order to have less reason to fear it, and will make it up of barbarians in the hope that these foreigners will be more docile.

III.—THE ADMINISTRATION.

In the age preceding the nobles were the governing class; a regular and slow ascending movement replaced the Roman aristocracy, which was becoming exhausted, by the provincial aristocracy, full of life and experience. The latter obtained seats in the senate in proportion as its members, by their services in the cities and the legions, earned the attention of the emperor; and the sons of these senators, before succeeding their fathers in the curiæ, were prepared for their high office by an excellent administrative education. Revolutions had now changed this favourable condition of affairs.

Enfeebled by the institution of Hadrian's *consilium principis*, and despoiled of its last powers by the imperial council of Alexander Severus, the senate had nothing to do in the state, and it mattered little that Caracalla called Egyptians and Palmyrenes¹ to sit with the Conscript Fathers; Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, and Philip, Syrians and Arabs,² and Maximin, Thracians. The

¹ De Vogüé, *Inscr. araméennes de Palmyre*, Nos. 20–22.

² Zosimus (i. 19) says that Philip placed all his relatives in the higher offices, and Philip was the son of a Bedouin, a robber-chief.

higher grades in the army, the really important offices in the state, even the imperial dignity, being the prey of soldiers of fortune, the senate and the public offices were filled with the friends of the emperor, who selected them from the places where he himself had lived. From this it resulted that the recruiting for the administration, as well as for the army, was made in the lower strata of the population, that the worth of the men who influenced public affairs grew less, and that life everywhere fell to a lower standard.

The movement of concentration which had taken place in Rome in the last centuries of the Republic went on in the provincial cities. The number of the *humiliores* increased, that of the *honestiores* diminished; and in the provincial cities are seen only two classes, the decurions and the common people. The latter lost their last rights, even the comitia falling into desuetude; almost everywhere the curia, instead of the popular assembly, was the electoral body,¹ and the office of decurion had become hereditary.²

But the elections had become very onerous to the persons elected. In Pliny's time to enter a municipal senate did not involve great expense; at the period of which we are now speaking a perpetual flamen paid 82,000 sesterces for his office;³ of this he expended 30,000 for a statue to adorn the city; 20,000 for the required gift to the decurions, and he promised the people scenic games with a distribution of money. Prodigalities like these were possible to the rich only; consequently it was inevitable that many should seek in their office the means of indemnifying themselves, as the republican proconsuls used to repair, in a year of provincial government, their fortunes, ruined by an election in the forum. The Empire had put an end to this colossal plundering, and it was obliged also to arrest those of the municipal Verreses.⁴ But to

¹ Africa still held electoral comitia in the time of Constantine (*Code Theod.*, xii. 15, 1), and Julian, in the *Misopogon*, speaks in the case of Antioch of senators elected by the people, and later of municipal judges who had no regard for justice.

² See in the *Digest*, l. 2, the section *de Filiis decurionum*.

³ This amount was paid into the municipal treasury *ob honorem flaminii*. (L. Renier, *Bull. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, June, 1878; inscription of the time of Elagabalus, recently found at Philippeville.) This, it is true, is an individual instance.

⁴ The extortions of the municipal magistrates were of very early date. Cicero (*ad Att.*, vi. 2) avers that he had made those of Cilicia restore their ill-gotten gains, and he adds that these restitutions permitted the province to pay the arrears of its taxes.

succeed in this, the home government was obliged to administer the provinces, which formerly it had been contented with ruling.

The time of the family of the Severi is that of the most renowned jurisconsults of Rome. Now these incomparable logicians sought, on their part, to establish everywhere and in all cases the idea of the rights of the state, which had been so extensive in the early republics. Obeying their influence as well as the social necessity of which we have just spoken, the emperors encroached upon the municipal liberties, and this ever-increasing interference of their agents, which the citizens themselves solicited or abetted, undermined and destroyed the vitality of the municipal rule. The finances of the cities are now in the hands of trustees acting in the emperor's name; the irenarchs appointed to maintain public order have need of the consent of his representative before entering upon their office;¹ new taxes are levied, public works are executed only with the authorization of the governor, who annuls the decisions of the local senate when they are displeasing to him, *ambitiosa decreta*, and the elections are made under his good pleasure when he does not appoint the candidates directly himself.² The duumvirs act as judges only in cases where a small sum was involved, and the practice of appeal to the Roman magistrate will have soon reduced the duumviral jurisdiction to nothing more than the equivalent of a French *justice de paix*.³ Accordingly, municipal honours losing their dignity, the obligations they imposed were the more onerous, and, through different reasons, pagans and Christians alike avoided them. But the government, already seeking to render the decurions responsible for the payment of the land-tax,⁴ watches carefully to see that the provincial senates be

¹ cum a præsides ex inquisitione eligatur (*Digest*, l. 8, 9, § 7). See (*ibid.*, xxii. 1, 33) the rights which Ulpian attributes to the *præsides* in respect to the financial administration of the city: qui disciplinæ publicæ et corrigendis moribus præficitur (*ibid.*, l. 4, 18, § 7). . . . a decurionibus, iudicio præsidum nominentur (*Code*, x. 75). An ordinance of Alexander Severus gives the governor of a province the right to annul the election of a decurion elected by persons unfriendly to the latter for the purpose of imposing ruinous expenses upon him.

² *Digest*, xlix. 4, §§ 3-4. "When he writes to the senate," says Ulpian, "*ut Gaium Seium creent magistratum*," it is advice rather than command." But the advice was as potent as an order.

³ The *justice de paix* decides debts not above 100 francs.

⁴ Many sentences in the *Digest* show this tendency from the beginning of the third century, but it is not until the time of Constantine that we find this system completely established. For

kept full; any one seeking to escape this duty by taking refuge in another city is brought back,¹ or, if he cannot be found, his property is confiscated for the use of the curia. A criminal sentence did not free a man from the duty of service as decurion; on the expiration of his term of punishment he returned into the municipal senate.² When it was a question of receipts the treasury had no scruples.

The government, which with one hand chained the refractory to municipal honours, with the other threw back privileged persons into the taxable, because it was essential for the government to secure its share in the net revenue of the cities.³ In the time of their prosperity these cities had multiplied exemptions from the *munera*, of which the burden, in the general impoverishment, had fallen heavily upon the other inhabitants. The number of physicians, rhetoricians, and grammarians enjoying immunity was reduced,⁴ and the citizen who had been exempted from the *munera* because of his poverty was subjected to them, notwithstanding his age, if fortune came to him late in life.⁵ We see that the government tried its best to find functionaries for the cities and resources to fill their treasuries: a care beneath which was concealed the very legitimate desire of protecting public order and securing the payment of the state-tax. But this self-interested solicitude obliged the government to intervene daily more and more in municipal affairs. The two centuries of the early Empire

the municipal organization of the first century, see in vol. v. of this work the whole of § 2 of chap. lxxxiii., and for the first attempt upon the liberties of cities, p. 130 of this volume.

¹ Ulpian, in the *Digest*, l. 2, 1. From this time the great anxiety of the government is to retain the rich in the cities. At an earlier period the number of decurions in the Italian cities was 100 in each; we have seen (vol. iv. p. 810; vol. v. pp. 331 *et seq.*) that this number was often exceeded. The register of Thamagas contained seventy-two names, and mentions only the priests and magistrates. Julian (*Misopogon*) compelled all the rich men of Antioch to enter the curia in that city, and many of his predecessors had probably done the same. The minimum of fortune required for a seat in the curia had been placed very low: it was twenty-five *jugera* (*Code Theod.*, xii. 1, 35, anno 342), or 300 *solidi (aurei)*, about £180 (*Nov. Valent.*, III. iii. § 4). This *Novella*, which is of the year 439, gives this as a very early figure, *secundum vetera statuta*.

² *Digest*, l. 2, 2, 1 and 3; *Code*, x. 37, 1: *Curiales jubemus ne civitates fugiant . . . fundum . . . scientes fisco esse sociandum*.

³ *Code*, iv. 61, 15. In this constitution Theodosius and Valentinian II. affirm that they confirm an ancient custom, *prisca institutio*. It is proper to say that the levy for the state being made only after all the public services of the city had been provided for, the two-thirds reserved for the state from the net revenue must have been a very small sum.

⁴ See vol. v. p. 403.

⁵ *Digest*, l. 5, 5, *proem*.

showed a just balance between the power of the state and the liberty of the cities; while this equilibrium lasted the public prosperity was maintained; when the former was overthrown the latter perished, and the moment of that disaster was near at hand.

The government was not alone guilty of this administrative invasion, which would have been so salutary had it been kept within limits.

To understand the slow evolution which led the central power to keep so strict a watch over the cities in which narrow and jealous oligarchies had been formed, we must remember how, in the Middle Ages, most of the communes came to an end. Their inhabitants also allowed to grow up in their midst a *bourgeois* aristocracy, like that of the Roman decurions, which perpetuated itself in the public offices and made the financial resources of the city serve its private ends. Abuses necessitated the intervention of the suzerain, and, as a consequence, the suppression of the municipal charters. At the two epochs the same result followed from similar causes. It is not that history repeats itself, but there are analogies which make ancient facts intelligible in the light reflected from more recent events. In seeing how our fathers lost their communal franchises we understand better how those of the Romans were lost.¹ In all times communities have cared little for their rights when their interests were in danger: *neque populus ademptum jus questus est.* To put a stop to certain disorders arising from liberty, an administrative guardianship became necessary, which, exaggerating its legitimate rôle,

¹ This is seen in the Middle Ages in countless instances; M. Giry gives yet another instance in the history of the commune of St. Omer. "The provosts had appropriated to themselves a part of the city; they were accused of maladministration and were suspected of falsehood and cheating in their accounts; the public were exasperated at seeing the municipal offices perpetuated in an aristocracy composed of a few families, whose members, being successively provosts, passed the city's accounts from hand to hand, and treated the municipal finances as their private inheritance. In 1305 the commune accused the town magistrates 'after the accustomed way' before the high and noble Madame d'Artoys de Bourgogne as their '*droit juge*.'" This is still done in our time. "In Ireland, before 1848, there were seventy-one municipal corporations completely independent. The officers of these corporations went so far as to appoint one another. The corporations of Trim and Kells alienated their territory to allow two or three of the members of the corporation to buy it at a nominal price. That of Naas adjudged to one of its members for a price of twelve pounds sterling lands which were worth a hundred; that of Drogheda decided that the poor-fund should be exclusively expended for the profit of the members of the corporation and their families." (Arth. Desjardins, *de l'Aliénation des biens de l'État et des communes*, p. 34.)

soon made dead bodies of these cities which were once so full of life.

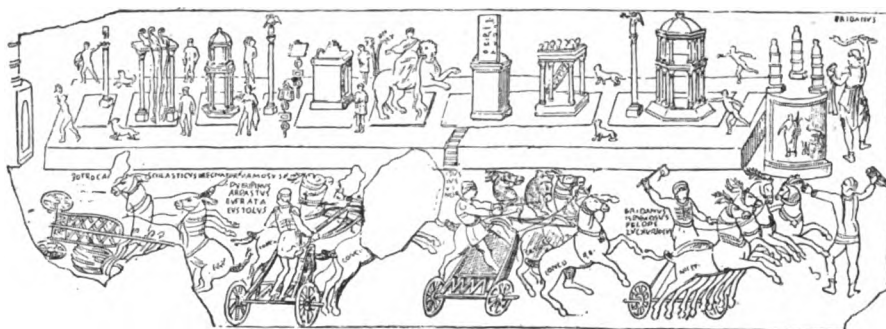
Another evil arose: in undertaking to think and act for all, the imperial government singularly retarded the transaction of public business. A government may be remote, an administration must be close at hand, and when a government administers an immense empire it necessarily administers it ill. All moves slowly, decisions are founded upon documents, far from the parties interested, and out of sight of things themselves which sometimes speak so eloquently. A document of the year 114 shows that at the gates of Rome, under Trajan, it already took ten months for the officer in charge of the *Cærites* to give a signature.¹ When this force, which suppressed all others by stifling the local life, falls into incapable hands, it must be, in its turn, as it were, suppressed by revolutions. The emperor having become the universal administrative officer, what, under the Thirty Tyrants, will become of the administration? To put this question is to show what deadly languor must in those unhappy times invade the social body!

The emperors worthy the name had taken pride in executing great public works—roads, bridges, monuments of all kinds; when they did not do this themselves, they incited the people of the provinces to these undertakings, and gave them the assistance of cohorts and legions in the work. But the armies now fight with each other, and the rulers who assume this purple, which is dabbled with blood every six months, can think of nothing beyond the anxiety of protecting their own lives. The Empire, abandoned to itself, suspends all work of repair or construction, and bridges become ruinous and military roads fall into dilapidation. With this the troops which had maintained general security in the interior are withdrawn to swell the numbers of those who are concerned with politics and not with the public safety. And so free-booters re-appear, the roads become insecure, traffic is interrupted, and destitution extends.

Although an edict of Caracalla had subjected the provinces to new taxes, the country ravaged by the barbarians or possessed by

¹ See the letter of the decurions of *Cære*, *ap. Egger, Historiens d'Auguste*, p. 390, and *Orelli*, No. 3,787.

usurpers sent to Rome but insufficient supplies of money; and yet the need increased daily. The wasting of the public revenues by rulers of a day, the lavish gifts bestowed upon those soldiers of fortune who had no personal means, but must be expensively maintained in order to secure a continuance of their doubtful fidelity; lastly, a scarcity of money produced by the continual exportation of the precious metals into countries where the Empire bought much while selling nothing: all these causes of poverty compelled recourse to the most disastrous measures of bankrupt governments. Formerly the high offices of the state were held by rich senators who met a portion of their expenses from their



Games of the Circus. (From a Mosaic of Barcelona.)

own private means, but now the emperor must find the money for everything. When Aurelian, the son of a poor freedman, is made consul, Valerian writes to the prefect of the treasury: "On account of his poverty you will give him, for the games of the circus which he must furnish for the people, 300 pieces of gold, 3,000 of silver, ten tunics of silk, fifty of Egyptian linen, four Cyprus table cloths, ten African carpets, ten Mauretanian coverlets, 100 swine, 100 sheep; you will cause a public banquet to be served to the knights and senators, and you will furnish for the sacrifice two great and two small victims."

Later we shall read of largesses made by Gallienus to Claudius; others obtained from the emperor lands which did not belong to him. All who assumed the purple in these days perished by a violent death; after the defeat, their partisans were despoiled; and as each province had its usurper, each was exposed to numberless confiscations. The conqueror not being able to pay his

friends with gold, paid them with confiscated property. Claudius Gothicus had received some. After his accession a woman came to claim the possessions of which she had been deprived by Gallienus for the profit of his lieutenant.



Claudius Gothicus,
Laurelled. (Gold
Coin.)

"You have wronged me," she said; but the emperor answered: "No; as a subject I had no concern with the execution of the laws; now, as the ruler, it is my duty to attend to it, and I give you back your lands." To put a stop to this shameful method of obtaining wealth, Claudius forbade any one to solicit another's property, to denounce as guilty the innocent for the sake of obtaining their possessions. This edict was added to the many others in the archives which like it were well-meant, and, like it also, without durable effect.

IV.—DECLINE IN INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, AND THE ARTS; DEPOPULATION OF THE EMPIRE.

The recruiting of the labouring classes went on, like that of the administration and of the army, under conditions which constantly grew more and more unfavourable. We may represent the Roman Empire as formed of a series of concentric zones extended around the Mediterranean Sea. Those nearest to this sea, having been for the longest time centres of civilization, were the most enlightened and the wealthiest; in proportion as we advance inland in every direction we approach the barbaric world. Rome at first obtained her slaves from the first zone which conquest gave her. She took them from southern Italy, Sicily, Greece, Greek Asia, and Carthaginian Africa: 150,000 Epirotes were sold at one time by Paulus Æmilius. These slaves, corrupt frequently, but intelligent and active, furnished the numerous freedmen who became at Rome architects or physicians, teachers or artists, and the friends and boon companions of the nobles. This zone being subjugated and reduced to peace, war no longer obtained captives in it, and it became necessary to seek working people in the second zone, and afterwards in the third. The great slave markets thus fell back with the frontiers. The concession of citizenship to the entire Empire fixed them there, and the barbarians who furnished the

supply sold the ruder prisoners whom they themselves had made captive in the heart of the barbaric world. Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus brought in such captives without number, filling the great estates with labourers incapable or dangerous, under whose hands the earth soon ceased to give other than the most meagre harvests.¹ The progressive steps of the Roman decline are marked by the constantly lowered social level; it is thus that the Athenian republic was ruined, and the great Roman Empire was to perish by the same causes.

Agriculture suffered from an evil of long standing. To the political concentration going on in the city and in the state had corresponded a concentration of fortunes and estates,² or rather the second fact had been the cause of the first, and free labour was disappearing from the country. During thirty years of invasion and civil war, agriculture must support, beside the usual burdens, innumerable requisitions and incessant devastations. Under so many disasters which extensive landowners alone could resist the petty proprietors succumbed. They abandoned their hereditary acres to become colonists, to take as soldiers their share in the immense pillage, or to seek in the cities higher wages and a life which they believed would be less severe. In Diocletian's edict, the labourer, the shepherd, the muleteer are paid but a third as much as the joiner, the mason, and the workers at trades in general; so that there came about an unfortunate circumstance which other ages have seen also: the urban population increasing at the expense of the rural population. Only one class had gained in numbers, the proletariat of the cities and of the country, where the colonists were beginning to establish serfdom.³

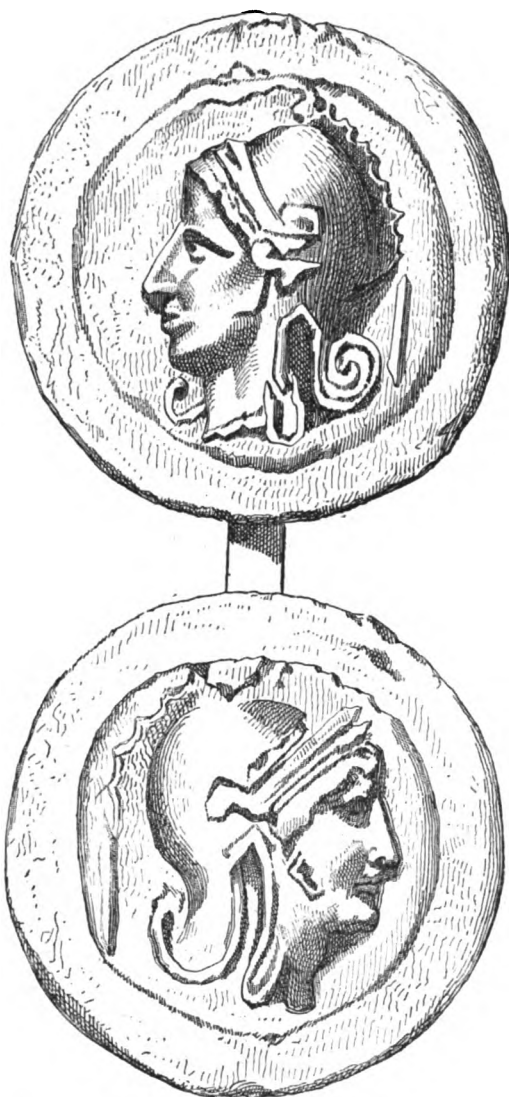
Agriculture loves the free labourer, and she had them no longer; to be richly productive she has need of the expenditure of capital, and if we except a few great proprietors, this

¹ Papinian, fifty years before the period with which we are now concerned, fixed the legal price of slaves at 20 *aurei*, or 500 denarii (*Digest*, iv. 4, 31). We may conclude from this that slaves were becoming scarce and consequently dear, for this price is high (see vol. ii. p. 306, n. 3), whereas the inferior quality of the slaves of that time ought to have lowered the price.

² We have seen, under Nero, that six landowners divided among themselves the whole province of Africa (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xviii. 6). In the time of Nerva, Frontinus says further: "In Africa private estates are as large as the whole territory of cities" (*Gromatici veter*, p. 53). Under Theodosius is found the same condition of things.

³ In respect to the *coloni*, see vol. v. pp. 311 *et seq.*

community had none in reserve; hence the ground returned but small harvests and famine was always threatening.



As libralis of Latium.

Industry of every kind found itself no better off. The workshops, filled with the ignorant and despised lowest class, produced poor work, and the system of corporations destroyed competition. Certain industries whose existence the government made it a point to protect had been in good time constituted as monopolies, and it is said that Alexander Severus would have been glad to give all the trades a corporative organization,¹ which moreover private individuals took of their own choice. Everywhere traders and mechanics formed associations: the bakers of Rome and Ostia, boatmen of the Saone and of the Rhone, mariners of the Seine, ship-carpenters, ship-brokers, measurers of corn, and the like; all those who laboured with their hands sought security in union

and fortune in the privileges which they secured from the authority or obtained for themselves by closing the common market against their rivals.²

¹ Vol. v. pp. 388 *et seq.*, and p. 293 of this volume.

² See vol. v. p. 562, n. 3, the privileges accorded to the traders and labourers connected with the mine of Aljustrel.

Manufacturing industry was still further slackened by the lessened demands of trade, hampered as it now was by revolutions, by the cessation of public works, by the increase of taxation, and also by piracy and robbery on the highways springing up again, against which the emperors no longer made war, so occupied were they with their own private quarrels. And it suffered perhaps most of all from an extremely bad monetary system.

The amount of silver and gold in circulation in the Empire was diminishing, less on account of the mines being exhausted than by reason of the difficulty of obtaining their products. This work, which had been so well carried on under the early Empire, required, in order to be kept up actively with the processes at that time employed, an energetic discipline; and for the existence of such a discipline there was needed for the Empire the strong and stable government which it no longer had.¹ When, in the reign of Valens, the Goths invaded Thrace, all the miners fled to the barbarians. A scarcity of the precious metals produced disastrous consequences. The Republic had at first known but one coin, the bronze as; after the Punic Wars silver became the monetary standard (the sesterce and the denarius). The early Empire had the gold piece (aureus), and for 200 years gold was the chief circulating medium, and with it silver, for copper does not seem to have been in use, none being found in



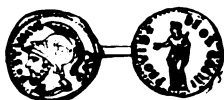
Denarius of Domitius Calvinus
of the year 40 B.C.



Copper Coin of the Third Century
A.D.: C. Postumus. (J. de Witte,
*Recherches sur les empereurs qui
ont régné dans les Gaules au
troisième siècle.* No. 256, pl. xvi.)

¹ Hirschfeld, *die Bergwerke*, pp. 72-91, and Flach, *Table d'Aljustrel*. Under the Republic and in the first century of the Empire the mines of precious metals and the quarries of marble which belonged to the state were farmed out like the other revenues. In the second century they were placed under the supreme direction of a *procurator Caesaris*, assisted by numerous subordinates for superintendence or direct management, *probatores*. When anarchy invaded the government it also took possession of the mines, whence slaves and criminals constantly made their escape. Observe that the procurator was often one of the emperor's freedmen, and that centurions, serving, like our discharged soldiers, in many civil occupations, sometimes had the superintendence of the works; thus, for the marbles of Synnada, in Phrygia, a centurion had charge of the *cæsura* or cutting. (*Mélanges de l'École franç. de Rome*, August, 1882, p. 291.)

the treasures buried at that time. We have elsewhere explained¹ that the great republican fortunes took more than a century to disappear. Public and private wealth held out under the Antonines. But in the third century both were seriously impaired. Of this there is twofold proof: the coins were debased, and in



Gold Coin of the Third Century A.D.: C. Postumus (*ibid.*, pl. xvi. No. 251). Providence on the Reverse.²

the buried money of that time pieces of gold become more and more rare, and there is a great quantity of copper. The aurei found have different weight, and we are obliged to conclude that, losing its character of a standard, the aureus came to be only a piece of gold accepted in trade for its weight, so that traffic retrograded until the time when buyer and seller needed to be furnished with scales.³

This would have been merely an annoyance and a waste of time; the monetary alterations were a cause of perpetual deceptions and even of ruin to persons engaged in



Denarius of Nero.

financial transactions. The sesterce was the unit under the Empire, a coin equal in value to a quarter of a denarius or one-hundredth of an aureus. Now the silver denarius being ninety-six to the pound in the first years of Nero's reign, and almost of pure metal, contained in the time of Alexander Severus fifty or sixty per cent. of alloy, and from a value of about eightpence had fallen to about threepence-halfpenny.⁴ To this depreciation of silver naturally corresponded an augmentation in the value of gold. The state believed it wise to take advantage of these circumstances and accept only aurei in payment of taxes.⁵ It was the act of

¹ Vol. v. pp. 566 *et seq.*

² Quinarius of gold or *semis*, the half of an aureus. The quinarius of silver (or half denarius) was so called because it had the value of five ases. *Denarii*, says Varro, *quod denos aris valebant, quinarii, quod quinos*.

³ In the fourth century the treasury required, to prevent frauds, that the tax-gatherers should pay their receipts in ingots.

⁴ Two silver pieces of Decius, identical in appearance, are worth, the one fivepence, the other threepence (Mommson, *Hist. de la monnaie romaine*, vol. iii. p. 85, n. 1). Accordingly, treasury orders did not, as we have seen (p. 366, n. 2), bear the definite figures, so much money, like the 25,000 sesterces which were originally the pay of the legionary tribune, but an indication of the different kinds of money which, put together, would come to about the same sum.

⁵ See on that point, p. 246, n. 2.

a fraudulent bankrupt, such as it would be to refuse to receive into the public treasuries bank-notes issued by the state at their fair value. Or, if a word less harsh be preferred, it was an increase of taxation, such as has recently occurred in great states where, the paper money being below par, it has been decided that custom dues be paid in gold. The tax-payer, for example, who owed 100 sesterces could not pay it as before with twenty-five denarii, worth to him in his daily transactions less than eight shillings; he must deliver to the tax-gatherer an aureus, which was worth much more than that. After the year 256 silver coin contained not over twenty, and sometimes only five per cent. of pure metal. Under Claudius Gothicus, the Antoninianus, the silver coin most common in circulation, was a mixture of copper, tin, and lead, with a whitish coating, which gave the pieces when new an appearance of silver. But instead of a precious metal, the possessor of this piece of money had only an alloy of copper: it was nothing more than a token.¹ The same government which condemned the counterfeiter to the wild beasts,² gave a forced currency to the false coin which it put in circulation, and punished with banishment or death those who refused to receive it,³ on the ground that the emperor's image upon the piece was competent to give it the value that it pleased him to assign to it.



Antoninianus of
Claudius
Gothicus. (*Cabinet
de France.*)



Argenteus Minutulus of
Caracalla.

The intrinsic value of the aureus was reduced, like that of the silver denarius: Cæsar made forty to the pound, Caracalla, fifty, Constantine, seventy-two; and at the same time the amount of pure metal employed decreased and the quantity of alloy increased: in the first century, .009; in the second, .062; in the third, still more.⁴

¹ From Claudius II. to Diocletian there are only very few coins which contain any silver at all (Eckhel, vii. 475). This author remarks that from the time of Claudius all the cities except Alexandria and three cities of Pisidia—Antioch, Seleucia, and Sagalassos—had lost the right of coining money.

² Ulpian, in the *Digest*, xlviii. 10, 8.

³ Paul., *Sent. Recept.*, v. 25, 1.

⁴ Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, i. 202. In respect to the distinction between coins



Faun of *Rosso antico*.
(Statue found at Hadrian's Villa. Vatican,
Museo Pio-Clementino, Cabinet, No. 433.)

The Empire, therefore, was in a condition like that of France in her most evil days, about the middle of the fourteenth century; and we can truthfully say that from the reign of Gallienus to the middle of that of Diocletian the monetary system of the Romans was a permanent bankruptcy.¹ Under the infliction of these constant perturbations of the monetary standard, discouraging to both the producer and the trader, labour diminished, and we have seen that from other causes the production lost in quality as well as quantity.

In the region of intellectual and artistic production the decline was even more manifest.

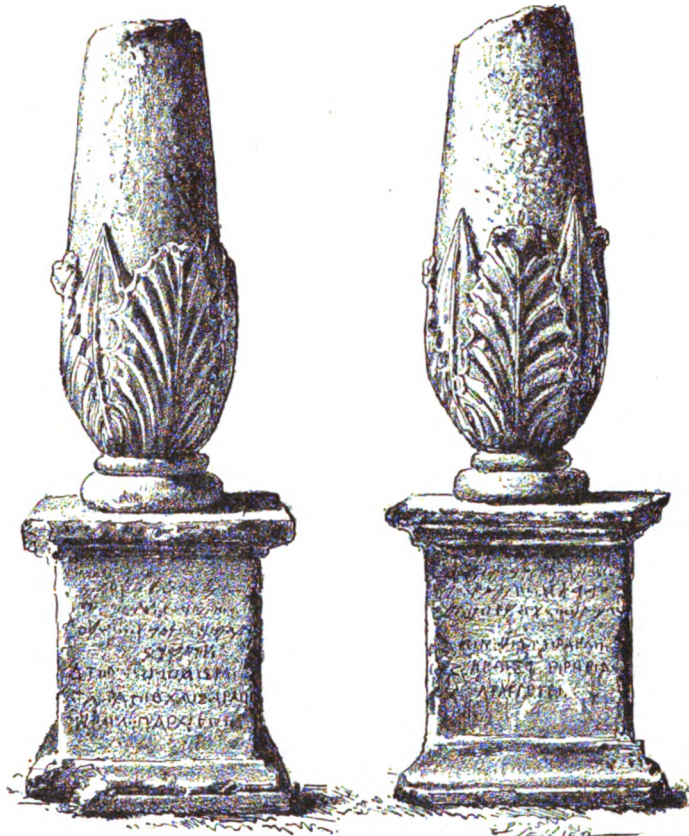
The religion of the beautiful disappeared with the gods who had inspired it, and dragged with it in its ruin art, which always corresponds with the mental condition, because in order to produce its work it requires to be

solicited by the public taste. It had besides a formidable enemy. In its first age Christianity was iconoclastic; it anathematized

or pieces circulating in trade; commemorative medals, like the immense gold piece of Eucratidas (vol. iii., coloured plate facing p. 232); the imperial medallions employed as presents to great personages at the epoch of military gifts, and often worn around the neck on a collar as a decoration; the pieces made for religious offerings or for prizes at certain sacred games; those worn as talismans, theatrical tesserae, tokens, and the like, see Lenormant, vol. i., Introduction. The custom of women wearing coins about the neck or set as ornaments is very ancient.

¹ Mommsen, *Hist. de la monnaie rom.*, vol. iii. p. 144, and Lenormant, *ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 172 and 184.

pagan art, it forbade its believers to cultivate it, and, wherever possible, it destroyed the statues of the gods. The bishop of Cæsarea in the fourth century would not allow the figure of Christ to be represented, and the rude frescoes of the catacombs show



Conical Stones representing Melkarth-Baal, the Phœnician Hercules.¹

what painting became in Christian hands. Art, which was so useless to the new faith, was no more serviceable to the old. What could art do with the black stone of Elagabalus, the conical deities of Syrians, even with the Ephesian Diana of the fifty breasts,² or with the Olympians made objects of caricature, like

¹ Stones found at Malta, of which one is in the Museum of the Louvre. The Phœnician Hercules was represented in his sanctuary, in Tyre, by two columns of gold and emerald. The two cones of Malta bear the same inscription in Phœnician and Greek; it is a dedication made by two brothers to Melkarth-Baal, "the king of the city." (Communication of M. Ph. Berger.) In respect to conical stones, see above, p. 276, n. 3.

² See vol. iv. p. 23. And yet the Greeks had succeeded in giving to this deformed object all the beauty that it could have.

the beautiful Ganymede represented at the feasts of Isis by a monkey?¹ How could men have exhibited in marble or in bronze the hypostases of the neo-Platonists and the confused abstractions



Ganymede as an Ape, on a Lamp in the Museum of the Louvre.

of the Gnostics? From the temple and the forum, art had fallen to the boudoir. It at first maintained itself by the imitation of ancient work; but this imitation becoming more feeble as the models became more remote, no man knew how to produce anything that was not dull and affected. The inspiration being lost nothing remained except a handicraft, and the unworthy successors of the masters produced by contract for an impoverished and coarse community which had lost relish for the elegance of earlier days. Compare the busts of this period with the statues of the early Empire,² or the sculptures of

the Arch of Constantine with those of the Antonine age, even the pretty trifles, the exquisite vases, the graceful furniture of Pompeii with the ceramics and the heavy ornamentation of the end of the third century, and it will be apparent that barbarism is approaching.³

¹ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi.

² Eckhel (vol. vii. 458) says of the bronze coins of Postumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus: *Ultimam plerique barbariem redolent, sic ut non in provincia . . . sed Sarmatas inter Gothosque . . . percussi videri possint*. Many others of these emperors are coins of the early Empire re-minted. (De Witte, *Revue numism.*, vi. 1861.) At the same time, M. de Witte has published many fine bronze coins of Postumus, and the difference is explained by the diversity of mints. That of Lyons especially, which belonged to the Gallic emperor, had traditions and artists enabling it to still issue fine coins, and we shall see them until the close of the century.

³ See, in the *Congrès archéologique de France*, vol. xlvii. 1881, pp. 220-239, the remarks of Dr. Plicque upon the Gallo-Roman pottery made at Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme).

Stern preachers of philosophy and religion had driven laughter away, while public calamities had put an end to happiness, and art, which is the joy of life, no longer knew how to adorn it: the sadness of the Middle Ages was beginning.

We must make allowance however for the barbarians. The fear of invasion had obliged the cities, which had remained open during "the Roman peace," to shut themselves up within walls; and to build these walls they had in many places already destroyed the buildings that more fortunate generations had erected. At Tours, at Orleans, at Angers, at Bordeaux, at Saintes, at Narbonne, at Reims, at Poitiers, and in many other cities of Gaul we find in the old walls fragments of columns or entablatures, monumental stones, and inscriptions. Themistocles did this in Athens, but Pericles and Phidias came after him, while after the great architects of the Antonines there were only masons.¹

The Greek language was still written with elegance:

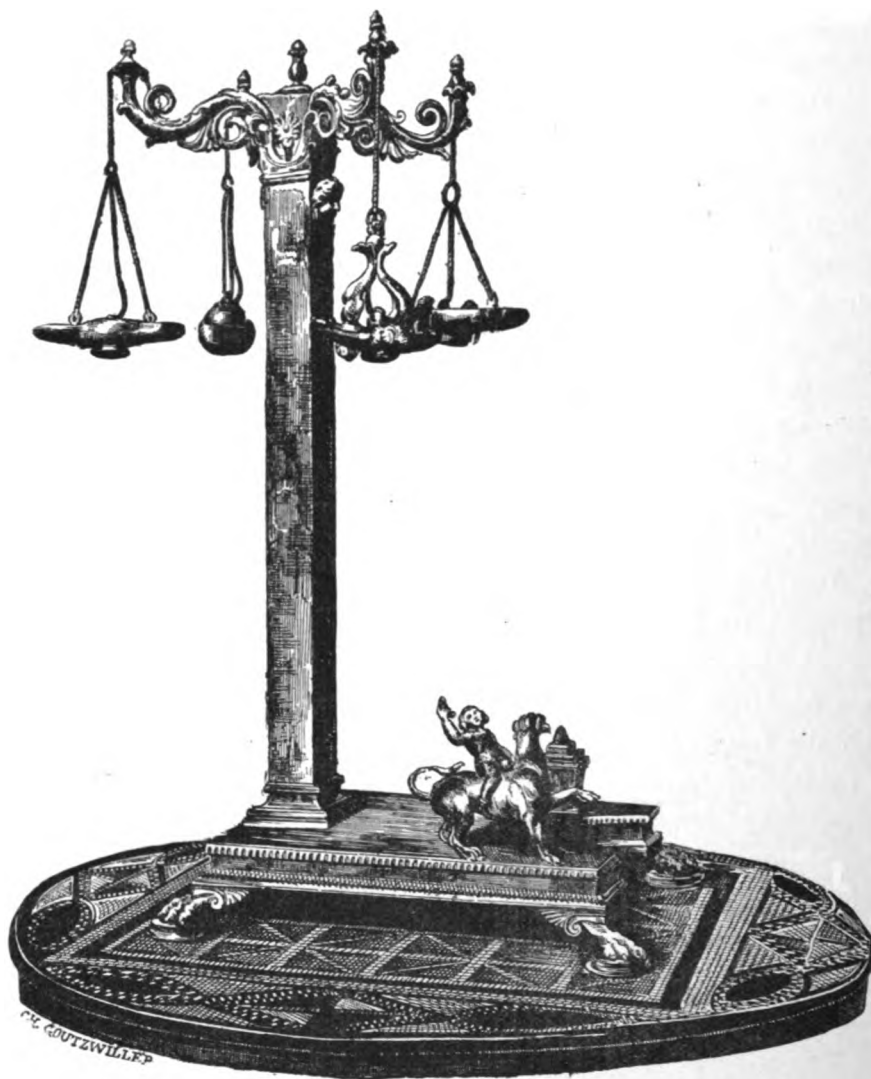
Oppianus of Cilicia and Babrius (if Babrius belongs to the third century) are two good versifiers, almost two poets; the name of Longinus is always mentioned with respect; and Photius, in



Candelabrum of Hadrian's Villa (Marble); on the Base, Jupiter (the other Sides represent Juno and Minerva). (Vatican, Gallery of Statues, No. 412.)

¹ De Caumont, *Cours d'Ant. mon.*, 8th part, *passim*; Batissier, *Histoire de l'Art monumental: Revue archéol.*, November, 1877, p. 351; and *Mémoires de la Société archéol. de Bordeaux*, 1880, pp. 63 *et seq.*

a transport of generosity, places the historian Dexippos beside Thucydides; we certainly shall not give the same honour either to Dion Cassius or Herodian, both of whom, however, have frequently been useful to us. Ælian and Philostratus must both



Candelabrum from Diomedes's House at Pompeii.

be censured for their simple-minded credulity; Diogenes Laertius and Athenæus, by the precious information which we owe them, and Origen, by his vigorous mind, announce the splendour which the Greek fathers of the subsequent century will cast over the Church. The Roman world was turning more and more towards the East; there is life nowhere else at this time.

As for Latin literature, it was absolute nullity. There were still men of letters, for there always must be in a civilized society; but the writers of the time saw only the lesser sides of things: they take anecdote for history, rhetoric for eloquence, versification for poetry.¹ The union once so fruitful between the genius of Rome and that of Athens no longer exists, and this divorce of the two literatures is a sign foretelling the approaching separation between the two empires.² The Latin mind grows visibly weaker, except in the Church, where Cyprian at Carthage is the precursor of Augustine at Hippo.

Meanwhile the Christians have also their share in the decline of the Empire. A half century of tranquillity had singularly increased their number; but although life, which was enfeebled in the pagan world, was ardent in their communities, they were for the state a cause of weakness rather than strength. The Roman law punished celibacy; they honoured it. The great development of the monastic system comes in the following century, but many believers already shunned marriage, which their clergy, as a rule, avoided.³ They lived by themselves, avoiding all intercourse with the heathen, except in cases of absolute necessity, and abhorred the sacrilegious festivals of the latter. Being foreigners in the cities whose honours they rejected, they were the same in the Empire, which they refused to defend with weapons,⁴ and without displeasure they saw the approach of the barbarians. On the way to execution S. Marianus exclaimed: "God will avenge the blood of the righteous. I hear, I see the white horsemen coming!" and Commodianus depicted in barbaric verse the Goths marching

¹ We must, however, regret the *Memoirs* of Septimius Severus and also perhaps the *History* of Marius Maximus, often quoted by the compilers of the *Augustan History*, although Vopiscus (*Firmus*, 1) says of this writer: *Homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit*, and some other chroniclers of whom we know scarcely more than the names. There remain three verses written by the Emperor Gallienus, a fragment of an epithalium which he composed for the marriage of one of his nephews. Censorinus wrote his treatise *de Die natali* in 239. Two other grammarians, Nonius Marcellus and Festus, are sometimes said to belong to the third century. The two versifiers, Nemesianus and Calpurnius, come at the close of the century, and cannot be placed in the list of true poets; Calpurnius is a very skilful maker of verses.

² In the fourth century the eastern bishops and most illustrious doctors of the Church were ignorant of Latin.

³ See on this subject, pp. 217 *et seq.*

⁴ See p. 212 of this volume, and also what is said by Ælius Aristides (vol. ii. p. 402, ed. Dindorf) of Christians who are unwilling to participate in the affairs of the city.

upon Rome with "the destroyer king,"¹ to bring to nought the enemies of the saints and to put the senate under the yoke. Marianus and "Christ's beggar" were right in announcing to the persecutors an approaching expiation, but others were wrong in making themselves the instruments of it. In Pontus, the Christians united with the Goths in pillaging the heathen, overthrowing the idols and burning the temples;² consequently the emperors at last taking alarm, sought to extirpate by sword and fire that refractory element which the menaces of the law and judicial executions had not been able to hold in check. Then terror was to brood over the nations, the purest blood was to flow, and a civil war was to be added to the foreign war.

This civil war has the character of wars among savages. The western provinces have already witnessed scenes as terrible as those of the American frontier, when the savages swoop down upon it, scalping the men, carrying off the women, and leaving the buildings a mass of smoking ruins. As guides to the richest dwellings and the best-concealed treasures, the invaders found the slaves of barbaric origin, who regarded them as liberators. In Thrace and Greece and Asia Minor there was also bloodshed and devastation, and long trains of captives whom the barbarians, when wearied with expeditions and satisfied with plunder, carried away with them to their encampments in the North. At each new invasion the ravages extended further; first by land, then by sea.

¹ *Commod. episc. Afric. Carmen apologeticum*, in the *Spicilegium Solesmense* of Dom Pitra, i. p. 43. Commodianus calls the Gothic king Apoleon, from ἀπόλλυμι, to ruin, to destroy "He marches upon Rome," says this old author, "with thousands of Gentiles and . . . makes captive the vanquished. Many senators shall with them weep in chains. . . . Meanwhile these Gentiles will everywhere cherish the Christians and, rejoicing, seek them out as brethren . . ." (verses 800-815). From verse 801 on, the *Carmen* is believed to have been written at the exact time with which we are now occupied, before the persecution of Decius, in 238. Tertullian, in his *Apol.*, 37, addressed to the Roman magistrates, calls upon them to regard it as a merit in the Christians that they did not favour the attacks of the Mauretanians upon Hadrian, of the Marcomanni upon Marcus Aurelius, of the Parthians upon Severus, which proves that in his heart the idea of aiding the enemies of the Empire was not repugnant to him. Two centuries later, Salvienus, in his *Gubern. Dei*, still extolled, in the midst of the calamities of an invasion, "the virtues of the barbarians who repulse all those infamous practices which the Romans permit. Vice, which is with them the exception, is the rule among us." This is the same spirit which, in the first century, led S. John to condemn "the great whore." See pp. 211-3 of this volume.

² See the fifth canon of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus in Routh, *Reliquiæ sacre*, iii. 262, who adds: *Ista Barbarorum incursio gravissimis inter christianos perpetrandis delictis occasionem præbuit.*

The Goths were soon to construct vessels and carry devastation along all the coasts. "Hordes of Scythians," says Ammianus Marcellinus, "crossing with 2,000 vessels the Bosphorus and the Propontis, devastated the shores of the Ægean Sea. . . . All the cities of Pamphylia suffered the horror of a siege; Anchialos was taken; many islands were ravaged, and a multitude of enemies for a long time surrounded Cyzicus and Thessalonica. Fire was carried through all Macedon; Epirus, Thessaly, and Greece suffered invasion."¹ The rich cities bordering the sea of the Cyclades were obliged to rebuild their walls, which two centuries of peace had suffered to fall into decay, the Athenians to resume their weapons, grown rusty since the time of Sylla, and the Peloponnesians to bar their isthmus with a wall.² Everywhere were contests and bloodshed. At Philippopolis a hundred thousand dead bodies, it was said, lay beneath the ruins. The provinces unvisited by the Franks and Goths had other plunderers; in Sicily freebooters became so numerous that the island, once so favoured, seemed ravaged by a new Servile war.

Man, directing his strength against himself, suspended the struggle against the powers of nature, which resumed their sway, and declared it with a cruel energy. From the accumulated ruins, the untilled ground, and the undrained waters emerged contagion. The empire was like a great body in dissolution, exhaling deadly miasma. For twelve years (250-262) there was constantly a pestilence in the provinces; at one time in Rome and Achaia, 5,000 persons died daily; at Alexandria there was not a house without its dead, and the army of Valerian was reduced by sickness before encountering the archers of Sapor.

To these scourges was added another. The volcanic region, which extends in two directions from the Alps of Friuli across Italy and Sicily to Africa, and from the Adriatic to the Ægean Sea and the coasts of Syria, resumed their activity. The earth was shaken, and gave forth dull rumbling sounds; the sky was black for many days; chasms yawned in the ground; and the sea, hurling tremendous waves upon the shore, destroyed many cities.

¹ xxxi. 5. The picture which Zosimus (i. 23) traces of these devastations is even more gloomy.

² Zosimus, i. 29: the *Syncellus*, i. 715 (Bonn ed.); Zonaras, xii. 22.

It seemed as if the threats uttered by the Christians concerning the end of the world were about to be fulfilled. The Sibylline books being consulted, ordered a sacrifice to Jupiter *Salutaris*.¹

A document, preserved by Eusebius, sums up in brief and terrible words the situation of the Empire. In the capital of Egypt the number of persons between the ages of fourteen and eighty, inscribed during the reign of Gallienus on the registers of the alimentary institution, did not exceed the number of the men from forty to seventy who formerly had shared in these distributions.² Alexandria therefore had at this time lost more than one half of her population, and if such were the case in a city which had never seen a barbarian,³ what must have been the condition of the provinces where they made so many victims? It would not be going too far to say that in the space of twenty years that portion of the human race contained within the limits of the Empire, and formerly so prosperous, had diminished by one half. Such was one of the effects of governmental anarchy and of the appearance of the Germanic race in the Græco-Roman world.

We have admired the early Empire promoting order, security, and labour, the chief function of government in all ages, and its excuse in periods of absolute power, and we have repeated the words of gratitude that its subjects at that time so often uttered. It is now our duty to show these same subjects disaffected towards rulers who knew not how to defend them, and who so often ill-used them. Rome is no longer the sovereign goddess in whom all confide. Each province desires to have its own emperor; even dynasties of Gallic and Syrian origin appear. That is what a half century of revolutions has made of the flourishing empire of the Antonines and Severus. In states where the ruler is everything and institutions are nothing, decline may rapidly succeed greatness, for though we may not say that there are providential men, there are necessary men. Let Trajan, Hadrian, or Severus

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 4 and 5.

² *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 21, from a letter of Dionysios, the bishop of Alexandria. In France, out of every million of inhabitants, there are 789,559 between the ages of 18 and 80, and 267,652 between the ages of 40 and 70. The proportion between these two numbers is 2.95 to 1.

³ Egypt had suffered no invasion, but had been for twelve years agitated with sanguinary tumults, which the carelessness of the general government had allowed to break out in many other places. (Euseb., *ibid.*, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 16.)

be at the head of the government, and a hundred million Romans live in quiet and prosperity ; let these men be replaced by those who are incapable of ruling, and disorder is in the armies and the barbarians are in the provinces. Civilization advances not by means of the masses, but by means of superior men ; when nature formed no more men of that stamp, civilization fell away.



CHAPTER XCVI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DECIUS TO THE DEATH OF GALLIENUS (249-268).

PARTIAL INVASIONS THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE.

I.—DECIUS (249-251 A.D.); GOTHS AND CHRISTIANS.

C. MESSIUS QUINTUS TRAJANUS DECIUS was born of a Roman family, living in the village of Bubalia near Sirmium: in the year 201, according to Aurelius Victor; in 191, according to



Etruscilla, Wife of Decius.
(Bronze Medallion.)

the *Chronicle of Alexandria*. He heads the long list of Illyrian emperors, many of whom were destined to do the state great service. They were not men of brilliant qualities, but they were of accurate minds and



Trajan Decius.
(Bronze Medallion.)

energetic character, as might be expected from natives of those poor and warlike provinces.

Decius was of humble origin, and rose to distinction through his military career.¹ The old authors praise² him very highly, but his reign does not justify their eulogiums; it was extremely short, and the history of it is singularly confused and contains many contradictions. Three facts, however, are distinct, and they suffice: a war against the Goths; the re-establishment of the censorship, which indicates a return towards ancient customs; and,

¹ *Militiæ gradu ad imperium* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 29).

² Especially Zosimus (i. 21-23) and Aur. Victor (29).

as a result of this, a persecution against Christianity, the great novelty of the times.

After his victory near Verona (September, 249),¹ Decius went to Rome with his son, Quintus Herennius Etruscus, whom he had named Cæsar;² but he was almost immediately forced to leave it to repel an invasion of the Goths.

Confiding in the successes he had obtained in Thrace over these barbarians, Gordian III. put an end to the annual subsidy promised to this nation. At least, Jordanes³ relates that king Ostrogotha complained of this, and that he crossed the Danube with 30,000 of his people to ravage Mœsia. Other barbarians joined him; Roman soldiers even came to have a share in the plunder, and the mountaineers of the Hæmus, upon whom civilization had had but little effect, doubtless furnished the invaders with guides and auxiliaries. The great city of Marcianopolis (to the west of Varna) escaped by the payment of a ransom.⁴

When the Goths returned with rich spoils, the Gepidæ attempted to plunder the plunderers; a hot engagement took place, in which the former were victorious. These events took place during the reign of



Herennius Etruscus, Son of the Emperor Decius.



Coin of Odessus. The God standing, at the Left, holding a Cornucopia and a *Patera*.⁵

¹ We have a rescript of his, dated October 16th, 249, in the *Code*, x. 16, 3, and, according to Eckhel, Philip was still living on the 29th of August of that year.

² Eckhel, vol. vii. 342. Aurelius Victor (29) says that the Cæsar was immediately sent in *Illyrios*. Decius had a second son, C. Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus, who was also made Cæsar and Prince of the Youth.

³ In respect to the pensions paid the Goths since the time of Alexander Severus, see Tillemont, iii. 216. Jordanes, in his *History of the Goths*, gives an abstract of a great work, now lost, by Cassiodorus, the favourite minister of Theodoric. In respect to the Gothic war, see Wietersheim, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., where he discusses the contradictory narratives of Jordanes, Zosimus, Zonaras, and Aur. Victor. These details, however, lose all their interest in presence of the too certain fact of the defeat of the Roman army and the death of Decius.

⁴ *Post longam obsidionem, accepto præmio ditatus Geta recessit* (Jordanes, 17).

⁵ The Greek colonies of the coast of Thrace, far from changing the condition of the country, had undergone the influence of the barbarians, their neighbours, who had modified the manners, the forms of worship, and even the language of these Greeks. An inscription of the year 238 shows, at Odessus, the Thracian god, Derziparos, and upon early coins of that city the great god of the Odessians was Kurza. (*Revue archéol.*, March, 1878, p. 114: cf. Dumont, *Inscr. de Thrace*.)

Philip. The invasion had been so disastrous for Mœsia that the monetary series of the Pontic cities stops with this emperor; they had no more gold left to coin.

In the reign of Decius, Kniva, the successor of Ostrogotha, made a still more formidable invasion; he divided his forces into two bodies, sent one to ravage the part of Mœsia which the Roman troops had abandoned in order to concentrate themselves in the strongholds, and with the other, which amounted to 70,000 men, he attacked *Ad Novas*, an important city on the Danube. Repulsed by the future emperor, Gallus, at that time *dux* (duke) in Mœsia, he attempted to surprise Nicopolis, which Trajan had



Quinarius of Bronze of Trajan Decius, equal in value to Two Sesterces.

built in memory of his Dacian victories. But the Gothic leader encountered an army which Decius had collected at that point. Unable to force the lines, the barbarian with the audacity of an Indian

marauder, left the emperor in his camp, and advanced into the Hæmus, of which the passes were entirely unguarded; he came down upon the great city of Philippopolis, without keeping open a line of retreat.¹ Decius followed him over mountain paths, where the Roman army, both men and horses, suffered severely. The emperor had reached Berœa, sixty miles eastward from Philippopolis, and believed himself to be still far distant from the Goths, when Kniva, falling upon him unawares, made great slaughter among the imperial troops. Decius had only time to escape across the Hæmus. While the emperor was reforming an army from the garrisons of fortresses, Kniva seized upon Philippopolis by the connivance of Priscus, the governor of Macedon, who seems to have assumed the purple.² The barbarian king then returned into Mœsia, to deposit in a safe place across the Danube

¹ This is the same movement which gave the Russians the victory in the late war.

² Aur. Victor (29) represents the Goths as entering Macedonia, where, according to this author, they instigated the usurpation of Priscus.

the fruits of this fortunate campaign. On his way he encountered the emperor, who sought to avenge the Empire by re-capturing from the Goths their booty and their captives, among whom were several persons of rank. The treason of Gallus caused him to lose a second battle, in which he perished with his son, and not even his dead body was recovered (November, 251).¹

This was the first emperor who fell under the enemy's sword within Roman territory. Consequently this disaster carried terror through the provinces and joy and hope into the barbaric world; it was the terrible prologue to the great drama which was not to end until the day when the German race, after covering with blood and ruins all Roman Europe and a part of the East, installed one of the Heruli in the palace of Augustus and Trajan.

Two great faults and one blunder had been committed by Decius during his very short reign. Notwithstanding his experience he neither knew how to prepare for a Gothic war nor to carry it on sagaciously, and the result was the devastation of two provinces and his own death. As he would have had the credit of a victory, so he must bear the blame of a defeat. His second fault was the persecution of the Christians. His blunder exhibits a political simplicity astonishing in a man of his time; he re-established the censorship, fallen into disuse since the days of Claudius and Domitian, and the senate invested Valerian with the office. "Undertake the censorship of the world," the emperor said to him; "determine who shall remain in the senate and restore to the equestrian order its renown; take charge of the census and the levying of taxes; make the laws, and appoint to the high military offices. Your supervision will extend as far as the imperial palace and over all magistrates, with the exception of the urban prefect, the consuls, the *rex sacrorum*, and the chief vestal."

If Trebellius Pollio² really read these words in the public acts of the reign, it was a temporary colleague that Decius gave himself, a sort of interrex whom he left behind him in the capital,

¹ Before Kniva's invasion, it would appear that Decius gained some victories in Dacia, for an inscription calls him *restitutor Daciarum* (Orelli, 991), and against the Germans, *victoria Germanica* (Eckhel, vol. vii. 344-5), but there is no trace of this in the histories.

² *Valerianus*, l.

at a moment when he and his son were about to depart for a dangerous war.¹ We can even discern in this measure a new manifestation of the idea that it was wise to divide the imperial power among several persons, to have, as in the time of Pupienus and Balbinus, one emperor in the city and another in the army.

The censorship had wisely been suffered to fall into disuse, for it was an institution which, though useful in a little city, must necessarily be impracticable in a great state. But if it was impossible to restore the past, it appeared practicable to proscribe certain things in the present; and Valerian, who by no means brought back the manners of early Rome, made in the name of Decius, and later in his own name, a bitter war against the new creeds.

The Christian ideal was higher than that of Marcus Aurelius, but it was less disinterested. The sage who chanced to be an emperor asked for nothing in return for his obedience to duty; and hence but few have followed him. The Christian, on the contrary, made his bargain with God, as the pagan world had bargained with Jupiter. In return for their piety, the latter desired earthly good; in return for his, the former felt himself secure of eternal blessedness. His religion, therefore, possessed a powerful attraction for those spirits who were not resigned to submit to the universal law of creation: after life, death, and the secret of the tomb left to God. To the divine hopes which she held out, the Church added words and deeds of gentleness. In the midst of an aristocratic community, extremely harsh towards the lowly, she taught the equality of all men, great and small, Roman and barbarian, in the presence of the divine law, and promised to "the servants of God," whether slaves or senators, the same rewards. Her spirit of universal love, her care for the sick and poor, the new virtues that she required, in the place of those that the Romans had lost in losing the dignity of citizenship,² had gained her many hearts.

But, while the number of believers was increasing, the virtue of the early days seemed to decay. If we may accept the words of S. Cyprian, we must believe that the peace, which the Church

¹ Zonaras (xii. 22) even makes Valerian the colleague of Decius.

² Vol. i. p. 148, and vol. v. pp. 413 *et seq.*

had now enjoyed for forty years, had been fatal to discipline and morals; that piety was dead in the priests, integrity in the ministers, charity in the believers, and that all the vices of the pagan world had invaded the members of Jesus Christ. Instead of assisting the poor, they fraudulently possessed themselves of lands and heritages, and increased their revenues by usury.¹ "We



S. Cyprian and S. Laurence on a Gilded Glass of the Catacombs. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxviii. No. 7.)

devour one another," says a second contemporary; "and our sins have raised a wall between God and us. Haman insults us; Esther, with all the righteous, is in confusion, for all the virgins have suffered their lamps to go out; they are asleep, and the door is shut. When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth? The Word has his fan in his hand that he may cleanse his floor."² Like all pulpit orators, S. Cyprian exaggerates. His picture "of the fall" is too dark, as his apologies

¹ *De Lapsis, passim.*

² S. Pionius, priest in Smyrna and martyr in 250. (*Ap. Bollandists, February 1st, p. 45.*) Reference to the parable of the wise and the foolish virgins: *an omnino dormitaverunt omnes virgines et dormierunt . . . (Id., ibid.)*

are too brilliant in colour. S. Cyprian wrote in the midst of a persecution; since God had permitted it, its justice must be proved, and the irregularities of the Christians became necessary to explain the divine chastisement. Events really had a more natural cause. Since the time of the short persecution under Severus,¹ heroism had not been called out; there had followed a relaxed enthusiasm, and consequently a less rigorous life. But the hatred between Christians and pagans remained unabated, and the latter, seeing so many woes fall upon the Empire, invasions of barbarians, a destructive pestilence, and endless revolutions, believed the gods offended by the impunity allowed to those who blasphemed them. The government also became uneasy at the presence of this enemy, which, under penalty of destruction, the pagan state must either assimilate or destroy. Decius, a harsh and narrow-minded ruler, who, in his love of the past, believed himself able to resuscitate the dead, restore to the senate its power and to Jupiter his thunderbolts, undertook to avenge his gods. He promulgated an edict, which was posted in all the cities, ordering search to be made for all Christians, and punishment to be inflicted upon them. A war of extermination began. It appeared at first to succeed, because even more skill than cruelty was employed in it. All the efforts of the proconsuls were directed towards obtaining acts of apostasy. "Tortures," says S. Cyprian, "were continuous; they were not planned to give the crown, but to exhaust the power of endurance."² Accordingly apostasies were numerous. "To save his life, the son gave up the father, the father denounced the son."—"At Carthage the greater number of the brethren deserted at the first threats of the enemy. They did not wait to be questioned, but to preserve the wealth which held their souls captive, they hastened voluntarily to sacrifice to the idols; they implored the magistrates to receive them on the instant to burn the impure incense, and not to put off until the morrow that which was to make their eternal ruin sure." At Alexandria the same scenes took place, and at Smyrna, Rome,

¹ Origen (*Contra Celsum*, iii.) says that, until the time of the great persecution under Decius, there was but "a very small number, easy to count," of Christians put to death.

² S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 8, 52, 53, and his *de Lapsis*; Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 39, 41; Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*; Tillemont, iii. 326-345.



The Emperor Decius. (Statue of the Capitol.)

and throughout the Empire. Even bishops were seen leading their entire congregations into apostasy. Trophimus of Arles himself accompanied the Christians to pagan altars. Others, with money, bought toleration: the *libellatici* were very numerous. These weaknesses are in human nature, and we have no cause to wonder that Christianity, as it extended, lost something of its early virtue.

However, the persecution of Decius seems not to have been as severe as has been asserted.¹ A sentence of death was not always the inevitable sentence. Some were despoiled of their goods; others were thrown into prison: Babylas of Antioch and Alexander of Jerusalem, of very advanced age, could not support the rigours of imprisonment, and died in consequence. The most formidable, because at that time the most famous, of the Christians, Origen, was loaded with chains and threatened with the stake, but "the man of steel" betrayed no weakness. The torturers were wearied sooner than their victim; he was set at liberty and lived four years longer.²

As the persecution had been publicly announced many had time to escape. The most conspicuous leaders, Cyprian of Carthage, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus escaped the peril, quitting their episcopal cities to live in some adjacent retreat whence they could communicate with the faithful. It must have been easy for many others to place themselves in shelter. Of these fugitives some went among the barbarians, others took refuge in the desert.

The martyrologies enumerate in this period a considerable number of martyrs; but serious authors dare not guarantee the authenticity of these *Acts*, filled with anachronisms and marvellous legends, like that of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, who being

¹ Except in Egypt, where there was doubtless a governor particularly bitter against the Christians. In Alexandria, a popular riot had cost the lives of several of them before the arrival of the edict of Decius. (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 41.) After the publication of the edict there were many apostasies and a certain number of martyrs. However, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria at this time, mentions as martyred after the edict but nine men and four women. (*Ibid.*) There must have been more.

² Origen, who was called Ἀδαμάντιος (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 14), was at that time sixty-five years of age. He had recently written (between 245 and 249) his great work against Celsus, the Λόγος ἀληθής. S. Cyprian says of the African confessors: *Nec cessatis supplicia, sed vobis potius supplicia cesserunt* (*Ep.*, 10).

shut up in a cave, and walled in, emerged, living, two centuries after. We should not, however, fall into the opposite extreme, concluding from these pious frauds that there were very few condemnations to death. The edict of Decius reveals an intention on the part of the imperial government to strike a heavy blow;¹ a few of the leaders of the Church, bishops or doctors, perished, and, as always, the common people and the slaves. The most illustrious victims were S. Saturninus, first bishop of Toulouse, Pionius, priest in Smyrna, who, by his sacrifice, made up for the apostasy of his bishop,² and Fabian, bishop of Rome, whose see remained vacant a year and a half. Pionius was crucified, and with him a Marcionite, so the heretics had their martyrs also. If they had told us their story, they would have added glorious chapters to the great and terrible epic of persecution which has kept burning in men's minds across the centuries the flame of self-devotion, and still incites to noble sacrifices.

The storm let loose upon the Church by him whom Lactantius calls "the accursed beast," lasted in reality but a few months. At the end of the year 250 peace had been almost entirely restored to the Christian believers, and before the death of Decius all the imprisoned confessors were set free.³ The emperor had quite other work to do than torturing these inoffensive men on account of their belief. Kniva and his Goths compelled him to occupy himself less with his gods than with the Empire, and he left his undertaking incomplete. The persecution had been no more successful than the censorship of morals; but the latter had been but a harmless whim, while the former had caused tears and blood to be shed, and their trace still rests upon the persecutor's name.

¹ S. Cyprian (*Ep.*, 52) speaks of the hatred of Decius towards the bishops. See, in the *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, the severity of the orders sent to the governors to bring back the Christians τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων λατρείᾳ . . . φόβῳ τε καὶ τῇ τῶν αἰκισμάτων ἀναγκῇ.

² A fugitive slave perished with him.

³ If the *Acts* of S. Acacius are authentic (Bollandists, March 10th). Decius himself ordered the release of that bishop.

II.—RAVAGES OF THE BARBARIANS IN THE EMPIRE; VALERIAN;
PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS (251–260).

In the critical position where the army stood after the defeat and death of Decius, it had neither time nor disposition to await



Treb. Gallus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 73.)

a decision of the senate. Gallus easily obtained the purple from his legions.¹ In order to free himself from the suspicion of

¹ C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, born in 206, according to Aur. Victor, and in 194, according to the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. He was perhaps an African, a native of the island of Meninx.

betraying his emperor, he took for colleague Hostilianus, the second son of Decius, and he caused his own son Volusianus, whom he made Cæsar,¹ to marry the sister of the second Augustus. Not long after, however, the later died or was killed. A dis-



Volusianus, Son of Treb. Gallus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors.)

graceful treaty had permitted the Goths to recross the Danube unmolested, taking with them their booty and their captives, and the promise of an annual subsidy in gold. But they had found the Empire so rich and at the same time so feeble, that it was to be expected that either Kniva or other chiefs would soon return.

¹ Eckhel, vol. vii. 365. After the death of Hostilianus, his brother-in-law was made Augustus (*ibid.*, 568), and reigned from November, 251, to February, 254.

There was, in fact, talk of new encounters in Pannonia, which the governor Æmilianus, a Mauretanian, knew how to turn to his own advantage. These slight successes encouraged his troops, whose military pride had been wounded by the treaty of Gallus with the Goths. The distribution among the soldiers of the money sent for the Gothic tribute completed the conquest, and the troops proclaimed their general.¹ Pestilence and famine desolated the provinces without interrupting the effeminate life Gallus was leading at Rome, and the people held him responsible for these disasters.



Hostilianus,
Second Son of Decius.²



Volusianus, Son of Gallus,
wearing a Radiated Crown.³
(Aureus.)



Trebonius Gallus,
Laurel crowned.
(Bronze Medallion.)

Æmilianus penetrated unopposed into Italy,⁴ as far as the city of Terni, where he met his opponent. A promise of money to the troops of Gallus decided the defection. The emperor was killed with his son (February, 254), and the victor had a few days of royalty.

This vain person⁵ promised the senate to renew the glory of the great reigns, to leave to the Conscript Fathers the administration of the state, while, he himself undertaking the hardships of war, would go and drive out the barbarians from the north and east; already he allowed himself to be represented on medals with the attributes of Hercules the Victorious and Mars the Avenger.

Even before the death of Gallus, Valerian, whom this emperor

¹ About the close of August, 253. (Eckhel, vol. vii. 371.)

² *Caius VALENS HOTILianus (sic) MESius QVINTVS Nobilis Cæsar.* (Large bronze.)

³ *IMPerator CÆsar Caius VIBius VOLVSIANO (sic) AVGVstus.* (Gold coin.)

⁴ About the end of 253. In this case of difficult chronology we follow Eckhel, who has learnedly discussed the grounds for it.

⁵ *M. Æmilius Æmilianus.* (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,542.)

had employed to bring to his succour the legions of Gaul and Germany, had been by them (253) decorated with the purple in Rhætia. Rome had, therefore, three emperors at once. The disaster of Terni removed one of these. Valerian had no need to fight against the other. The soldiers of his opponent, feeling themselves the weaker party, and possibly offended at the advances



Æmilianus as
Mars. (MARTI
PROPUGNatori.)
(Silver
Coin.)

made by their emperor to the senate, sent to the new Augustus the head of Æmilianus. The unfortunate man had been murdered near Spoletum; he had reigned not quite three months.¹

We find in this year a prefect of Rome who had the title of *comes domesticorum*, a new designation, and destined to be very conspicuous. Already we have seen *duces* and *præsidentes*; at the great council of war held in Byzantium, in 258, the emperor will be surrounded by them. Also the *amicus principis* (the emperor's counsellor) becomes a functionary; one Clarus was made prefect of Illyria and the Gallic provinces, and during the reign now



Laurelled Head of Valerian
(IMP. C. P. LIC.
VALERIANUS AVG.).
(Large Bronze.)

beginning there were to be, as it were, two empires, that of the East, where Valerian was waging war, and that of the West, over which his son Gallienus ruled as Augustus. The elements of the approaching reform were in preparation.

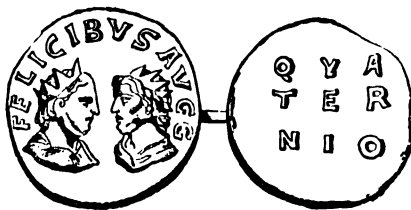
We are about to enter upon the period known in history as that of the Thirty Tyrants, that is to say, of the most horrible confusion. We shall pass quickly over it, as in some dangerous or malarial locality the traveller hastens his steps.

The disorder existing in the state appears in the narratives which describe it. Even the chronology is uncertain, for this reason, that the emperors succeed each other too quickly for each to have time to issue the coins which fix our dates. The one thing plainly visible is that the whole barbarian world fell upon the Empire: the Franks overran Gaul; the Alemanni crossed the

¹ Eutropius says that he was killed *tertio mense*.

Rhine; the Goths or Scythians, the Danube and Euxine; the Persians, the Tigris and Euphrates.

Valerian was an upright man, who had with good reason been made the censor of others because he had always been his own censor; a man very well worthy of the second rank, but not of the first.¹ He endeavoured to relieve the public distress; he listened willingly to advice, and advanced men of worth. Claudius, Aureolus, Postumus, Ingenuus, Aurelian, were all distinguished by him, and Probus owed to this emperor his first honours.² But the conduct of affairs required at a period of such extreme disorder something more than good intentions: there was needed a clear and active mind, much firmness and perseverance, none of which qualities Valerian possessed. Moreover, he came to power too late; old age is the time for repose, and not that for duties which require energy both of mind and body.³



Valerian and his Son Gallienus, wearing the Radiate Crowns. (Quaternio of Copper Alloy.)



Gallienus on Horseback trampling down an Enemy.⁴

To oppose Gallus, Æmilianus had brought into Italy the best troops from Pannonia, while to assist the former Valerian had led thither the flower of the Rhenish legions. The barbarians, who had not failed to observe this weakening of the garrisons of the frontier, attempted a new assault. Valerian had the wisdom to see that alone he could not possibly repel so many threats. Instead, however, of taking as his colleague one of the many valiant and experienced generals at this time in the Roman army, he chose his son Gallienus, who was too young to possess authority, and too effeminate to employ it well if he had had it.⁵ Father and son divided the defence. Valerian undertook the East,

¹ P. Licinius Valerianus was of an old family, and at this time sixty-three years of age. He had held office as tribune for the first time while Gallus was yet living, in the year 253.

² Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 20; Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 8, 9, 11-15; *Prob.*, 3-5.

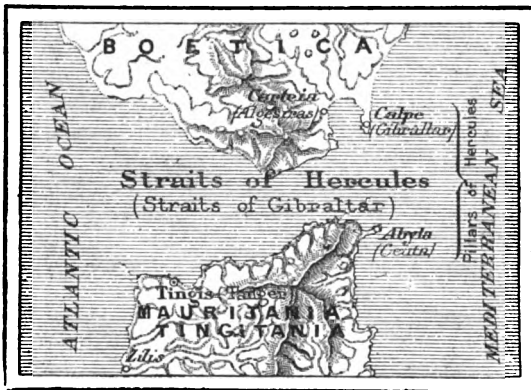
³ Zosimus is very severe upon Valerian (i. 36).

⁴ Reverse of a silver medallion with the legend: *VIRTVS GALLIENI*.

⁵ All the coins of Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus give him the title of Augustus; not one that of Cæsar.

Gallienus the West (255); we shall see that both were incapable at their imperial trade.

Gallienus was still entirely devoted to pleasure, and passed his time in amusements of all kinds.¹ His father had but little confidence in this boy,² and yet dared not give him, as counsellor and guide, Aurelian, whose severity seemed to the old emperor too great for the time and especially too great for his son. He placed



The Straits of Hercules.

him in charge of Postumus, a skilful soldier, appointing the latter *dux* of the Rhenish frontier and governor of Gaul. Although the Romans still possessed their strongholds along the Rhine, the Frankish marauders could always find somewhere on the extensive frontier an ill-guarded point through which their bands could slip into the

province. When they had once crossed the line of the *castra*,³ they were in the presence of disarmed populations who trembled at the sight of these yellow-haired warriors whose weapons never missed their mark; and the invaders went on across rivers and over mountains for the pleasure of seeing, of slaying, and of setting on fire the villas and cities. The Pyrenees did not arrest them, nor the Straits of Hercules; and the Moors with terror saw these sons of another world, whose destructive instincts would later be revealed to them by the Vandals. Among the Spanish towns pillaged or destroyed by the Franks, Eusebius names the great city of Tarragona,⁴ in which 150 years did not suffice to efface

¹ Never had entertainments been more numerous than in the reign of Valerian and Gallienus. (Eckhel, vol. iv. 422.)

² *Puer*. The word is in a letter quoted by Vopiscus (*Aur.*, 9), of which the authenticity has been called in question, though upon insufficient grounds. It is true that Aurelius Victor makes Gallienus thirty-five years of age at the time of his accession to the Empire.

³ They seem to have come into Gaul by the valley of the Moselle, where have been found many coins of this period which doubtless were buried at their approach.

⁴ Eusebius places the taking of Tarragona by the Franks in the year 263. According to Orosius (vii. 22) they remained a dozen years in Spain (256-268).

the traces of this devastation. Ilerda, in the time of Ausonius, was only a heap of ruins;¹ and in the fifth century Orosius speaks of many Spanish cities in ruins. If, as we said in relating the reign of Augustus, the Empire had been able to give the provincial assemblies a serious existence, and the municipal militia of the first century² had endured until the third, Spain could easily have repelled this handful of invaders. It was the isolation of the cities which prevented them from organizing for the common defence.

Gallienus cared little for these disasters: the Spanish and African sun, the civilization—whose contact is deadly to the barbarians when they are not strong enough to destroy it—would soon get the better of these bold marauders. He contented himself with detaining the bulk of the nation on the Rhine by many small combats, and finally, by the means so often employed, that of buying over a barbarian chief who should guard the frontiers for him; after which he assumed the name of Germanicus and caused himself to be represented on coins as the conqueror of two rivers, the Main and the Rhine, of which the one protected Gaul against the Germans and the other opened Germany to a Roman invasion.³ Aurelian distinguished himself in these laborious campaigns. He destroyed a Frankish corps near Mayence, and three lines of a song of his soldiers have been preserved:



Gallienus conquering the Main and the Rhine. (Coin of Copper Alloy.)

*Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille decollavimus.
Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos occidimus,
Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille Persas quærimus.*⁴

In 258 an insurrection of the legions of Pannonia called Gallienus into that province; it had hardly been repressed when the Alemanni, not finding it possible to get through into Gaul, whose frontier was well guarded by Postumus, threw themselves

¹ At the end of the fourth century. (*Ep.*, xxv. 5, 3.)

² Vol. iv. pp. 44 *et seq.*

³ Eckhel, vol. vii. 385, 390–91. Postumus issued similar coins. (*Ibid.*, 447.)

⁴ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 6. The date of this event is uncertain. Tillemont places it too early, in 242, for Valerian's letter to the urban prefect (*ibid.*, 9), in which the emperor calls him *liberator Illyrici, Galliarum restitutor*, and makes allusion to the important services which had lately brought Aurelian into notice, was written in 257.

upon Italy and advanced as far as Ravenna. In the time of Aurelian they made their boast that 40,000 of their cavalry had watered their horses at the river Po, and ravaged a large part of the peninsula.¹ It was the first time since the



Reverse of a Gold Medallion of Gallienus, found at Monaco in 1879.²

Cimbri that the Germans touched, otherwise than as captives, the sacred soil of old Italy. The Alps then were no longer an insurmountable barrier, and the fear of the Gallic "tumults," which four victorious centuries had dissipated, broke out afresh. Rome was in alarm. In the absence of the emperors, the senate levied troops and armed the citizens: it was the first worthy

act done by them for many years. The Alemanni, doubtless less numerous³ than they afterwards represented themselves to be, and



Reverse of a Coin of Salonina, with the Legend, AUG. IN PACE.⁴

already laden with booty, made a disorderly retreat towards the Alps. Gallienus had time to arrive from Pannonia, and he defeated some detachments near Milan (258 or 259). In the hope of preventing the return of similar incursions, he employed upon the Danube the policy which had seemed to succeed upon the Rhine, that of alliances bought by gifts or honours; he married the daughter of a

king of the Marcomanni, Pipa by name, and seated her beside the empress Cornelia Salonina. The fair-haired German became the emperor's favourite and supreme in the palace, where Salonina consoled herself with empty honours and philosophizing with the chief of the new Alexandrian school.⁵

¹ Dexippos, *Excerpta de Legat.*, in the *Scriptores Historiæ Byzantinæ*; Orosius, vii. 22.

² P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. IIII. P. P. The emperor, wearing the prætexta, holding a wand in the left hand and a patera in the right, sacrifices at a lighted altar. Cf. Mowat, *Trésor de Monaco*, p. 9. This medallion is regarded with great doubt by M. Muret on account of the contradiction existing between COS. IIII. on the reverse and COS. V. on the face.

³ Zonaras says 300,000, but he adds that Gallienus defeated them with 10,000 men.

⁴ The empress Salonina, seated, holding a sceptre and an olive branch. (Coin of copper alloy.)

⁵ Pipa, notwithstanding the affection of Gallienus, remained only a concubine. There is neither medal nor inscription bearing her name, while Salonina is always called Augusta. On the coins of Gallienus are seen the heads of the husband and wife. There exists a coin of Salonina with the Christian legend, *in pace*. I do not, however, believe that Salonina decisively entered the Church, where she would not have been received without a conspicuous repudiation of heathen rites, and the empress who built a temple to Segetia, the goddess of Harvests, certainly never made that abjuration. But, inquisitive in respect to the ideas current in her

Without doubt an important law of Gallienus is due to the invasion of the Alemanni. The warlike zeal lately shown by the senate disturbed him. A rescript prohibited to the Conscript Fathers military service, and they were forbidden to appear in an army or in a camp.¹ In a preceding chapter we have seen the results of this decision.

The Marcomanni and the Goths, with their allies the Carpæ, the Boranæ, and the Burgundii, inflicted upon Illyria, Macedonia, Thrace, and Greece the woes that the Franks caused Gaul to suffer, and the Alemanni, Italy. All these provinces were desolated by devastations, murders, and a multitude of small combats, of which we know neither the place nor the date, but in which the generals gained reputation and the selfish affection of a few soldiers, and later the dangerous honour of being elected to the Empire by this soldiery: a formidable favour which was equivalent to a death-sentence with brief respite. One of these generals, Aurelian, was to keep the purple for five years



The Empress Salonina. (Museum of the Capitol.)

time, and troubled by the disasters of the Empire and her own domestic unhappiness, doubtless the friend of Plotinus aspired to the peace which Christianity and the Neoplatonists promised after death. Her husband, who promulgated the first edict of toleration in favour of the Christians, is believed to have given this high testimony to the empress, who perhaps inclined him to benevolence towards the adherents of the new faith. See the *Mémoire* of M. de Witte *sur l'impératrice Salonine*, 1852.

¹ Aur. Victor, 33; cf. *id.*, 27. From that time forward the *præfectus legionis* took the place of legionary legate.

and to be a great ruler:¹ in a letter of 257 to the urban prefect, Valerian calls him the liberator of Illyria, who has cleared the province of barbarians. For their food these hordes drove along an immense number of cattle; Aurelian took so many from them that he was able to distribute among several Thracian towns a



Roman Auxiliary on Horseback killing an Enemy. (Monument found near Mayence. Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*, pl. vii. No. 3.)

great number of oxen and horses. He even sent to Rome for one of Valerian's villas, 500 choice slaves, 2,000 cows, 2,000 mares, 10,000 sheep, and 15,000 goats.²

As the circle of barbarism which enveloped the Empire was closing in on every side, Asia, as well as Europe, had its invasions.

The garrisons of the Roman posts, established, as we have seen, along the southern shores of the Euxine as far as Sebastopolis,³ at

¹ Another, Valens, who was to be emperor for a very brief time, appears to have compelled the Gauls to raise the siege of Thessalonica. At least, in Amm. Marcellinus (xxi. 16), he has the surname of Thessalonicus.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 10.

³ See vol. v. pp. 25 *et seq.*

the foot of the Caucasus, had been reduced in order to furnish soldiers for the continual revolutions of the Empire, and seditions, which the Antonines would have prevented, placed the kingdom of the Bosphorus at the mercy of its new neighbours.¹ The



Cimmerian Bosphorus: Jewels found in the Tomb of a Priestess of Cybele.²

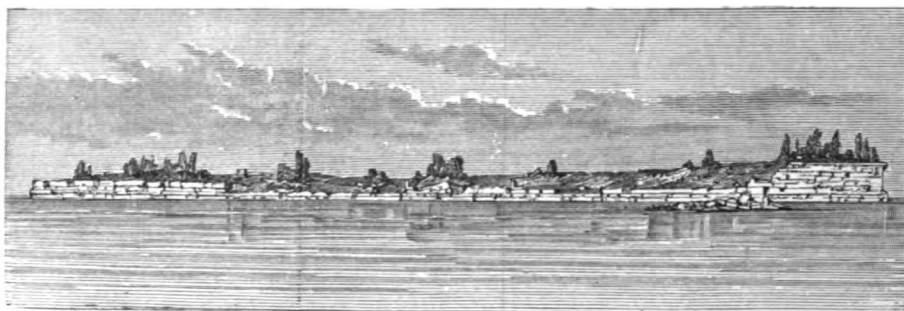
Cimmerians gave up their vessels to the Goths, the Alans, the Heruli, and these extemporized pirates were carried across "the inhospitable sea" by the sailors of the Bosphorus as far as the Asiatic coasts. They seized upon Pityus, and then the great city of Trebizond, in which three centuries of prosperity had

¹ The kings of the Bosphorus put on their coins the effigy of the reigning emperor: Decius, Gallus, Volusianus, Hostilianus, Æmilianus, Gallienus, Odenathus, Probus, and so on. Cf. Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 306, and Cary, *Hist. des rois du Bosph.*, pp. 76-8. But these kings were now at the mercy of the barbarians, their neighbours. Accordingly, a gap of several years in the coins of Rhascuporis IV. announces the troubles by which a barbarian usurper, Ininthimevus, profited. Phareanses, who seems to have reigned but a short time about the year 253, has also a name of doubtful aspect. A Rhascuporis VII. reigned from 254 to 266, and probably longer. (*Trésor de numism.*, p. 63.)

² See, vol. ii. p. 804, a pendant found in the same tomb.

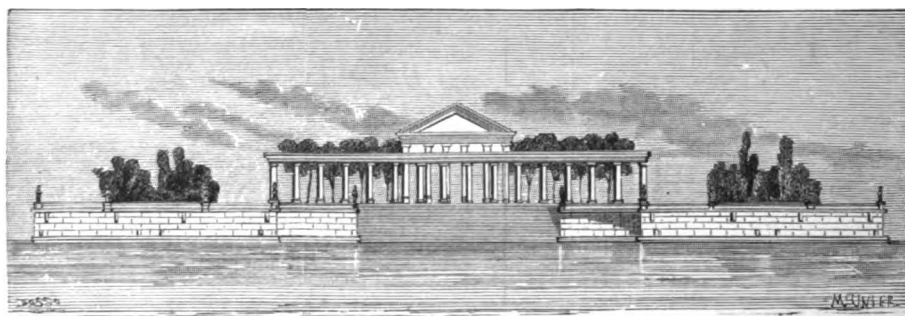
heaped up immense wealth, which a numerous garrison was not able to protect.¹

The rumour of this important capture fired the ardour of the Goths of the Danube. They forced their Roman prisoners to construct boats, in which they sailed along the coast while the



Island and Sanctuary of Apollo, in the Rhyndacus.² (Present Condition.)

main body of the army of invasion traversed all Thrace undisturbed, and arriving in the neighbourhood of Byzantium found along the shore a great multitude of fishermen, who consented to



Island and Sanctuary of Apollo, in the Rhyndacus.² (Restoration by Guillaume.)

lend their little boats, without doubt for the sake of sharing in the plunder. "From Chalcedon to the temple at the entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus," there were forces more considerable than those of the barbarians; but the Romans, seized with terror, fled, and the Goths entered Chalcedon, Nicomedia, the future capital of Diocletian, Nicæa, Cius, Apamea, Prusa, and Apollonia,

¹ There were two expeditions: the first, which failed, probably in 255; the second and successful attempt, in 257. (Zosimus, i. 32-3.)

² Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie Min.: Architecture*, pl. 1 and 2.

which its temple of Apollo did not protect, built upon an island in a charming lake formed and traversed by the Rhyndacus. Cyzicus escaped because the invaders could not cross the swollen river. All Bithynia was sacked, and the Roman legions nowhere dared to make a stand against the enemy. The people fled in inexpressible alarm, and many of these unhappy creatures, among whom we are forced to enumerate some of the Christians, took advantage of this immense disorganization to pillage in their turn (early in the year 258). The poor Jacquerie of France in the Middle Ages, yielding in the presence of similar disasters to a savage despair, said: "The devil is unchained; let us do the worst we can." Three centuries later, by the ruins they left behind them, the road the Goths traversed could be made out. "They carried back into their country immense booty," says Zosimus, "and they gave great honours to Chrysogonos, who had advised this expedition."¹

The preceding year Valerian had held at Byzantium a great council of war, in presence of the officers of the palace and of the army. We have the order of precedence in this assembly, and give it to show the new dignities that were coming into existence. At the right of the emperor were seated one of the consuls, the prætorian prefect, and the governor of the East; on his left, the *dux* of the Scythian frontier, the Egyptian prefect, the *dux* of the Oriental frontier, the prefect of the eastern annona, the *duces* of Illyricum and Thrace, and lastly the *dux* of the Rhætian border. The foolish chronicler who had the opportunity to read the report of this session does not make known to us the serious deliberations which filled it; he contents himself with saying that Valerian decreed, on this occasion, extraordinary commendation to Aurelian for recent victories in Illyria over Gothic and Sarmatian bands.²

Where was the conqueror of the Franks and Goths at the

¹ Jordanes (*de Gothorum gestis*, 20) says that the Goths burned Ilium and the temple of Diana at Ephesus; he adds that in his time (the sixth century) there were still to be seen at Chalcedon the ruins that they had caused. Zosimus (i. 35) does not say who this Chrysogonos was, but it is apparent that these barbarians were not too barbarous to take advantage of traitors and collect the information necessary to the success of their expeditions.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 15. Valerian gave him at this time not the consulship, as Vopiscus says, but the consular ornaments. Inscriptions and coins prove that Aurelian was consul for the first time in 271. See Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 479.

time of the disasters which have just been described? Doubtless at Antioch with Valerian. This emperor did nothing to prevent or arrest the misfortunes from which Bithynia suffered. He merely sent a general to Byzantium to guard that important point. But the Goths had not as yet formed the design of establishing themselves permanently in the Empire, and their retreat was doubtless caused less by the approach of the emperor, who advanced into Cappadocia, than by the desire to place in safety before the stormy season¹ the booty with which their vessels were loaded, a booty whose magnitude and value surpassed all their expectations.²



Reverse of a Coin
of Valerian, struck at
Antioch, in Caria.³

The Gothic invasion was probably connected with another invasion which seemed likely to drive the Romans out of Asia, that of Sapor. At least we see that the barbarians made their attack first upon the cities where the roads from Armenia came in, of which country the Persians were taking possession, and in occupying Cappadocia Valerian seems to have had the design of placing himself between the two allies.

If it be said that this is ascribing to the barbarians too extensive combinations, we must remember the embassies sent by the Dacians to the Arsacids in the time of Trajan. The Amale required no great efforts of political intelligence to understand and follow the traditions of Decebalus.⁴

Sapor had assassinated Chosroes,⁵ the king of Armenia, and

¹ The ancients were reluctant to venture upon the Euxine earlier than May or later than September.

² Sozomenus (*Hist. eccl.*, ii. 6) and Philostorges (*Hist. eccl.*, ii. 5) say that among the captives were priests who converted multitudes of barbarians on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. The work of conversion was possibly beginning among the Goths at this period; in 325 a bishop from this nation sat in the council of Nicæa; but in western Germany there were no Christians, before Clovis, among the Franks, whom Sozomenus seems to designate, and the conversion of the Alemanni took place later.

³ ANTIOXEON. Bridge over the Meander; underneath, a couchant river and an equestrian statue. (Bronze.)

⁴ Vol. iv. p. 824. Pliny arrested in Bithynia an emissary from Decebalus to Chosroes. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the powerful league of the Marcomanni was formed in 165, shortly after the great successes of Vologeses in Armenia and over the Syrian legions.

⁵ Tiridates, the son of Chosroes, was saved by the satraps and sent to Rome, and, in 287, Diocletian placed him upon the throne of his fathers. (Moses Chorenes, *Hist. Armeniaca*, ii. 69-75.)

had placed one of his own partisans upon the throne. For more than a quarter of a century this country was like a Persian province, to the great grief of its inhabitants, for the Persians persecuted all those who followed the national customs, destroying all buildings of a sacred character, temples of the Sun and Moon; and the sacred fire of Ormuzd burning upon altars constantly was a reminder of the triumph of a hostile race and a foreign religion. Thus another bulwark of the Empire, and one of its best, was destroyed.

The possession of Armenia by the Persians in fact rendered easy their conquest of Mesopotamia, where Sapor took the fortified towns Nisibis and Carrhæ. The situation, therefore, was very threatening, and the blame of it was due to those who, in less than forty years, had instigated or effected ten military revolutions.



Sapor I.¹

The Romans, remaining masters of Edessa, barred to the Persian army one of the roads into Asia Minor, and the Cilician Gates, without doubt well guarded, at that time closed the other. Sapor, with his inefficient infantry,² was not able to force a passage through the mountains, and he could not hinder a Roman army from coming down into Syria; Valerian, indeed, entered Antioch without fighting. The appearance of the Goths in Bithynia obliged him to return into Asia Minor, "where," says Zosimus, "he did nothing save vex the people as he passed through." The retreat of the barbarians permitted him at last to leave Cappadocia and march upon Edessa, which, for many years blockaded, still held out. But his troops had suffered greatly from pestilence; and a defeat which he experienced, together with the clamours of the army, decided him to negotiate. Sapor refusing to receive envoys from the emperor, the latter requested a personal interview, repeating the error of Crassus. When the astute barbarian saw the emperor come to him weakly protected, he caused Valerian to be

¹ Bust of the king wearing the diadem and placed on a lion's head surmounted by two wings. Intaglio on sardonyx (20 millim. by 18). (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,847.)

² In respect to the Persian infantry, see *Amm. Marcellinus*, xxiii. 6.

seized by the Persian cavalry and made prisoner (260).¹ This captivity lasted six years, accompanied by shameful ill-treatment, and after Valerian's death,² his skin, tanned, stuffed, and coloured red, was hung from the roof of the most important temple in Persia, where it remained for several centuries.³ The rocks of Nakeh-Roustem and of Schahpûr retained the story of this great Roman humiliation, and the horsemen there seen treading legionaries under their horses' feet perhaps gave rise to the legend of Sapor using the Roman emperor as a horse-block to mount by.⁴

Sapor took advantage of the consternation which this event caused in the Roman army to endeavour to seize the Empire as well as the emperor. Guided by the traitor Cyriades, he penetrated into Syria. One day as the inhabitants of Antioch were witnessing a performance in the theatre, one of them cried out suddenly: "I am dreaming or the Persians are upon us!" A few moments later arrows began to fall amongst the crowd, and the city was pitilessly sacked.⁵ Terror again seized upon all these provinces. It was asserted that Emesa had been saved by its divinity.⁶ No doubt the great mass of the Persian forces was in the northern part of the province, and only a detachment, easily to be resisted, was sent to the holy city; or indeed Sapor, through policy, respected a temple venerated by all the nations in this region.

All the attention of the Persians was now turned towards Asia Minor; that being conquered, the rest would fall. They

¹ This is the account given by Zosimus (i. 3). Zonaras speaks of a battle and a defeat. He adds that there was a tradition of a mutiny in the Roman army, which had caused Valerian to seek refuge with Sapor, πρὸς τὸν Σαπώρην κατέφυγεν.

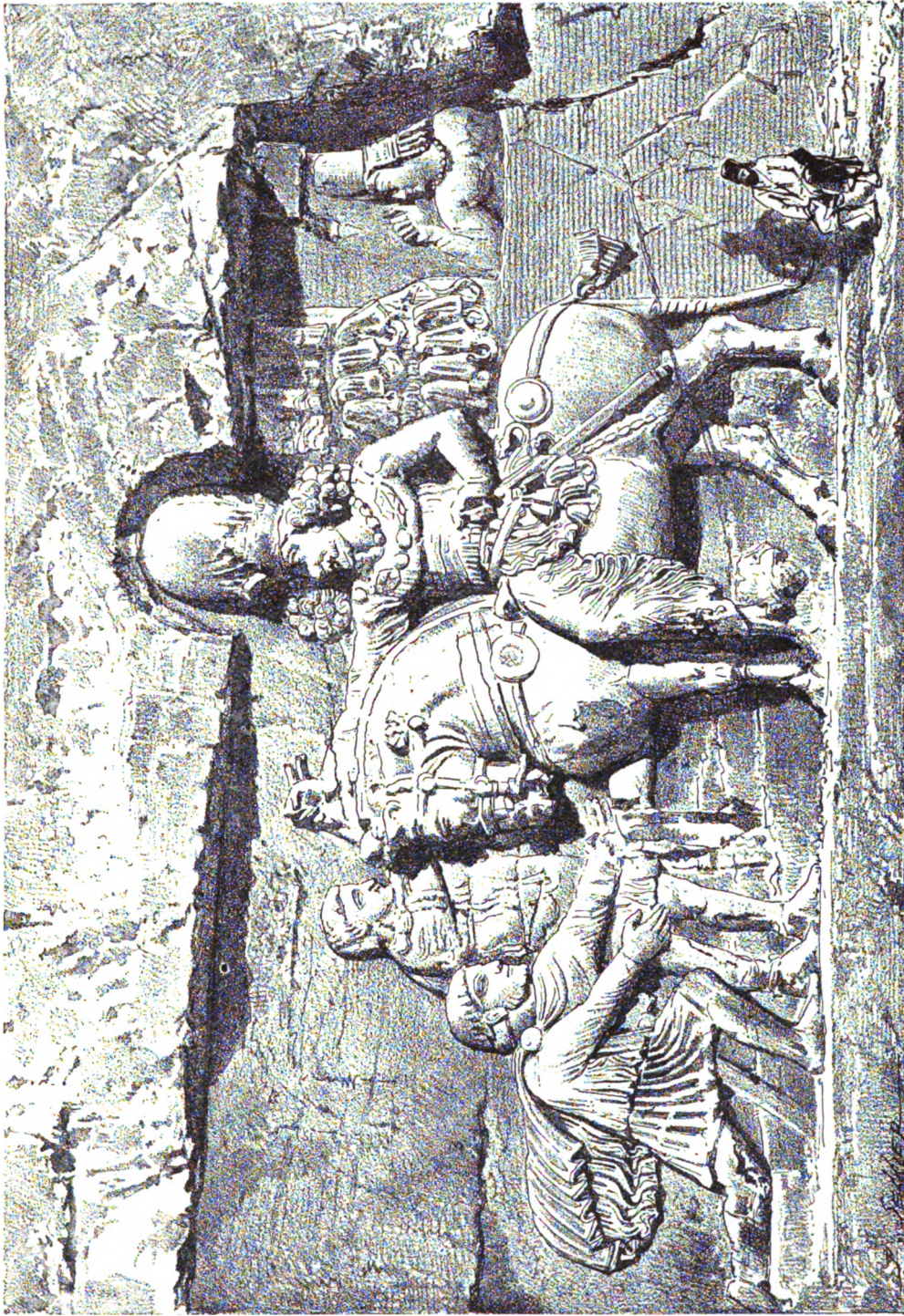
² Agathias even says that he was flayed alive.

³ What is legend and what is truth in this story? It is not easy to say. A letter from Constantine to Sapor II., quoted by Eusebius (*Life of Const.*, iv. 11), and the words of Galerius to Narses, related by Peter Patricius (*Excerpta de Legat.*, in the Byzantine), attest that Valerian certainly suffered the most humiliating of captivities; it lasted, according to the *Chronicle of Alexandria*, until 269. But Treb. Pollio (*Tyr. trig.*, 14) places the death of Valerian before that of Odenathus, consequently in 266: *iratum fuisse reipublicæ Deum credo, qui, interfecto Valeriano, noluit Odenatum reservari.*

⁴ The bas-relief of Darabgerd shows Sapor treading under his horse's feet a prostrate man, on whose head seems to be a fragment of a laurel wreath. (Flandin, *Perse ancienne*, pl. xxxiii.) But this was a symbol of victory much in use among the Persians, and we are not to conclude that this sculpture represents a real action.

⁵ Am. Marcellinus (xxiii. 5) places this in the reign of Gallienus, that is, after the captivity of Valerian.

⁶ John Malalas.



Valerian Prostrate before Sapor, who is on Horseback. Bas-relief of Nakeh-Roustem, under the Tombs of the Kings
(Environs of Persepolis). (From a Photograph by M. Dieulafoy.)

crossed unopposed the passes of Cilicia, took the great city of Tarsus, and besieged Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia, which is believed to have had at this time a population of 400,000 inhabitants. The city held out for a long time, until a prisoner, being put to the torture, revealed a weak point in the defences, through which the besiegers by night entered the place. They had been ordered to seize the brave Demosthenes who had directed the defence, but he cut his way through on horseback, killing many of the enemy, and made his escape.¹ Two years earlier than this the Persians would have been able from Cappadocia to reach the Goths, masters of Bithynia. But the barbarians of the south had not even need of aid from the barbarians of the north to reach the Propontis and the sea of the Cyclades. Terror went before them. "They might easily," says Zosimus, "have made themselves masters of the whole of Asia, if they had not been in haste to enjoy their victory at home and to carry off their booty."² After their departure the Syrians took revenge upon the traitor Cyriades,³ who had assumed the title of Augustus, and burned him alive.

It is said that when Sapor announced his victory to all the neighbouring or allied nations, the latter, terrified at so great a triumph, concealed their fears under the counsels of philosophic moderation, which they sent back in reply.⁴ The son of Valerian had no need of the consolations of wisdom to appease a grief which he did not feel. "I knew," he said, "that my father was mortal; besides, he has fallen like a brave man," and considering him as already dead, Gallienus apotheosized him. Possibly these words might have been pardoned to a son who had followed them by energetic acts to avenge his father and the Empire; but this feigned stoicism was only unfilial cowardice.

The reign of Valerian is marked by the most cruel persecution that the Church had yet endured. When the pagan inhabitants of the Empire beheld barbarians threatening the very heart of Italy

¹ Zonaras, xii. 23.

² Amm. Marcellinus (xxiii. 5) also speaks of this precipitate departure.

³ Or Mariades. Cf. *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 192 (Didot).

⁴ These letters must be fabrications, however, for the Persian archives certainly were not open to the writers of the *Augustan History*.

and ravaging two-thirds of the provinces, their anger was turned against this foreign people living among them, indifferent to their griefs, and refusing to take arms against the public enemy. As if entering reluctantly upon the career of persecution, the emperors in their first letters simply forbade the assembling together of Christians and their entrance into cemeteries; they required no one to renounce the worship of Christ, but required all to conform to the Roman cult, which was, however, equivalent to apostasy; and, finally, they as yet punished the contumacious with exile only. The Acts of Cyprian exhibit this first phase of persecution, which does not seem to have struck outside of the clergy.

"In the fourth consulship of the emperor Valerianus and the third of Gallienus, the third day before the kalends of September (30th August, 257), in the audience hall at Carthage, the proconsul Paternus said to the bishop Cyprian: 'The most sacred emperors Valerianus and Gallienus have deigned to address letters to me, in which they order all persons not professing the Roman religion to observe without delay all its ceremonies. I have therefore summoned you to ascertain your intentions; what answer have you to make?' The bishop Cyprian replied: 'I am a Christian and a bishop. I know no other god than the one true God who made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is. This God we Christians serve, to Him we pray night and day, for ourselves and for all men, and especially for the safety of the emperors.' The proconsul said: 'Do you persist in this resolution?' The bishop Cyprian replied: 'The good will that has once known God never changes.' The proconsul Paternus said: 'You may prepare then to go into exile in the city of Curubis: so Valerianus and Gallienus command.' The bishop Cyprian replied: 'I am ready to go.' The proconsul Paternus said: 'The orders which I have received concern not only bishops but also priests. I wish, therefore, to know the names of the priests dwelling in this city.' The bishop Cyprian replied: 'Well and wisely have your laws prohibited giving information: I therefore cannot make known to you or give up to you those of whom you speak; you will find them in the cities where they dwell.' The proconsul Paternus said: 'It is my will that they appear before me to-day in this place.' Cyprian answered: 'The rules of our order forbid

them to surrender themselves, and in this you cannot blame their conduct; but seek for them and you will find them.' The proconsul Paternus said: 'Fear not, I will find them.' And he



Gallienus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 76.)

added: 'The emperors also forbid meetings in any place whatsoever, and the entering of cemeteries. Whoever shall violate this wise prohibition will be punished with death.' The bishop Cyprian: 'Do whatever is commanded you.'"¹

¹ Freppel, *Saint Cyprien*, pp. 477-8, from the proconsular reports of the martyrdom of S. Cyprian. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, also suffered exile only into the Libyan desert, three days' journey from Parætonium. (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 11.) Interrogated by the prefect

The successor of Paternus removed the sentence of exile decreed against Cyprian, and suffered him to reside at the gates of Carthage in a house which belonged to the bishop. But the calamities of the Empire increased. Emperors who could not aid themselves believed that they might obtain the assistance of Heaven by avenging their gods. In the middle of the year 258 Valerian sent to the senate the following rescript:

“Bishops, priests, and deacons shall be punished with death; senators, officers, and knights degraded and deprived of their goods. If they persist, death. Women of honourable birth shall be banished. Freedmen of the palace shall be sent as slaves to the emperor’s domains.”¹

We will further give the last interrogation of S. Cyprian, showing the general method of procedure against the martyrs.

“The proconsul Galerius Maximus said to Cyprian: ‘You are Thascius Cyprianus?’ The bishop answered: ‘I am.’ The proconsul said: ‘You are the bishop of these sacrilegious persons?’ ‘I am.’ ‘The most sacred emperors have ordered you to sacrifice to the gods.’ ‘I shall not do so.’ ‘Reflect upon your conduct.’ ‘Do what you are ordered; in a thing so right, I have no occasion to deliberate.’ Galerius Maximus, after taking the advice of his council, expressed himself as follows: ‘You have long held sacrilegious opinions; you have brought many men into this impious conspiracy, thus placing yourselves in hostility towards the gods of Rome and the laws of religion; and the pious and most sacred emperors Valerianus and Gallienus, Augusti, and the very illustrious Valerianus Cæsar, have not been able to bring you back to the observance of their religious ceremonies. For this reason you, being the author of the most infamous crimes, and the standard-bearer of the sect, shall serve as an example to those whom you have led astray by your criminal machinations;

of Egypt, he had made S. Paul’s famous reply (*Acts*, v. 29), which Polycrates of Ephesus had also repeated (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 24), and by which the social bond may always be broken: “We must obey God rather than men,” that is to say, a man’s own ideas, which he believes to come from divine revelation or inspiration rather than the common law. In the case of the Christians the state was in the wrong, and their resistance was legitimate, but the formula was dangerous, for it has not always been employed to protect rights of conscience only, which ought to be protected.

¹ S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 82, *ad Successum*. The edict of Valerian is given there.

your blood shall be the sanction of the law.' Having said this, he took his tablets and wrote the sentence which he had uttered aloud: 'We condemn Thascius Cyprianus to be beheaded.' The bishop said: 'God be praised!'"¹ The guards then led him away. Arriving at the place of execution, Cyprian took off his outer garment, knelt and prayed some time. Then he gave his dalmatic to the deacons, bandaged his own eyes, and directed his followers after his death to give to the executioner twenty-five gold pieces.



Pope Sixtus and the Deacon Laurence, on a Gilded Glass from the Catacombs.²

The brethren held strips of cloth around him to collect the martyr's blood. The executioner trembled when he struck the mortal blow. All the pagans must have trembled also when they witnessed these triumphant deaths (14th September, 258).

Cyprian was among the favoured ones: his was the easiest death; others were burned alive, like the bishop of Tarragona, or thrown to the wild beasts. Rome paid largely the debt of blood. Pope Sixtus II. was one of the first to perish. Being surprised in the catacombs while celebrating the holy mysteries, he was

¹ Freppel, *Saint Cyprien*, pp. 490-1, from the proconsular reports.

² Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxvii. No. 2. Upon the legend, PIE ZESES, see above, p. 157.

beheaded; and his deacon S. Laurence was burned at a slow fire. Wherever Christian communities existed, many priests, deacons, believers, and even women, perished. Novatian, who brought into the Church all the severity of his earlier master, the Stoic Zeno, was one of the victims, and possibly also S. Dionysius, who evangelized the north of Gaul, and Polyeuctes, whom Corneille has made famous.¹

The Empire was tearing itself with its own hands, as if for its ruin, famine, pestilence, and the barbarians who seemed to the Christians "to be let loose by God for this day of wrath,"² were not enough.

Gallienus had one merit: he understood that this persecution was unjust as well as useless, and as soon as he was sole master he ordered that their cemeteries, their possessions, and the freedom of their worship should be restored to the Christians (260).³ This was one war the less in the Empire. Unhappily, many others still remained.

At the time when the imprudence of Valerian had given Syria over to the Persians there were in the East two men famous for their military talent: Macrianus, the principal lieutenant of the captive emperor, and Balista, who had formerly held the office of prætorian prefect. They collected the remnant of the army of Edessa, and sought at Samosata, in the narrow angle formed by Mount Amanus and the Euphrates, a retreat which it would be easy to defend.⁴ By slow degrees courage returned to the Romans. Balista reached the coasts of the sea of Cyprus, collected a flotilla on which he embarked a few soldiers, and made successful descents here and there in Cilicia. As the Persians, in the pride of their victory, disdained all prudence, he frequently surprised their detachments and killed many.

But the best assistance came from a side whence the Empire

¹ For details of this persecution, see Tillemont, iii. pp. 415-440. The Acts of the martyrdom of S. Dionysius, compiled in the seventh or eighth century, are not authentic.

² Orosius, vii. 22.

³ Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 13. Gallienus seems to have been a man of gentle temper. A dealer having sold false gems to the Empress Salonina, he condemned him to be eaten by a lion, and let loose against him a capon. Everybody laughed, and the emperor cried: "We have deceived the deceiver!" (*Hist. Aug. Gall.*, 12.)

⁴ *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 193 (Didot).

expected nothing. We have frequently spoken in this history of Palmyra, its riches, its numerous population, and of a family who had taken the first rank there, the Odenathi.¹ The Palmyrenes, for their commerce, had need of the friendship of Sapor. They sent him ambassadors with rich presents to solicit his goodwill. The king threw the gifts into the river, tore up the letters that the envoys had given him, and demanded an absolute submission.² Palmyra had at this time as chief or prince of its senate an able and determined man, very rich and very influential, Septimius Odenathus. In critical periods superior men naturally take their place. Odenathus persuaded his countrymen that there was no answer but war to insults which were a distinct threat against their independence, and he made preparations for it in a suitable manner. The caravans had made Palmyra's fortune. To guide them, the city had been obliged to employ the Arabs of the Syrian desert, who all, from the Orontes to the Pasitigris, were in her interests. Odenathus reminded their sheiks of the destruction of Atrra, the Arab city, by Sapor; he convinced them that their liberty and their wealth would be lost if the haughty king should drive the Romans out of Asia. The Arab of the present day has two passions, religion and traffic. Mahomet had not yet given them the former, but the latter had been extraordinarily fostered by the profits which the interchange of commodities between the two empires left in the hands of the carriers. They gathered in crowds around the "prince of Palmyra," and we shall see them establish an Arab empire for the first time.



Odenathus, Husband of Zenobia.
(Uncertain.)³

Palmyra had a permanent Roman garrison, and this detachment served as a nucleus for the new army. The Roman fugitives scattered throughout Syria rallied about it, and Odenathus added his Arabs. The successes of Balista had compromised the situation

¹ Vol. v. p. 76, and in the present volume, pp. 81 *et seq.* In April, 258, Odenathus had already received the consular ornaments. (Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, No. 2,602.)

² Peter Patricius, *Excerpta de Legat.*, 2.

³ Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France* (15 millim. by 13), No. 1,390.

of the Persians in Syria, their line of retreat was threatened on the south by the armaments of Palmyra and on the north by the garrison of Edessa, which the troops of Samosata had probably



Silver Vase of Persian Workmanship of the Period of the Sassanids.²

joined at this time, and upon this too Roman soil they began to be uneasy. Sapor led them back towards the Euphrates, leaving behind him many of his own troops, surprised by a sudden attack of Odenathus. Arriving on the right bank of the river the Persians congratulated one another, believing they were safe; but they were obliged still further, says Zonaras, to buy their passage, by giving up to the army of Edessa all that was left to them of Syrian gold.¹ In these deserts avalanches of men appeared. Drawn by the lure of carnage and booty, the nomads rushed thither from all quarters of the horizon, and powerful armies emerged from the waste. Odenathus, whom Balista had now joined, found himself strong enough to undertake the conquest of Mesopotamia, and to venture on following in the track of

Trajan and Septimius Severus³ as far as Ctesiphon itself. In a battle he captured part of the treasures and some of the wives of Sapor. This was the sharp reply of the Palmyrenes to the great king.

¹ Peter Patricius, *Excerpta de Legat.*, 10.

² *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,880. This monument of Persian art, under the Sassanids, is ornamented with two groups of lions, separated by the sacred tree, *Hom.* The figures are in *repoussé* on a gold ground. This vase had a handle, which is now missing. Cf. Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, p. 467, and Lenormant, in vol. iii. of the *Musée d'archéol.* of Fathers Martin and Cahier.

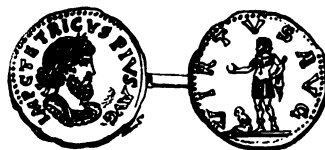
³ Eutropius, ix. 10, 11; Malalas, xii. p. 227; Zonaras, xii. 23.

Odenathus had not been able to set Valerian at liberty, but he sent captive satraps to Rome, and Gallienus, forgetting his father, celebrated with a triumph this victory which the legions had permitted the Bedouins to gain for them.

From this expedition Odenathus returned too great to remain longer a private individual. The Arabs proclaimed him king, and Gallienus, to attach to himself so useful a servant, appointed him chief of the imperial forces in that part of the East, *αὐτοκράτωρ*, or *imperator* (beginning of 262). Later, after further services, he gave Odenathus the title of Augustus, and the son of the clients of Severus took rank among the emperors of Rome.¹

III.—THE PROVINCIAL EMPERORS (249–268); GALLIENUS.

Those who have been called, in imitation of Athens, the Thirty Tyrants, were neither thirty nor tyrants. From the captivity of Valerian to the death of his son, we count eighteen generals who were proclaimed emperor² by their troops, as had been all since the Antonines, and they lacked only success to take their place legally among the masters of the Roman world. One only, Calpurnius Piso, was of the highest rank;⁴ another, Tetricus, of senatorial dignity; the rest of obscure origin. Moreover these so-called usurpers were neither worse nor better than the emperors raised to the official list; many manifested ability and did service; all finally were as legitimate as



Coin of Tetricus.³

¹ M. de Vogüé (*Inscr. séém.*, pp. 29 *et seq.*) does not believe that Odenathus ever had the title of Augustus. But, as M. Waddington remarks (*Inscr. de Syrie*, p. 601), "at Palmyra it was not of particular importance to translate exactly the names of Roman dignities," and as Zenobia is called in an inscription *σεβαστή*, or *Augusta*, it would appear that this title was given her as widow of a *σεβαστός*.

² We shall have twenty-nine Cæsars, or Augusti, murdered in less than twelve years if we include sons of emperors to whom their fathers gave the purple.

³ IMP. C. TETRICVS PIVS AVG. and the laurelled head of the emperor. On the reverse: VIRTVS AVG.; Tetricus, in a military costume, standing; at his feet a captive. (Gold coin in the British Museum. Cf. de Witte, *op. laud.* TETRICUS the Elder, pl. xl. No. 162.)

⁴ At least, he was so considered, but it cannot be proved that he was of that illustrious family of Pisos whom Horace calls *Pompius sanguis* (*Ars poet.*, 292), because they claimed descent from Numa. Nor is it even certain that Piso assumed the purple.

was Septimius Severus. The Empire, that is to say, union for the common defence, seemed no longer to exist, since one of the



Coin of Pacatianus, Emperor in Pannonia or in Rhætia.¹

from Rome, men looked to themselves for their preservation. The



Young Roman, supposed to be Saloninus. (Marble of the Museum of the Louvre.)

emperors was captive in Ctesiphon, the other wholly lost in pleasure, and the barbarians overrunning the provinces at their will. Under stress of necessity, patriotism re-awakened, and since nothing could be expected

the legions formed the permanent garrison of the provinces, and remained very long in the same places, for example, the Third Augustan occupied Numidia for three centuries. From this resulted intimate relations between the army and the country. The soldier married there, the legion was recruited thence, and the troops borrowed the manners and beliefs of the region in which they lived. We have had occasion more than once to show that the differences between the armies of Gaul and of Syria corresponded to the differences between the two countries. By degrees

these multiplied bonds had made the legionaries, as it were, the representatives of those whom it was their duty to protect, and during the eclipse of the universal Empire the provincial interest

¹ IMP. TI. CL. MAR. PACATIANUS AUG. and the radiate head of the provincial emperor. On the reverse: ROMAE AETERN. AN(no) MILL(esimo) ET PRIMO (the year 1001 of Rome, 248 A.D.); in the centre, Rome seated. (Silver coin.)

personified itself in provincial emperors. Almost simultaneously Gaul, Illyria, Mœsia, Pannonia, Greece, and Thessaly proclaimed



Triumphal Arch of Gallienus at Rome.

their respective governors, and the provinces were so much in sympathy with the soldiers that they shared their fortunes. In a province where Gallienus had been able to overthrow one of

his rivals, civilians suffered as much as soldiers; the legions were decimated, but the cities were as full of carnage as were the camps.¹

The most remarkable of these emperors is Postumus.² He was a man of low condition,³ but of great courage, and extremely popular in the Gallic provinces where he was born, and of which he had been the protector. When Gallienus quitted the country in 258 he left his son Saloninus at Cologne, with the title of Cæsar, under the care not of Postumus, the governor of Gaul, but under that of the tribune Silvanus, and Postumus was wounded at this mark of distrust. On one occasion, when the latter had divided among the troops a rich booty recaptured from the Franks, Silvanus claimed the spoils as



Saloninus Cæsar.
(Bronze Medallion.)

belonging to the Cæsar. When Postumus made known this order, the soldiers, rather than give back what they had received, tore from their standards the effigies of Gallienus and Saloninus, and proclaimed their general (258). He led them to Cologne, obtained the surrender, after a long siege, of the Cæsar and his adviser, and put them both to death.⁴ The nations and armies of the Gallic provinces, Britain, and Spain took oath to the new Augustus.⁵ It was not the establishment of a Gallic, Spanish, or British Empire: no one at this time thought of breaking with Rome;

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 8. This awakening of provincial patriotism is manifested by two things: many cities, in Gaul, for example, abandon in the third century their Roman name to take that of their own people, and when the emperors dismember a former government to form new provinces, they usually give the latter the limits that these territories had in the time of their independence.

² M. Cassianus Latinus Postumus (*C. I. L.*, ii. No. 4,943).

³ *Obscurissime natus* (Eutrop., ix. 9).

⁴ Eckhel (vol. vii. pp. 391 and 438) places the surrender of Cologne in 259. The *Augustan History* (*Tyr. trig.*, 3) represents Postumus as having a son whom Valerian had appointed tribune of the Vocontii, and whom his father had taken as colleague; but, although we possess a great quantity of medals of Postumus, no one of them gives us ground to believe that this son, who had only literary tastes, was made Cæsar and afterwards Augustus, and the adoption of Victorinus confirms these doubts. (Eckhel, vol. vii. 447, and de Witte, *Revue de numism.*, vol. iv. 1859.)

⁵ Bréquigny, *Hist. de Post.*, p. 356, in vol. xxx. of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.* This opinion rests, it is true, upon two doubtful readings of legends on coins, which appear to belong to another period; but probability favours it. (Eckhel, vol. vii. 442.)

it was only breaking with Gallienus, and for protection uniting together under a famous soldier. Trèves was his capital; here he gathered a senate which decreed him all the titles attributed to emperors on the banks of the Tiber; but, upon his coins, the sole history of him which we have,¹ he preserved the image of the Eternal City, *Roma Æterna*.



Coin of Postumus, bearing on the Reverse, Rome Eternal.²

Under the purple he kept his military tunic. He prevented the Alemanni from entering Gaul, drove back the Franks by constructing on the right bank of the Rhine strong forts commanding the fords, and his fleet freed the British waters from Saxon pirates. On one of his medals, *Neptuno reduci* indicates that he led this expedition in person;³ another attests his efforts to free from pestilence the troops and the provinces.⁴ Successes of which we know nothing gave him those imperial salutations unknown on coins since the time of Caracalla, and the surname *Germanicus Maximus*.⁵ Coins of the year 262 give him these titles for the fifth time, and represent, some of them, a Victory crowning the Gallic emperor, and others a trophy raised between two prostrate captives. After making his power felt among the Franks he sought to draw them into an alliance; an auxiliary corps which he recruited among them gave him soldiers and also a pledge of the fidelity of these people.



NEPTUNO REDUCI. (Reverse of a Coin of Copper Alloy of Postumus.)

The usurper therefore fulfilled all the duties of a legitimate prince; security reigned in the provinces, and commerce re-appeared

¹ M. de Witte has collected them in a learned volume. The senate of Postumus, like the Roman senate, struck bronze coins with the stamp SC.

² Gold coin, in an open setting and loop. Cf. de Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. xvii. No. 265.

³ Mionnet, ii. 61, 68.

⁴ *Salus exercitus* (*ibid.*, 64).

⁵ The figure V. following this title appears to Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 430) to signify a fifth victory gained over the Germans. Another coin confirming this one bears IMP. V.

on the roads and rivers.¹ To show whence came this security, Postumus caused the Rhine to be represented tranquilly leaning upon his urn, with the symbols of peace, an anchor, a reed, and following with his gaze the peaceful current of his stream. The



The Rhine.³

legend was expressive: *Salus provinciarum*.²

In 262 Postumus celebrated the fifth year of his reign. Originally this solemnity had occurred only at the decennalia; but at the period of which we write a ruler esteemed himself fortunate if he had lived half that time, and five years was the *grande ævi spatium* which an emperor rarely exceeded.

Another distinguished general, Ingenuus, had been made emperor by the troops of Pannonia (258),⁴ and the population of



Coin of Macrianus.⁵

that province had pronounced with ardour in favour of the man who had many times repulsed or driven into the Danube the Goths and Sarmatians. Gallienus, however, defeated him near Mursa by a skilful manœuvre of one of the imperial lieutenants, Aureolus,

who with a furious cavalry charge broke the enemy's line. Ingenuus killed himself, or caused his attendant to kill him. The province was deluged with blood;⁶ it remembered this cruelty, and we shall see that Pannonia soon made a new emperor, Regalianus.

For the moment Gallienus, conqueror of the rebels of Pannonia and also of the Alemanni whom he had just now driven out of Italy, seemed in a position to wage successful war with

¹ This is probably the meaning of the two medals which bear the unusual legends: *Mercurio felici* and *Minerva faultrix*. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 445.)

² The bronzes of Postumus are very defective, but his gold pieces equal the finest of the preceding emperors, and his silver coins still contain a little pure metal, while those of Gallienus have none whatever. To judge by the pieces found in collections of buried money of this date, it appears that Gallic coin was not received in Italy nor the coins of Gallienus in Gaul. (Mommson, *Hist. de la Monn. rom.*, vol. ii. p. 124.)

³ The Rhine seated, leaning upon an urn and laying one hand on a vessel. Reverse of a copper coin of Postumus, with the legend: *SALVS PROVINCIA*.

⁴ Cf. *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 194 (Didot). It is possible that this revolt of Ingenuus was anterior to the Alemannic invasion of Italy.

⁵ IMP. C. FVL. MACRIANVS P. F. AVG. Radiate head of the emperor. On the reverse: *MARTI PROPVGNATORI* and the god Mars. (Coin of copper alloy.)

⁶ See the letter of Gallienus to Verianus Celer. (Treb. Pollio, *Ingen.*)

Postumus; but bad news came from Asia; Valerian was a captive, and Balista had induced Macrianus to assume the purple. This Macrianus,¹ a soldier of fortune, had risen from the lowest ranks in the army to the first positions of the state. His marriage and the liberality of Valerian, who trusted him, had made him rich enough to be able out of his private fortune to pay on the spot the *donativum* to the troops. He is represented by ecclesiastical writers as having employed magical arts to induce Valerian to undertake the great persecution of 258. The emperor was impelled thereto by reasons no more valid, but in his eyes more serious. Pagan authors, on their part, reproach him with having urged his master to that fatal conference whence the emperor never returned. These accusations, which emerge from obscurity, should be left there. Moreover, this man is not important, and his reign was very brief. He required, as a condition of accepting the Empire, that his two sons, Macrianus and Quietus, should be made Augusti. Egypt acknowledged him (260 or 261).



The Younger
Macrianus. (Gold
Coin.)



Quietus. (Medium
Bronze.)

Through the energy of Odenathus the East was delivered from the Persians; but it was needful to restore tranquillity to men's minds, discipline to the army, and a sense of security to the population. The task was one which might occupy a ruler during many years. Macrianus never thought of it at all; his design was to extend his power rather than to consolidate it. Leaving Quietus and Balista in Asia, he crossed over into Europe with his other son, Macrianus, and 30,000 men to overthrow Gallienus. He sent before him one of his generals, Piso, who was to rid him of Valens, the proconsul of Achaia, whose talents the newly-made emperor dreaded. Valens, feeling himself menaced, assumed the purple in Greece: it is said that Piso did the same in Thessaly,² where he took refuge; but these two aspirants had but few troops, and probably but little money, and they were to be placed between

¹ Fulvius Macrianus. See in Treb. Pollio (*Tyr. trig.*, 12) the curious appeal of Balista to Macrianus.

² The eulogium upon Piso, pronounced by the prince of the senate, and the *senatus-consultum* which decreed him a triumphal statue (Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 20), prevent us from believing that Piso assumed the purple.

the two immense armies of Macrianus and Gallienus ; their soldiers, therefore, killed them.¹

Aureolus had been rewarded for his services in defeating Ingenuus by the post of Master of the Cavalry and the government of the Illyrian provinces. He was the son of a Dacian shepherd : a new proof that the highest grades were recruited from a very low stratum. Being sent to arrest the Syrian invasion, he was easily successful ; a part of the army came over to him, and Macrianus perished with his son.² Thus the situation became simpler.



The Temple of Ephesus.⁴

At the news of this success, Odenathus besieged in Emesa Quietus, the second son of Macrianus, put him to death, and shortly after caused the assassination of Balista, the only man who could be an obstacle to himself.³ The Palmyrene remained sole master of the Roman East, and Gallienus and Postumus divided between them the West.

These domestic strifes were not adapted to arrest the incursions of the Goths and Sarmatians in Thrace and Asia. On the coast of Asia Minor they burned the famous temple of Ephesus, which, with its twenty-seven columns of precious marble, each sixty feet high, the sculptures of Scopas, and the gifts of kings and nations heaped up within its walls, was esteemed one of the wonders of the world.⁵ In Mœsia they took Nicopolis, which had arrested the advance of Kniva, and in Macedon they besieged Thessalonica, the key to that province. Their bands, increased by escaped slaves, many of whom were of barbaric origin, went as far as Greece, where they found small plunder and many mountains, which

¹ It is possible that Piso was killed by the emissaries or by the troops of Valens, who assumed the surname of *Thessalicus*. (*Ibid.*)

² In the ninth year of the reign of Gallienus, that is to say, before the 20th of August, 262, probably at the close of 261.

³ According to other accounts, Odenathus spared Balista, who lived in retirement on an estate which he possessed near Daphne.

⁴ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. The statue of Diana within the temple. (Reverse of a large bronze of Hadrian.)

⁵ The temple was 425 feet long and 220 wide. (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxvi. 21.) The Roman foot was 11·655 inches. [Cf. now the remarkable explorations and restoration of this temple in Mr. Wood's *Ephesus*.—*Ed.*]

rendered resistance easy, and they appear to have suffered a defeat there.¹ Jordanes speaks of the childish delight of the Goths when they found themselves at the foot of the Balkans, near the hot springs of Anchialos (262-3).²

Byzantium, the bulwark of the Empire in these regions, had a numerous garrison, which, without doubt on account of some delay in receiving pay, revolted and pillaged the city. Gallienus hastened thither, and, as his custom was, showed himself very severe in his punishment. He remained there some months to intimidate the barbarians who had reappeared in Cappadocia, and to restore the provinces to order, rebuilding the fortifications of many of the cities. At the same time he carried on negotiations with Odenathus, which resulted in his accepting the Arab chief as his colleague in the Empire (264). On his return to Rome he celebrated with all the magnificence that the precarious state of his finances permitted the tenth year of his sad reign.



Reverse of a Coin of Gallienus.³

In the spring of 264 he at last prepared to avenge his son and recover the Gallic provinces.⁴ It is said⁵ that he proposed to Postumus to decide their quarrel by single combat; to which the Gallic emperor replied that he was not a gladiator. Aureolus commanded the troops of Gallienus; he either would not, or could not, take advantage of a victory of some importance to overwhelm Postumus, and the war was protracted. Notwithstanding the defection of a general of the Italian Cæsar, Victorinus,⁶ who with several legions went over to the side of the Gallic Cæsar, and was by the latter associated with himself in the imperial power (265),⁷



Victorinus wearing the Radiate Crown. (Coin of Copper Alloy.)

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 5.

² The *aque calidæ* were fifteen miles to the north of this city, which stood on the shore of the Black Sea, and they had a great reputation, *inter reliqua totius mundi thermorum innumerabilium loca omnino præcipue ad sanitatem infirmorum efficacissimæ* (Jordanes, 20).

³ LEG. XXX. VLP(ia) VIP (*sextum pia*) VI F (*sextum fidelis*). Neptune standing. (Copper alloy.)

⁴ Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 238) believes that there had been hostilities between Gallienus and Postumus since the year 260.

⁵ *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 194.

⁶ At least the coins of Victorinus bear the names of legions that are known to have been in the army of Gallienus. (Cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 402 and 451.)

⁷ This is the well-authorized opinion of M. de Witte, *Revue de num.*, new series, vol. vi. 1861.

Postumus was obliged to take refuge in a fortified town, where the imperial troops besieged him. Gallienus was wounded with an arrow during the siege, and the wound, together with his



Victorinus crowned with Laurel.¹

disgust at the prolonged duration of the war, decided him to leave his expedition incomplete. He came back into Italy, leaving Aureolus to guard the Alpine passes, a precaution which proves that the expedition into Gaul had not ended well.



Reverse of a Gold Coin of Victorinus.²

Postumus, how-

ever, half victorious, half vanquished, lost in this war the prestige he had obtained in his successful encounters with the barbarians.



Lælianus crowned with Laurel. (Gold Coin.)

A competitor, Lælianus,³ appeared against him; he defeated this general, but having refused his troops the pillage of Mayence, the principal seat of the rebellion, a tumult broke out, in which he and his son were killed (267). The Germans took advantage of these disturbances to recommence their predatory expeditions, and burned several Gallic cities.

Lælianus, respited by the death of Postumus, obtained some advantages over them, attested by his coins,⁴ and rebuilt the forts on the right bank which they had destroyed. The soldiers, disgusted by the labours which he required of them, murdered him.

Victorinus had doubtless instigated this tragedy, which relieved him from a competitor; but another immediately came forward, Marius, formerly a blacksmith. The *Augustan History* assigns to

¹ Gold medallion in an open setting. (Collection of the Hague; J. de Witte, *Recherches*, etc., pl. xxvi. No. 24.)

² INDVLGENTIA AVG(usta). The emperor standing, assisting a kneeling figure to rise.

³ *Revue de num.*, vol. iv. 1859.

⁴ Cohen, v. 60. One coin of Lælianus represents Spain, where he certainly never was in command, but he included it in his government. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 449.)

this person only three 'days' reign, in order to say that on the first day he was made emperor, on the second he reigned, and on the third he was dethroned. It is probable, however, that the time was somewhat longer; an old comrade whose hand he would not touch, struck him with a sword which, as the story went, they had forged together.¹

Coin of Marius.⁴

The former colleague of Postumus, Victorinus,³ had remained during these catastrophes the emperor of the Gallic provinces. He was born of a rich family, and one of his kindred, Tetricus, governed Aquitaine. These ties of relationship consolidated his power, making him a national ruler in the eyes of the Gauls; and he appeared so formidable to Gallienus that the latter, instead of attacking him in Gaul, feared lest he should come to seek the empire of Italy as well. But habits of the grossest debauchery tarnished the merits of Victorinus, and he was assassinated at Cologne by one of his own officers whose wife he had outraged (268).⁵

The Emperor Marius.⁴

The true ruler during this reign had been Victorina, the

¹ We have coins and inscriptions of his which compel us to believe that his reign was not so short. De Boze (*Mém. de l'acad.*, xxvi. 512) gives him a reign of four or five months, from September or October, 267, to January or February, 268.

² IMP. C. MARIUS AVG., around the radiate head of the Gallic emperor. On the reverse, SAEC(uli) FELICITAS, and Felicity standing. (Coin of copper alloy.)

³ Marcus Piavonius Victorinus (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,548; Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 450).

⁴ Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France* (20 millimètres by 17), No. 2,105 of the Catalogue.

⁵ In the beginning of this year, and again in March, the senate begs Claudius to overthrow Tetricus. Coins of Victorinus have lately been found in England.

emperor's mother, a woman of masculine courage, the Zenobia of the West, who, by her largesses, exercised great influence over the army. The soldiers called her the "mother of the camps," and a medal (the authenticity, however, is doubtful) gives her the title of empress. If she did not take it, she at least disposed of it, causing the army to acknowledge Tetricus her kinsman,¹ a prudent man, whose shoulders the purple galled, and who wished to keep at a distance from camps, where rulers were made and unmade so quickly. He established himself at Bordeaux under the protection of the goddess Tutela; and we leave him, therefore, tranquilly awaiting Aurelian and the termination of an imperial power which he had not desired.



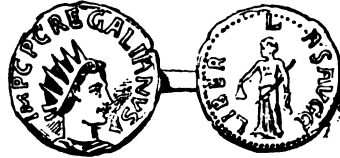
Altar of Tutela found at Bordeaux.²

A Dacian, Regalianus, believed to be a descendant of the famous Decebalus, had the government of Pannonia and Mœsia. He had shown himself an able general, and could boast of several victories over the Sarmatians. This was enough to determine soldiers and provincials to make emperor a man who gave to the former booty and to the latter security, especially while the memory of

¹ C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus (Borghesi, vol. vii. page 430, n. 4). He was proclaimed at Bordeaux before March, 268. De Witte, *Revue de numism.*, vol. vi. 1861, and *Recherches sur les empereurs qui ont régné dans les Gaules au troisième siècle*.

² This pedestal doubtless bore a statue of Tutela; the personified protecting power of the gods, a divinity much honoured at Bordeaux. The inscription is of the year 224. Cf. Ch. Robert, *Culte de Tutela*, in the *Mémoires de la Soc. arch. de Bordeaux*.

the cruelties of Gallienus in that province were still fresh in the minds of all. Regalianus was therefore invested with the purple. This was a reconstruction of the Pannonian kingdom, after the manner in which the Gallic and Oriental kingdoms had been re-established, and for the same reasons, namely, the defence of the territory committed to the worthiest, because the official emperor failed to make it secure. Regalianus came to a violent end, according to some, by a revolt among his own people;¹ according to others by an attack from Gallienus.

Coin of Regalianus.²

Seeing the Empire thus parcelled out, there was no man too insignificant not to desire to have his share. Of Antoninus, Memor, and Cecrops, we know only the names; of Saturninus we have only this saying to his soldiers: "Comrades, you lose a good general, and you make a worthless emperor;" of Celsus, this anecdote, that his partisans not finding the purple mantle indispensable for the consecration of an emperor, covered him with the robe of the *dea cælestis* of Carthage. The great goddess was scandalized no doubt at this impiety, for he was killed almost immediately. His body was thrown to the dogs, which devoured it, and his picture nailed to the cross on which criminals suffered, that the infamy of this unfortunate man might be made eternal who had reigned seven days.

Æmilianus Laurelled.
(Large Bronze.)

Æmilianus, on the banks of the Nile, enjoyed his ephemeral dignity a little while longer, until Gallienus, who had need of the Egyptian wheat, sent against him Theodotus, whose services and fidelity had already been proved in Gaul. Being defeated and taken prisoner, Æmilianus was strangled in his dungeon. Still further among the number of usurpers we find one Trebellianus, a chief of those Isaurian mountaineers whom Rome had never civilized or disciplined. A bandit by trade, a pirate, he took

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 10.

² IMP. C. P. C. REGALIANVS AVG.; radiate head of Regalianus. On the reverse: LIBER(α)L(it)AS AVG.; Liberty standing, holding a freedman's cap and a sceptre. (Silver coin.)

advantage of the universal disorganization to extend his predatory expeditions. A brother of Theodotus defeated and slew him. This is the perpetually recurring termination of all these



Æmilianus before his Accession (Probable).¹

narratives. Local patriotism was keen enough for men to yield to the desire of having a national chief; it was not persevering enough long to support these provincial emperors, who, owing their elevation to disorder and public calamity, became in their turn its victims. Revolts continued because they had begun, and men killed because they had killed.

One alone of these *parvenus* so quickly overthrown interests us—the king of Palmyra, founder of a half Arab state, who, if he could have established his power, would have

changed the face of the East. For this, it was needful that Odenathus should live, but, like all the rest, he was assassinated. We shall again refer to this murder and to this kingdom in the history of Aurelian.

What was Gallienus doing in the midst of these catastrophes? One of the old authors loads him with all maledictions;² another represents him working diligently to overcome the public misfortunes.³

¹ Bust of the Museum of Lyons. (Comarmond, *Descr. des Antiques*, etc., pl. 9, No. 152.)

² Treb. Pollio, in the *Augustan History*. This author wrote in the time of the Cæsar Constantius, a descendant of Claudius II. (*Gall.*, 14), and Claudius caused the murder of Gallienus. Pollio, therefore, regarded Gallienus as a criminal.

³ Zosimus, i. 30-45.

When news came of the defection of the Gauls and of Egypt, Pollio represents him as saying: "Can we not live, then, without Egyptian linen and tapestry?" At the same time, he was not destitute of courage; he loved poetry, eloquence, the arts; and he was on the point of giving Plotinus, at the request of the empress Salonina, a district in Campania (to be called Platonopolis), that the philosopher might try the experiment of Plato's Republic. But of what value are these mental endowments, the splendid and beautiful adornment of more prosperous reigns? At such a time as this the Empire needed, not a maker of Greek and Latin verses, but a soldier. Gallienus might have reigned as Aurelian, Probus, and Diocletian were to reign. If he did not do this, it was because of his incapacity, and we may leave him with his poor reputation.

In 267, Aureolus, once a Dacian shepherd,¹ but a brave soldier, the conqueror of Macrianus in Thrace, and the adversary of Postumus in Gaul, was left to guard with an army the passes of the western Alps against Victorinus, while Gallienus went to drive out of Illyria the barbarians who had unexpectedly appeared there. These invaders came from afar; from the sea of Azof had come 500 vessels, in which no strength was wasted, for they carried a multitude of warriors,² who at sea were rowers and on land were fighting men. They crossed the Bosphorus, the Propontis, and the Hellespont, killing and pillaging. When Mithridates besieged Cyzicus, four centuries earlier, that city had three arsenals filled with weapons, grain, machines of war, and, in its harbour, 200 galleys. Notwithstanding the many formidable warnings given these populations within the last thirty years, the Goths found no preparations for defence. They pillaged the city, and Lemnos and Scyros shared the same fate. The Peloponnesus and Epirus were ravaged, and one of their bands surprised Athens, whence the population fled. A monk of the twelfth century relates that the Goths having collected in a heap all the books found in the city, were about to give to the flames these products of a

¹ Zonaras, xii. 24.

² Gibbon says 15,000, taking for authority a text of Strabo, which allows from twenty-five to thirty men as a crew for the vessels of the Euxine. But we have no proof that, three centuries later than Strabo, these vessels were no larger.

civilization which they despised, when one of their chiefs deterred them: "Let us leave to the Greeks," he said, "these books which render them so effeminate and unwarlike." Montaigne¹ repeats this whim of the monk, and Rousseau quotes it after him. An Athenian, however, proved to them that a man could be both a scholar and a soldier: Cleodemos, says Zonaras, rallied the fugitives, armed a few vessels, and killed a great number of marauders; the rest fled.² Zonaras is wrong as to the author of this bold stroke: the last of the Athenian heroes was the historian Dexippos. The city having been taken by surprise, 2,000 Athenians took shelter on a wooded hill, and there resisted all attacks. Other Greeks gathered in this "camp of refuge;" successful sorties were made, and some imperial galleys coming up, destroyed the vessels of the barbarians. The latter were unmindful of the disaster, and made their way overland to their companions, who were pillaging the Peloponnesus and Bœotia; they entered Acarnania by way of Epirus, and formed the bold designs of returning home through Illyricum. This was the invasion which Gallienus set out to repel. He destroyed some of their bands, bought over others, and made one of their chiefs consul. We are tempted to believe that he put the consular toga upon the shoulders of this Herulan with the same feelings that we experience in giving a plumed hat to some negro king on the African coast. But the son-in-law of the Marcomanni, who was so much under the influence of Pipa, his young barbaric wife,³ wished to give this ceremony all possible official grandeur, and the fact is more important than it at first appears. We know already that the barbarians, admitted into the auxiliary troops, and then made citizens, now filled the legions. We now see them pass, without change, from barbarism to the consulship. The invasion was going on in the lower ranks; it will be seen also in the upper,⁴ and in consequence of this slow but continuous infiltration it was really completed on the day

¹ *Essais*, i. 24. This was the classic souvenir of the words quoted by Cicero in the *De Senectute*, 13, in speaking of the doctrines of Epicurus.

² Zonaras, xii. 26.

³ . . . *quam is perdit dilexerit*. To please her he covered his black locks with gold powder, and would have his friends do the same. *Gallienus cum suis semper flavo crinem condit* (Treb. Pollio, *Salon. Gall.*, 3).

⁴ See, p. 372, what lieutenants Valerian gave to Aurelian.

when it appears to begin with the furious attack of 405. For this reason all will go on declining for two centuries in this empire, still Roman on the surface, but in reality more and more permeated every day with Germanic elements.¹

While Gallienus was fighting in Illyria, Aureolus found the occasion propitious to stir up revolt in Italy and seize upon Rome. The emperor defeated him at Pontirolo (Pons Aureoli) upon the Adda, and held him besieged in Milan. But in the imperial camp, Aurelian, Heraclius, and Claudius, the most important generals in the army, conspired again the violent and feeble ruler under whom the Empire had fallen so low. One day, when at the news of a sortie attempted by Aureolus, Gallienus had flung himself unarmed upon a horse, a conspirator pierced him with an arrow (March 22, 268). His brother Valerianus was also killed; this young man was of amiable character and brilliant talents, and dying at an age when many hopes centred in him, left a much-loved memory. Claudius had ordered his death for reasons of state; but he erected to him a monument on which these words were engraven, wherein we seem to read a half-stifled regret: *Valerianus, imperator*.²

We have had opportunity to remark that the entire defence in this reign stops at the Danube and the Rhine; this signifies that the Decumatian lands and Dacia, where the early Empire kept barbarism in check, were lost.³ Nor were the Roman troops able any longer to guard the line of the two rivers, which armed bands incessantly crossed in the intervals of the great invasions, so that disquietude prevailed everywhere. It was a condition similar to that of France at the time of the Norman incursions. Consequently (as later was done in the beginning of feudal times and

¹ A medal of this year commemorates a naval victory over the Goths, who, returning from Asia laden with spoils, were scattered by a tempest upon the Euxine and later by a Roman flotilla. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 394, and Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 12.)

² Treb. Pollio, *Valeriani duo*, 8. He was the son of Valerian's second wife. Eckhel (vol. vii. pp. 427-435) believes that he was neither Cæsar nor Augustus, notwithstanding the positive assertion of Trebellius Pollio. The word *imperator* would be then merely the military title; but this title had for many years been given only to sovereigns. Zonaras says that a second son of Gallienus was put to death by order of the senate.

³ Aur. Victor, Eutropius, and Orosius (vii. 22) place the loss of Dacia in this reign. The series of coins of Odessus (near Varna), which begin with Trajan and end with Salonina, the wife of Gallienus, prove that this part of Moesia (where the Goths had destroyed Istria) was in process of being detached from the Empire.

for the same reasons) the provinces were covered with fortified castles, and the walls of cities were made strong again. Gallienus rebuilt those of Verona, the gate of Italy,¹ and employed two Byzantine engineers to fortify the towns of Mœsia;² Claudius II. later reconstructed the walls of Nicæa;³ Aurelian and Probus undoubtedly continued these defensive works; and, as the barbarians penetrated far into the provinces, the cities of the interior, as well as those of the frontiers, surrounded themselves with ramparts.⁴ The emperors of the first two centuries of the Christian era had not required so much prudence, for the reason that they had made the Empire one great city, peaceful and industrious, only needing to be protected by outposts, which good discipline rendered perfectly inaccessible. The two periods are characterized by their monuments; in one, the works of peace, strength, and security; in the other, the works of war, weakness, and alarm.

¹ Accordingly Verona took his name: *Colonia Augusta Verona Nova Gallieniana*, inscription over the gate of Verona, now called *de' Borsari*. (*C. I. L.*, v. 3,329.)

² Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 13: . . . *instaurandis urbibus muniendisque præfecit*. One of these engineers was named Athenæus, and we have, from an author of this name, in the *Mathematici veteres*, 1603, a treatise on machines of war.

³ Letronne, *Journal des Savants*, 1827.

⁴ See above, p. 391.

THIRTEENTH PERIOD.

THE ILLYRIAN EMPERORS : THE EMPIRE STRENGTHENED.

CHAPTER XCVII.

CLAUDIUS AND AURELIAN (268-275 A.D.).

I.—CLAUDIUS II. (268-270); THE FIRST INVASION REPULSED.

THE conspirators of the camp of Milan resembled in nothing the prætorians who had formerly put the Empire up to auction. They were valiant soldiers, determined to put an end to the disgrace of Rome by the re-establishment of discipline and a vigorous prosecution of the war against the barbarians. They selected for emperor the man who seemed to them most experienced, and who was the most conspicuous, Claudius the Dalmatian.¹ The flatterers of Constantius Chlorus, his grand-nephew, gave him for ancestor the Trojan Dardanus; but he had made his own rank. Decius had declared him indispensable to the state; Valerian held him in high esteem, and Gallienus dreaded his judgment.

Under Valerian, Claudius had held the government of Illyricum and the command of the troops posted from the Alps to the Euxine, with the appointment of prefect of Egypt, the honours of the proconsul of Africa, and a suite as numerous as that

¹ Marcus Aurelius Claudius. Trebellius Pollio (*in Claudio*, ?) gives him the *nomen gentilicium* of Flavius, which passed to all his posterity. Zosimus and Zonaras say that he was a member of the conspiracy, and this is doubtless the fact, although Julian, his kinsman, denies it. He had two brothers, Quintillus, of whom we shall speak later, and Crispus, whose daughter Claudia, married to Eutropius, was the mother of Constantius Chlorus.

of the emperor;¹ in which we see that the luxury of Oriental courts had invaded that of Rome, and was transforming, even in these times of disaster, the simple *comitatus* of the early proconsuls into a royal state ruinous to the public finances. The weakness of Gallienus irritated him; something of this came to the emperor's ears, who made haste to write to one of his officers a humble



Gold Bracelet adorned with a Coin of Claudius Gothicus.²

letter, in which is revealed the miserable condition of these Augusti, who knew neither how to command nor how to make themselves obeyed:

"I learn with the deepest regret by your report that Claudius, our kinsman and friend, is greatly offended with me on account of rumours, mostly untrue, which have been brought him. I beg you, my dear Venustus, if you are willing to show me your devotion, that you will employ Gratus and Herennianus to appease

him. But let it all be done secretly, least the Dacian soldiers, already discontented, should proceed to some dangerous extremity. I send him presents; get him to receive them courteously; but let him not suspect that I know his sentiments towards me, for if he believed me to have cause of resentment against him he might take violent action."³

¹ *Salarii quantum habet Ægypti præfectura, tantum vestium quantum proconsulatus Africano detulimus, tantum argenti quantum accipit curator Illyrici* (Trebellianus Pollio, *Claud.*, 15).

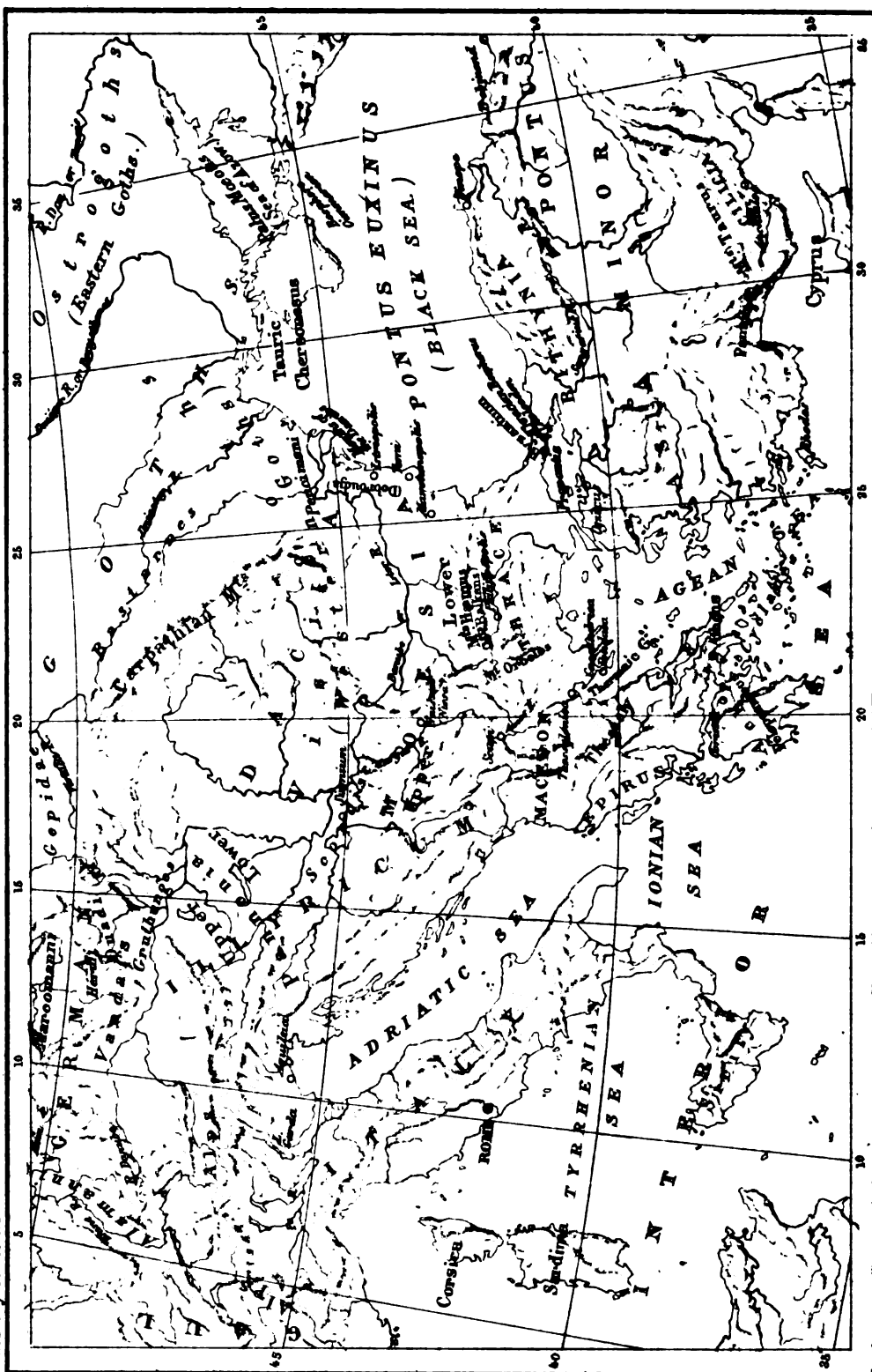
² Cabinet of Vienna. Cf. Arneth, *Gold und Silb.*, pl. vi. 11. This bracelet (about twice the size of the figure) bears four coins enmeshed: Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, Gordian III., and Claudius II., and proves, like the collar of Naix and many aurei which we have already given, the taste of the Romans for jewels of this kind.

³ These gifts, which the emperor enumerates in his letter, were as follows: "Two cups of three pounds weight, adorned with precious stones; two gold cups of three pounds, enriched with gems; a basin of chased silver of twenty pounds; a silver dish with chasing of vine leaves of thirty pounds; another great silver dish with ivy leaves of twenty-three pounds; a silver basin of twenty pounds weight, whereon is engraved a fish; two silver pitchers inlaid with gold of six pounds weight, and some small silver vases, weighing collectively twenty-five pounds; ten Egyptian cups of divers workmanship; two cloaks of brilliant colour with purple borders; sixteen garments of various kinds; a white tunic, half silk; a linen garment with silk bands embroidered with gold, of the weight of three ounces; three pairs of our boots of Persian leather; ten Dalmatian belts; a Dardanian chlamys in the form of a mantle; an Illyrian cloak for bad

MAP FOR THE GOTHIC INVASIONS In the Time of DECIVS, CLAUDIUS II and VALERIAN.

History of Rome.

Vol. VI.



London & Kingston



Gallienus hoped to pay his ransom in this way; but probably Claudius only despised him the more for it. When the conspirators had proclaimed him emperor, the soldiers showed some discontent, in order to make their price higher. Twenty pieces of gold distributed to each man removed all scruples. They declared Gallienus a tyrant; and the senate, with more genuine eagerness, did the same. They ordered off to the Gemoniæ the servants of the man who disliked any trace of patriotism in the senators,¹ and it is related that in the curia itself one of the officers of the treasury had his eyes put out,² a shameful cruelty, announcing the degenerate days of the later Empire. Claudius put a stop to these executions, and the Conscript Fathers, repenting, placed Gallienus among the *divi*, which was equivalent to the maintenance of his acts.

When they heard of the election of Claudius they confirmed it by those repeated acclamations which seem to us so contrary to senatorial gravity, but were at that time a surprise to no one: "Augustus Claudius, the gods grant you to our prayers (repeated sixty times); Claudius Augustus, it is you, or a ruler resembling you, whom we have ever desired (forty times); Claudius Augustus, the wishes of the state call you to the throne (forty times); Claudius Augustus, you are the model of brothers, fathers, friends, senators, and rulers (eighty times); Claudius Augustus, deliver us from Aureolus (five times); Claudius Augustus, deliver us from the Palmyrenes (five times); Claudius Augustus, deliver us from Zenobia and Victorina (seven times); Claudius Augustus, may Tetricus be nought (seven times)."³

Claudius, in fact, found himself in the presence of three adversaries. With better judgment than the senate possessed, he neglected two of them who were far away at the extremities of the Empire, rapidly disposed of the third, whom a judgment of the soldiers condemned to death, and occupied himself with preparing for a great war against the barbarians. "The matter of Tetricus,"

weather; an over-garment with a hood; two furred hoods; four pieces of Phœnician stuffs; 150 gold Valerians and 300 *trientes saloninienses*."

¹ See p. 335.

² . . . *patronoque fisci in curiam perducto effossos oculos pependisse satis constat* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 33).

³ Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 4.

he said to the senate, "concerns myself only, that of the Goths is of importance to the state."¹

For the last thirty years these barbarians had been ravaging the Roman frontiers; when booty became rare, they formed the idea of establishing themselves as a nation in the interior of the Empire, whose climate they knew to be milder than that of the Scythian plains, where extremes of cold and heat made life hard. Messengers were sent from the banks of the Dniester to those of the Morava (March); councils were held among the Tervingæ or Eastern Goths, among the Gepidæ, the Heruli, the Peucinii, and a vast coalition was formed to second the invasion of the Eastern Goths by a series of attacks upon the middle Danube. The Scordisci, of Celtic origin, entered the league; the Alemanni and their neighbours, the Juthungi,² doubtless informed as to these projects, promised themselves to derive advantage from them in their raids into the rich valley of the Po. They even were the first to be ready; and, without waiting for their allies, they rushed through the defiles of the Alps, which they had often before traversed, and came down in the year 268 upon the shores of the Lago di Garda (Benacus). Claudius met them there with an army which he had already been able to discipline thoroughly to his authority, and half of the barbarians fell under the sword of the legionaries. It was a good omen for the more serious strife to come.

During the winter of 268 the hatchet rung incessantly through the Sarmatian forests; the felled trees were rolled to the river banks, and in the spring these streams were covered with 2,000 vessels,³ whereon tried warriors were embarked. The horde itself, consisting of 320,000 fighting men,⁴ not to mention the

¹ He, however, took some precautions to close Italy against the Gallic emperor, and to threaten his provinces. An inscription recently discovered at Grenoble gives Claudius the title of *Germanicus Maximus*, which he took after his victories over the Alemanni, and reveals a fact unknown to the historians, namely, his making ready for a campaign against Tetricus. This inscription is engraved at the base of a statue raised to Claudius by an army corps posted in Narbonensis, in which were some of the imperial guard, *protectores*, and whose commander was the *perfectissimus*, Julius Placidianus, prefect of the watch. (L. Renier, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, July 18th, 1879.)

² Amm. Marcellinus (xvii. 6) says of the Juthungi: *Alemannorum pars*.

³ Zosimus (i. 42) says 6,000.

⁴ This is the statement of Claudius in his letter to the senate.

women and children and slaves, set out on its march westward with innumerable flocks,¹ and great wagons which were made to



Roman Trooper treading a German under his Horse's Feet.²

serve as protection to their camps.³ The army and the fleet

¹ The barbarians were accustomed to be followed by their flocks to secure their subsistence. We read in the *Augustan History* that, under Valerian, that is to say, before the great invasion, Aurelian took from some bands in Thrace oxen and horses enough to supply the province, and that he was able also to send to one of the emperor's villas 2,000 cows, 1,000 mares, 10,000 sheep, and 15,000 goats. This was the booty to be obtained from the barbarians. Accordingly, Treb. Pollio (*Claud.*, 9) exclaims, after the emperor's great victory: *Quid boum barbarorum nostri videre majores, quid ovium, quid equorum?*

² Monument found near Zahlbach. (Museum of Mayence.) The barbarian is recognizable by his long hair and his curved sword. (L. Stracke, *op. cit.*, p. 59.)

³ This use was so well known to the Romans that they invented a new word to express

followed the coast, keeping at some distance from it, the former to avoid the marshes which the sluggish rivers in this region leave at their mouths, the latter on account of the shoals which the alluvial deposits form to a considerable distance.¹ The Danube was crossed by aid of the vessels, and a few days' march brought the Goths in sight of Tomi. Preceding invasions had made clear to all the cities in this region the necessity of reconstructing their walls and putting themselves in a state of defence. Tomi closed its gates; the inhabitants manned their walls, and the Goths were not in a condition to effect a breach. Being unable to delay



Coin of Tomi.²

in these plains of the Dobroudja, where it is so difficult to live, they set out towards the Balkans in the direction of Marcianopolis (18 miles eastward of Varna). This city, built by Trajan, was worthy of its founder, and stood firm against all attacks.

The barbarians then conceived a skilful design: they separated, and the fleet sailed towards the Propontis, threatened Byzantium and Cyzicus, and then, notwithstanding a tempest which cost it a great loss of men and vessels, reached the peninsula of Athos, where those embarked on the vessels again separated. Part of them besieged Cassandrea, the ancient Potidæa, and the great city of Thessalonica, to open a way into Macedon. The others ravaged Greece, the Cyclades, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the storm, losing its strength as it went on, at last died away on the shores of Pamphylia.

While the noise of these raids kept in the south of the Empire the Roman forces which were in the neighbourhood of the Ægean Sea, the principal attack was made on the north: the Goths traversed Mœsia and arrived in the valley of the

it . . . *facta carragine* (Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 13, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 7). The Goths before the battle of Adrianople, Attila after the battle of Châlons, inclosed themselves within a wall made of their wagons, and the emigrants upon the plains in the territories of the United States do the same at this day.

¹ Whatever may have been the number of vessels, the fleet could not have carried the entire army, and the history of this invasion is incomprehensible, unless we admit that there was both a land and sea force.

² Bust of Tomi. On the reverse: TOMI TIMO and an eagle within an oak wreath. (Bronze coin.)

Margus (the Morava of the south), being well aware that they could not establish themselves peacefully on the right bank of the Danube until after they had destroyed the imperial army. Never, since the Gauls and Hannibal, had Rome been in so great danger. Claudius wrote to the senate: "I must tell you the truth, Conscript Fathers: 300,000 barbarians have invaded Roman territory. If I am successful, you will acknowledge that we have deserved well of our country. If I am not victorious, remember whom I follow. The state is exhausted, and we fight after Valerian, after Ingenuus, after Regalianus, after Lælianus, after Postumus, after Celsus, after many others whom the contempt inspired by Gallienus detached from the state. We are deficient in bucklers and swords and javelins. Tetricus is master of the Gallic and Spanish provinces, which are the strength of the Empire, and, I am ashamed to say it, our archers are all serving under Zenobia. Whatever little we may do, our successes will be as great as you have a right to expect."¹



Quintillus, Brother
of Claudius II.
(Small Bronze.)

Claudius acted with discretion. He did not advance directly upon this enormous mass. Leaving his brother Quintillus at the head of a considerable army in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, to keep secure this gate into Italy, he himself traversed Illyria, entered Macedon by the pass of Scupi, and halted in the upper valley of the Axios. He thus placed himself between the fleet of the Goths and their land army. Protected against the latter by Mount Orbelos, he could by the Axios, which falls into the extremity of the Thermaic gulf, keep watch over that side. If the siege-machines, which the barbarians had caused to be constructed by Roman fugitives, should overcome the resistance of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, the emperor was able to hinder the victors from passing over into Macedon and effecting a junction with their brethren. This position permitted him therefore to wait his time for striking a decisive blow.

But the Goths were not able to storm a well-defended city, and they had not the patience to reduce it by famine.² At the

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 7.

² To preserve the memory of the brave resistance made by Thessalonica, a bronze medal was struck in honour of the god Cabirus, *Deo Cabiro*, the protecting divinity of the city, who

news of the approach of Claudius they marched boldly to meet him; Aurelian, whom the emperor had appointed chief of the cavalry, arrested them by an engagement in which the Dalmatian horse distinguished themselves. Three thousand Goths were killed, many more were taken prisoners, and Claudius, now set free to move



Goths (Men, Women, and Children) led into Slavery.¹

northward by the discomfiture of the southern enemy, went across the mountains in search of the great army in the valley of the Margus. The battle took place near Naïssus (Nissa); it was long and sanguinary. A corps, which was able to advance through an unguarded road, turned the enemy's flank, and fell upon their rear. This movement was fatal to the barbarians: 50,000 remained upon field (269),² and the others, cut off from the valley of the

doubtless came thither from Samothrace, the sanctuary of the Cabiri. (Cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 472.)

¹ Bas-relief from a sarcophagus of the third century. (Vatican.)

² We have medals of Claudius of this year which represent him with the radiate crown. (Cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 471.)

Danube, fell in scattered bands upon Macedon and Thrace. The legions separated to pursue them; the war was broken into fragments, and it became impossible to repeat the blow struck at Naïssus. From time to time the barbarians halted behind the wall of their wagons, a movable fortification, whence more than



Roman Auxiliary Horseman. (Museum of Mayence.)

once they made successful sorties against those of the Romans who ventured in too small force into their neighbourhood. Nevertheless, wasted by continual attacks, by hunger, and by disease, they perished in multitudes. A somewhat numerous troop succeeded in taking refuge in the Balkans. The Romans followed them thither, and occupied all means of egress from the mountain, where during the severe winter provisions were lacking, and to complete their destruction Claudius entered the defiles and put them to the sword (270).

The emperor prepared his bulletin of victory with an emphasis not unpardonable : " We have destroyed 120,000 Goths, and sunk 2,000 vessels. The water of the river is concealed under the bucklers that it bears along with it, the banks under broken swords and lances, the fields under the bones of the dead. The roads are all choked with the enormous baggage they have left behind them." ¹

The imperial fleet had also been successful in destroying what remained of the vessels that had come from the Dniester; ² so that, of this vast multitude, but very few returned to the regions they had left a year before so full of hope and courage. Those who had not perished were sent to cultivate as slaves or colonists the lands of the conquerors, and their wives were distributed among the Roman soldiers. A certain number of their young men were enrolled in the cohorts, and others sent to Rome to fight in the amphitheatres. The capital doubtless was not the only city honoured with " a present of gladiators." Claudius would naturally grant the same favour to many ; all Italy might see serving its pleasures those Goths who, during an entire generation, had inspired it with so much alarm. ⁴



Reverse of a Coin
of Claudius II.,
bearing: IV-
VENTVS AVG.
(Small Bronze.) ³

This immense drain upon the Gothic nation was to secure a century of repose to Mœsia. ⁵ But the ruler who had repulsed this first and formidable invasion fell amid his triumph. A pestilence had aided him in setting free the provinces, but it carried him off at Sirmium (April, 270). He was but fifty-four, and his strong maturity promised the Empire a reparatory reign, for he loved justice, he desired discipline, and he was of those who knew how to maintain it. In the midst of the ambitious surnames which so many emperors have received—some for real, but more

¹ *Epistola ad Jun. Brocchum Illyricum tuentem* (Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 8).

² Zonaras, xii. 26.

³ This coin, with the effigy of Hercules, makes allusion to the green old age of the emperor, as Virgil says (*Æneid*, vi. 304):

Jam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.

⁴ Treb. Pollio (*Claud.*, 8-9): . . . *impletæ barbaris servis Romanæ provinciæ: factus colonus ex Gotho, nec ulla fuit regio quæ Gothum servum non haberet.* He speaks also of immense droves of oxen and sheep and *equarum quas fama nobilitat Celticarum.* (Cf. Zosimus, i. 46.)

⁵ . . . *pulsi per longa sæcula siluerunt immobiles* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 5).

for problematic victories—history should give most honourable mention to that of Claudius Gothicus. The nations long remembered him. Under Constantine, Eumenes still said: “Why did he not longer remain the protector of men and become later the companion of the gods?”¹

At news of the death of Claudius the legions of Aquileia proclaimed his brother, M. Aurelius Quintillus, whom the senate hastened to recognize. The soldiers of Pannonia, however, had made a better choice in naming Aurelian,² whom, according to some accounts, Claudius himself had designated as his successor. Such was the fame of this general that his rival did not even attempt to contend against him. After a reign of three weeks, according to some, of several months according to others,⁴ Quintillus killed himself, or was put to death by soldiers whom his severity had incensed.



Quintillus.³

II.—AURELIAN (270–275).⁵

“After the ceremonies of the festival of Cybele,” says Vopiscus, “the prefect of the city, Junius Tiberianus, took me in his chariot from the Palatine to the gardens of Varus, and we talked, among other things, of the history of the emperors. When we came to the temple of the Sun dedicated by Aurelian, Tiberianus, who was attached to the family of this emperor, asked me if any one had written his life: ‘Certain Greeks have done it,’ I said; ‘but no Latins.’ ‘What!’ exclaimed this upright man,⁶ ‘a Thersites, a Sinon, and all the monsters of antiquity are known to us, posterity will also know them, and Aurelian, this valiant emperor who has restored its world to Rome, will be to our descendants a stranger!’

¹ *Panegy. Constantini*, 2.

² This is the statement of Zonaras; Zosimus does not give Aurelian the imperial dignity until after the death of Quintillus.

³ IMP. C. M. AVR. CL. QVINTILLVS AVG. around the radiate head of the Augustus. (Bronze coin.)

⁴ This is the statement of Zosimus. The number of coins of Quintillus that we possess (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 478; Cohen, vol. v. pp. 112–120) compel us to adopt the second opinion, which, moreover, agrees better with the early facts of Aurelian's reign.

⁵ L. Domitius Aurelianus.

⁶ Vopiscus says (*Aur.*, 1) *sanctus*, using the word in its ancient sense.

Meanwhile we have his *Ephemerides* in which he ordered to be registered his acts day by day.¹ I will cause these books, which are in the Ulpian library, to be given you, that you may represent Aurelian as he really was.'"



Bust of Cybele.³

These were rich materials which the highest magistrate of Rome offered to the historian. Vopiscus, a man of small mind and little literary skill, knew not how to avail himself of them. But the official documents which he drew from the archives are in many ways interesting; we have used some of them already and shall use others hereafter.

Claudius had destroyed the great Gothic army, with the exception of some few bands which had found shelter here and there among the mountains, and later reappeared for a moment in the neighbourhood of Anchialos and Nicopolis, where the country people proved strong enough to disperse them.²

But, following the plan marked out, there was to be a second invasion from Pannonia; the Vandals, the Juthungi, and the Alemanni were in motion. To arrest these new assailants, Claudius had turned northward and

¹ *Ephemeridas . . . libris linteis (ibid.)*. The scene related in this passage has been placed about 201, or sixteen years after the death of Aurelian. Junius Tiberianus in this year held his second consulship, but not the urban prefecture. Many passages in chaps. xlii. and xliii. prove that Vopiscus wrote his book after the accession of Constantius Chlorus (305). The father of Vopiscus had been among the intimate friends of Diocletian, and we have seen that the son was the companion of the urban prefect. These relations with the highest society in Rome placed him in a position to take advantage of the reminiscences of Aurelian's early companions in arms; but his feeble literary merit proves that this society was not very exacting in respect to mental gifts.

² This fact explains certain medals of Quintillus.

³ Roman work of the first century, found near Abbeville. (Marble in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,018.)

encamped his troops at Sirmium, a strong place not far from the point where the Save falls into the Danube, and the defensive centre of the entire region.

Aurelian was at this spot when the death of Claudius gave him the Empire. He was born in 214,¹ in the environs of Sirmium, the son of a colonist of the senator Aurelius, whose name, according to usage, had been assumed by his freedman, and the latter had charge of a little farm belonging to his patron.² His mother had been a priestess of the Sun in the village where she dwelt, and he always preserved a special veneration for that divinity. We know his courage, his exploits, and the high offices which he had filled. Loaded with honours by Valerian, he had been, at the suggestion of that emperor, adopted as son or son-in-law by Ulpius Crinitus, one of the great personages of the Empire, who claimed to belong to the family of Trajan; and the son of a Pannonian peasant became the heir to the household gods, the name, and the wealth of the most illustrious house in Rome.³

Very severe as to discipline, very exacting for the service, Aurelian however exercised great sway over the troops, for the reason that they had often seen their general fighting like a common soldier, a circumstance which, in the ancient wars, added great prestige to a chief. There was talk of many enemies whom he had slain, and he was known in the camps as "the iron-handed Aurelian."⁴ Being the bravest, it was permitted him to be the most severe. A soldier had offered insult to the wife of the man with whom he was quartered: Aurelian ordered him to be bound

¹ Malalas (xii. p. 301) makes him sixty-one years of age at the time of his death, and consequently born in 214; Tillemont and Wietersheim place his birth in 212. The *Alexandrian Chronicle* makes him seventy-five at his death; but the facts of his reign, medals, and other considerations do not permit us to attribute to him this advanced age.

² *Colonus*, says the author of the *Epitome*, 35.

³ Vopiscus speaks, following documents which he gives as official, of a formal adoption; but as Aurelian did not take the name of Ulpius Crinitus, which he would have done according to usage had he been adopted, we feel obliged to doubt the authenticity of the act. On the other hand, both inscriptions (Orelli, Nos. 1,032 and 5,552) and coins (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 487) give him as a wife Ulpia Severina. If this Ulpia was the daughter of Crinitus, the marriage would have secured to Aurelian the same advantages as an adoption, while had he been the adopted son of Ulpius Crinitus he could not have married her who had thus become legally his sister. Many ancient rules had, however, fallen into desuetude, and it is possible that both the adoption and the marriage did take place.

⁴ This is rather a mediæval equivalent than an exact translation of the Latin: *manu ad ferrum* (*Aur.*, 6), "Aurelian, sword in hand."

between two trees bent together, which tore him asunder as they sprung back into their place. On one occasion he wrote to an officer: "If you desire to be a tribune, if you wish even to live, restrain the soldier. Let no man steal a fowl or a sheep, or so much as a bunch of grapes, or demand oil, salt, or wood. Each must be content with his rations: what the state provides is enough; booty must be taken from the enemy, and must not cost tears to the provinces. See to it that weapons, clothing, and shoes are always in good condition; the pack-horses well groomed, the company's mule¹ cared for by each soldier in his turn, and all the forage used, so that none be sold. See that the soldiers be attended gratuitously by the surgeons, and prevent them from wasting their money in taverns or upon soothsayers; require them to conduct themselves decently in quarters, and let brawlers be beaten." Septimius Severus had been wont to speak thus, and this firmness had given him an illustrious reign; it had the same results in the case of Aurelian.

Like the great African, Aurelian was a man of strict morality and disdainful of pleasure; like him also, Aurelian did not hasten to receive the foolish acclamations of the senate. He defeated the Juthungi who threatened Rætia, and regulated the affairs of this frontier, which occupied several months. When he at last made the journey to Rome, he spoke haughtily in the senate: "I have gold for my friends," he said; "and I have steel for my foes."² It will soon be seen that these foes were not always on the frontiers. To have no cause to fear in Italy the old troops of Quintillus, he had returned from Pannonia well attended. The Juthungi and Vandals deemed the occasion propitious to invade that province. Aurelian returned thither in all haste, sending before him the order to collect the grain and cattle within the fortresses. The shock was severe, and the victory indecisive. When night came, however, the enemy fell back; and Aurelian was able to cut off their route to the Danube. Menaced by famine in a desolated country, the barbarians opened negotiations. Their envoys concealed fear under a show of arrogance, and the emperor postponed their

¹ *Mulum centuriatum*, the ordinance mule.

² There exists uncertainty in regard to the order of events in the first months of Aurelian's reign. I have followed the account which seems to harmonize best with the known facts.

audience until the following day. He then received them seated upon his tribunal surrounded by a threatening military display; on each side, his principal officers on horseback: behind him, the



Aurelian. (Bust of the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 122.)

golden eagles of the legions, the effigies of the emperors, the silver pikes which bore in gilt letters the names of the different corps; then the army, as if ready to engage, ranged in a semi-circle upon an eminence which brought it into full view.¹ Less

¹ Ἡ δὲ σύμπαντα ἀνατεταμένα προῦφαινετο . . . (Dexippos, *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, iii. p. 682; Peter Patricius, *Excerpta de legationibus*, p. 126).

skilful in concealing their feelings than were the Indians of North America, the Juthungi stood for awhile abashed in the presence of this imposing spectacle; but their audacity soon returned to them: "We do not ask peace as those who have been conquered," said their interpreter, "but as former friends of the Romans, and as men who know that a battle lost by a surprise may be followed by a victory. Our nation alone numbers 40,000 cavalry and twice as many foot; and Italy, which we have almost completely overrun, knows well our valour. In alliance with us you will have no enemy to fear; give us, therefore, the usual presents, the subsidies that we were receiving before the war, and let peace be made." Dexippos, who relates the scene, is a contemporary, but he puts in the mouth of Aurelian a very lengthy reply; we shall give only the concluding words: "Since you have violated the treaties and pillaged our territory, you have no right to ask any favours, and it is your place to accept the conqueror's law. You know what became of the 300,000 Goths who invaded the Empire; the same fate awaits you. It is my intention to cross the Danube and punish you in your own homes for your broken faith." The Juthungi, at last intimidated, promised to return into their country. A few months later came another invasion of the Vandals and the Jazyges, and another victory on the part of Aurelian, who, to render their retreat more speedy, gave them provisions. They gave up as hostages the sons of their chiefs, and 2,000 cavaliers, who were included among the auxiliaries of the legions.¹ Aurelian, making a sacrifice on his part which must have cost his pride a pang, although it cost the Empire nothing, ceded Dacia to them, offering lands on the south of the Danube to those Roman colonists who were unwilling longer to remain in the province. This relinquishment was necessary, for Dacia, overrun from both sides and invaded to its very centre, was no longer tenable. If there yet remained Romans in the province, and there were enough certainly to form a brave and noble population, there remained no Roman administration except in Transylvania, where a few cohorts defended doubtless the gold

¹ Five hundred, who had spread themselves abroad in order to plunder, were massacred by the commandant of the auxiliaries, and the Vandal king had their chief shot by his bowmen. (*Ibid.*, p. 686.)

mines of that country, which had been worked by the Romans for a century and a half. To produce the impression that nothing had been lost a new Dacia was constructed out of a part of Mœsia, and the name of Trajan's conquest remained on the official list of



Roman Cavalier. (Museum of Naples.)

the provinces. But, instead of the Dacia of the mountains, a fortress which would have been impregnable if it had been possible to close its gates on the lower Danube, it was the Dacia of the shore, *Dacia Ripensis*,¹ which no longer protected anything. At last the god Terminus fell back. For a victor the condition was

¹ Between Upper and Lower Mœsia. It was at first called *Dacia Aureliani* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 39); it was afterwards divided into *Dacia Ripensis*, with the capital Ratiaria (Arzar Palanka), and *Dacia Mediterranea*, with the capital Sardica (Triaditza). Dexippos does not mention (at least in the fragments which remain to us) the abandonment of Dacia, and the narrative of Eutropius (ix. 15) gives us no means of fixing the date of this event, which comes naturally after the double treaty with the Juthungi and the Vandals.

hard; Aurelian seems to have felt the need of protecting himself by the consent of his troops, as representatives of the Roman people. At least he consulted the army on the question of peace with the Vandals,¹ and the withdrawal of the Dacian garrisons must have been the tacitly accepted consequence of the terms of a treaty which the army approved. In the state of the Empire and of the barbaric world the Danube appeared to be the best frontier, and the great successes of Claudius, and those even of Aurelian, prove that if the river by no means forbade invaders a passage, it at least made their return difficult.

We shall not, as easily as the emperor, say adieu to this valiant Roman population of Trajan Dacia. Worthy of its origin, and of him who gave it its first cities, it played in the Carpathians the rôle of Pelagius and his companions in the Asturias; braving all invasions from the height of this impregnable fortress; regaining foot by foot, as the waves retreated towards the west and south, the lost ground, and reconstituting, after sixteen centuries of fighting, a new Italy, *Tzarea Roumanesca*, whose advent into the rank of free nations is saluted by all the peoples of the Latin race.²

Aurelian had resigned himself to this blot upon his name on account of a fresh invasion of Italy by the Alemanni and Juthungi. In the hope of exterminating the horde or capturing it wholly, he proposed to imitate the plan of Claudius at Naïssus, namely, to have an attack made from the front upon the invaders by the larger part of the Roman army in the plain of the Po, while he himself, the prætorians, and auxiliaries, should cut off their retreat. This division of the forces occasioned a disaster. The barbarians emerging in the evening from dense woods in which they had concealed themselves, surprised near Placentia the Romans, who were not keeping careful watch. Many of the legionaries perished, and a part of Cisalpine Gaul fell a prey to the most frightful devastation. From the Alps to the Straits of Messina

¹ Dexippos (*Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 685): . . . ἐρομένου βασιλέως, ὅ τι σφίσι περὶ τῶν παρόντων λόγων εἶναι δοκεῖ.

² I cannot accept the opinion of Roesler (*Dacier und Rumänen*, Wien, 1866), which makes the Wallachians return into Dacia in the beginning of the thirteenth century, any more than that which maintains that among these millions of men who speak a language of Latin derivation there are not numerous descendants of Trajan's colonists.

there was a moment of terror as lately there had been in the peninsula of the Balkans at the approach of the great Gothic army.

To calm these terrors recourse was had to religious expiations. Aurelian, who knew what good use could be made, in leading the crowd, of the intervention of the gods and all the paraphernalia of old superstitions, wrote to the senate the following letter, which the urban prætor read aloud in the curia: "I am surprised, revered Fathers, that you have so long delayed to open the Sibylline books; you conduct yourselves like men met in a church of Christians rather than in a temple of the gods. Act, now at least, and by the sacredness of pontiffs and the solemnities of religion, aid the ruler who is in a position of such difficulty. It is never a disgrace to have the assistance of the gods in conquering an enemy. It is thus that our ancestors undertook and terminated so many wars."

Before the arrival of this letter a similar proposition had been made in the senate, but the sceptical and the emperor's courtiers had turned it into ridicule, averring that Aurelian stood in need of no supernatural assistance. The imperial message, however, changed these sentiments, and the first senator who was called upon by the consul in charge reproached the Conscript Fathers with being so inconsiderate in regard to the safety of the state, and so slow in having recourse to the books of destiny and taking advantage of the favours of Apollo.¹ "Go then," he said, "holy pontiffs, you who are pure, irreproachable, and sacred; go in sacred attire and in a pious frame of mind; go up to the temple and prepare there seats wreathed with laurel; open with your respected hands the books of religion; seek therein the eternal destinies of the state; teach to children whose parents are living the hymn which they are to sing. We will decide upon the expense necessary for this ceremony; we will order the preparations for the sacrifices and fix the day for the lustration of the fields."² (Session of January 10th, 271.)

The city was solemnly purified, sacred hymns were sung, a



Aurelian crowned
with Laurel.
(Gold Coin.)

¹ The Sibylline oracles were believed to have been inspired by Apollo.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 19.

procession went through the streets; lastly, sacrifices were offered in places indicated by the sacred books to prevent the barbarians from passing over them.¹ Vopiscus does not say that these expiations were human sacrifices; but Aurelian had offered captives of every nation,² and this could have been no other than the ancient custom of burying alive men whose offended shades would arrest

the march of their compatriots.



Hercules killing Diomedes.³

At the same time that Aurelian took measures to propitiate the gods, he also prepared his campaign against the barbarians. The latter, who entered upon war rather for the sake of plunder than of gaining territory, had divided in order to extend their depredations. They seem to have advanced as far as the Metaurus, which would announce an intention of marching upon Rome, the supreme ambition of all

these marauders. At least, there exists an inscription⁴ in which the cities of Pesaro and Fano return thanks to "Hercules Augustus, colleague of the invincible Aurelian," doubtless for some exploit of war achieved in their neighbourhood. Aurelian pursued these bands, destroying them one after another; near Pavia he encountered the main body of the barbarian army, and inflicted upon it a great defeat. And again of these invaders but few ever

¹ *In certis locis sacrificia fierent quæ barbari transire non possent* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 18).

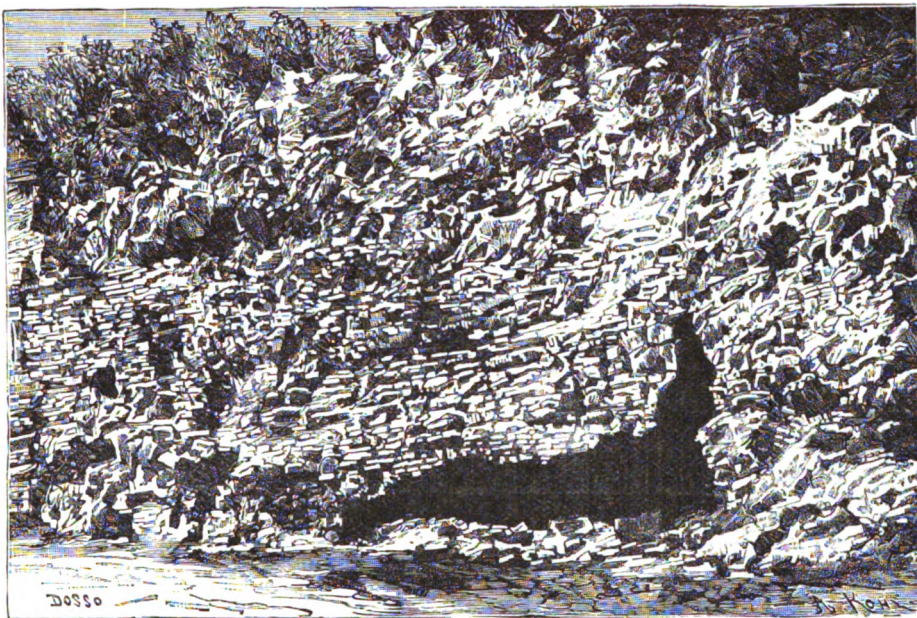
² *cujuslibet gentis captos* (*ibid.*, 20).

³ Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France* (cornelian of 19 millim. by 15), No. 1,771 of the Catalogue.

⁴ Orelli, Nos. 1,031 and 1,535.

again beheld the paternal hut concealed in the vast forests of the Neckar and the Main.

What went on at Rome during this campaign? No doubt there was much ridicule of the Pannonian who suffered the sovereign people to experience so great anxiety. It is possible that his statues may have been overthrown, and some of his people or his soldiers slain. Certain it is there were great riots,



Remains of Aurelian's Wall. (From a Photograph by Parker.)

for Vopiscus speaks of violent seditions.¹ The valiant soldier who had passed his life fighting for the Empire regarded this tumult as treasonable, and severely punished those who were guilty, and even senators were put to death.²

Long ago, Rome, in the security which her fortune and her sway gave her, had gone beyond her boundaries, and the wall of Servius was disappearing under the houses and gardens which covered the vast embankment and the base of the *agger*.³ The enemy approaching, Aurelian resolved to return to the precautions

¹ *Romam petit vindictæ cupidus, quam seditionum asperitas suggerebat* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 18 and 21; cf. Amm. Marcellinus, xxx. 8).

² Zosimus speaks of conspiracies and of conspirators justly punished, among whom he mentions three senators.

³ Accordingly Zosimus says (i. 19) of the Rome of that day that it was *ἀντιχώρα*.

of earlier days. It was a humiliating but necessary avowal. He gave Rome a second wall outside of the first, which was completed by Probus; this was about eleven miles in circumference (271).¹ This new line of fortifications is further marked by the wall of Honorius, so called because of the repairs made by that emperor.

The barbarians being repulsed, and Rome placed in safety from a sudden attack, Aurelian turned his attention to the two competitors who kept the eastern and western parts of the Empire outside of his control, Zenobia and Tetricus. The latter was the nearer, but he appeared the less dangerous of the two, and Aurelian had private reasons for feeling no dread of him;² the emperor therefore made his first attack upon the queen of Palmyra.

Odenathus, victorious over Sapor, whose capital he had twice insulted by planting his arrows in the gates of Ctesiphon, had been invested by Gallienus with the command of all the Roman forces in the East, and had even been associated in the Empire. He was making ready to deliver Asia Minor from the Goths, when, in 266-7, he fell a victim to one of those tragedies so frequent in the royal houses of the East.³ One day, in a royal hunt, his nephew Mæonios shot the first arrow and killed the game. It was contrary to etiquette, which reserved this to the king, and Odenathus angrily reproved the young man. Mæonios paid no attention to the reproof. Ambition to be considered the most skilful hunter in the desert took away all prudence from him; twice again his arrows anticipated those of the king. The insult was public; Odenathus deprived him of his horse, which was equivalent to depriving him of his rank, and when the violent youth broke forth in threats he caused him to be thrown into prison. Being set free at the entreaty of Herodes, the king's eldest son, the Arab cherished in his heart a bitter animosity,

¹ I follow Piale's correction (*delle Mura Aureliane*), which, in the text of Vopiscus (*Aur.*, 39), *quingenta prope millia*, understands *pedum* and not *passuum*; 50,000 Roman feet making about eleven miles.

² Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 456) thinks even that the negotiation of which we shall shortly speak had been begun under Claudius. Coins exist in which are represented Claudius and Tetricus, one on either side. (De Boze, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxvi. p. 515.)

³ The date of the death of Odenathus is determined by the Alexandrian coins; it occurred between the 29th of August, 266, and the 28th of August, 267.

and, with the aid of some accomplices, assassinated, during a banquet, both Odenathus and Herodes.¹

Zenobia had shared in the power and in the labours of her husband.² She claimed descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, which made her the woman of highest rank in the East; she was called also the most beautiful, and she was the most virtuous.³ Ambition and love of fame had stifled in her the vices which the harem nourishes. She knew all the languages spoken from Palmyra to Athens and from Athens to Memphis, even Latin;⁴ she read Homer and Plato; with Longinus—whose claims as author of the treatise on the Sublime are questionable, but who knew how to die bravely—she discussed questions of philosophy and literature, with the famous archbishop of Antioch, Paulus of Samosata, questions of theology; and she gave her two elder sons such able instructors that it was said of one of them, Timolaos, that had he lived longer he would have placed his name with those of the great Latin orators. The desert had, like Athens and Rome, its academy of learned men; but Palmyra had not all the tastes of the western world, for we find there no trace of those amphitheatres which all truly Roman cities made haste to build.



Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, wearing the Diadem. (Small Bronze.)

Zenobia accompanied her husband in war and the chase; she aided him in conquering the Persians and essayed without him to conquer Egypt. Some accuse her of having been in the conspiracy which cost the Cæsar of Palmyra his life; but we have reason to doubt this. She had a son by a former marriage, to whom Herodes barred the way to power, and whom the latter's death would make heir to the kingdom. Doubtless the mother thought of this: it may be she hoped for it; but to share in a plot against Odenathus would have been to conspire against herself. Mæonios

¹ Zonaras, xii. 24.

² M. de Vogüé (*Inscr. sem.*, p. 29) translates the Semitic name of Zenobia, Batzebinah, by *mercatoris filia*. But it may also be said that Zenobia is a Greek name, which the queen assumed on account of her kinship with the Zenobios, who were very numerous at Palmyra, and also to gratify her Greek subjects.

³ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 30. This author adds that Zenobia had read a history of Rome written in Greek, doubtless that of Dion Cassius, and that she had composed an abstract of the history of Alexander and of the East.

had assassinated his uncle through revenge, and with the design of taking his place, not of leaving it to Zenobia; neither had it been necessary to urge him to rid himself of Herodes, whom Odenathus had associated with himself in the supreme power;¹ the first crime had made the second necessary, and we admit that the young prince's step-mother must have seen without regret this death, which freed her son from a rival. The tragedy being accomplished, she aroused against the murderer the very soldiers who had proclaimed him king, and who now, doubtless for a little money, laid his head at Zenobia's feet, after which they saluted



Waballath
Augustus, Son of
Zenobia.
(Bronze.)

her eldest son, Waballath, with the title of Augustus and the two others as Cæsar.² She presented them to the people and to the army clad in the Roman purple, while she kept for herself the real power with the title *basilissa*, queen, equivalent doubtless in the minds of the Palmyrenes to the title of *augusta*.

In the midst of the confusion which had prevailed for nearly forty years, no one was surprised at all these Cæsars emerging from an Arab city. But what did seem strange was this—to see these children of the desert who had always held women in subjection, thus quietly accepting the sway of this firm and gentle hand. The East, it is true, had so many goddesses reigning in heaven that it might easily, without too great a sacrifice, allow women to reign upon earth,³ and its legends always spoke of Semiramis, the mighty sovereign of Babylon; of Dido, the renowned Carthaginian; and of that Queen of Sheba who had wished to look upon the glory of Solomon, the founder of Tadmor. Zenobia took pleasure in remembering Cleopatra, whom she equalled in beauty and in power, but whose masculine resolution at the last hour she did not, perhaps, possess.⁴ Her court

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 14, 15.

² The Latin legend of the coins of Waballath is V. C. R. I. D. R., which M. de Sallet reads: *vir consularis, rex, imperator, dux Romanorum*. At Palmyra he did, in fact, bear the title of king, and in Lower Egypt was called βασιλεύς, king. In the fifth year of his reign (August 29th, 270, to August 28th, 271) he took the title of Augustus.

³ The great goddess of Byblos was considered superior in power to the male gods, her father and brothers, for example. (Halévy, *Inscr. de Byblos*, a paper read before the Academy of Inscriptions [Paris], May 3rd, 1878.)

⁴ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 30. We say perhaps, for Cleopatra had the opportunity for

was modelled after that of the emperors, with Oriental adulations borrowed from Persia, which Diocletian later imitated, and the diadem which he assumed. With bare arms and helmeted head she harangued her troops in a loud and musical voice, going along with them, usually on horseback, but sometimes even on foot, and shared in the prolonged banquetings of her generals, though never forgetting her rank and dignity. Aurelian does her justice: "Those who say," he writes, "that I have only conquered a woman, have no idea what this woman was, how wise in council, resolute in carrying out her plans, firm with her soldiers, and, according to the situation, peaceable or severe. Through her aid Odenathus conquered the Per-

Zenobia.¹

sians, and through fear of her arms, the Arabs, the Saracens, and the Armenians have been kept in tranquillity."²

Zenobia was a formidable adversary. She had formed the design of adding to her territory in the East two countries which would be its outposts and bulwarks: Egypt, whither she sent an

suicide, which Zenobia, who was very carefully guarded, probably did not have. (See later.)

¹ Bust of the Vatican. (Museo Chiaramonti, No. 263.)

² Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 30.

army which seized Alexandria, and Asia Minor, whose peoples "knew not how to say no," accepted her sway. The Bithynians alone refused, and this refusal compromised the whole plan; for Bithynia, lying between the Propontis and the Bosphorus, was the great highway for armies passing from Europe into Asia, and this highway remained open to Aurelian.

The Egyptian affair began brilliantly. The historian Zosimus speaks of an army of 70,000 men which seized upon the country, or at least upon the northern provinces.

A general of the name of Probus¹ had been sent against the pirates, who, taking advantage of the disorders produced by the great Gothic invasion, were now infesting the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria; he landed with



Waballath and Aurelian.⁴

what troops he had in the Delta, where the Palmyrenes had left only a garrison of 5,000 men, increased his small army by some volunteers, and would have got the better of Zenobia's troops, when he was surprised near Memphis. Falling into the enemy's hands he took his own life,³ and the queen remained mistress of Lower Egypt.

Alexandrian coins bear the heads of Aurelian and Zenobia's son, as if they had been colleagues, and the latest of them, belonging to the seventh year of the reign of Waballath, show that this situation lasted till into the year 272.⁴

¹ Or Probatius (Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 11).

² VABALATHVS V. C. R. IM. D. R., and the laurelled head of Zenobia's son. On the reverse: IMP. C. AVRELIANVS AVG., and the radiate head of Aurelian. (Bronze coin.)

³ . . . pugnarit . . . temere ut pæne caperetur (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 9). Zonaras says even that he was taken . . . Ζηνοβίαν . . . Πρόξον ἐλοῦσαν (xii. 27). According to M. de Sallet (*die Fürsten von Palmyra*, p. 44), Probus was an usurper who attempted to seize Egypt while Claudius was fighting against the Goths; Zenobia overthrew him, after which the Egyptians acknowledged the authority of the *imperator Romanus*, that is to say, Waballath swearing fidelity to the Roman Augustus, Claudius. In respect to this individual we have followed the story of Zosimus, who seems to have been well-informed as to the affairs of the Palmyrenes. (See Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 595.)

⁴ Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 496. So long as Zenobia ruled Egypt in the name of Claudius, the name of this emperor appears alone on the Alexandrian coins; upon the death of Claudius she caused to be struck, in Alexandria, coins bearing the effigy of Aurelian and that of Waballath, and also others with the head of Aurelian alone. After the rupture, in 271-2, the head of Aurelian disappears from the Alexandrian coins, and the name of Waballath is followed by the title *αἰεσις*, Augustus. (De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 32.)



Ancyra (Angora), from Perrot's *Explor. archéol. de la Galatie*, etc.

In the spring of this year Aurelian left Italy with a numerous army for the purpose of regulating the affairs of Asia. On the way he set free Illyria, Thrace, and Moesia from the Gothic bands who still lingered there or had returned thither; he pursued one of them across the Danube, and compelled them to give him as hostages a number of young girls of noble family, whom he placed at Perinthus. He wrote to the legate of Thrace to furnish for their maintenance a certain sum, but to keep them in communities of seven, so that the expense to the state should be less while the young girls should be able to live in comfort. We have seen¹ how these hostages served the imperial policy: one of them, we are told, married a Roman general, and doubtless others did the same, and the emperor furnished the dowry.

In Bithynia Aurelian was welcomed as a liberator; hostilities began with the Galatians, where it was necessary to take Ancyra by storm. One of the chief cities of Cappadocia, Tyana, which covered the Cilician pass into Mount Taurus, would have made a long resistance if one of its richest citizens had not indicated an ill-fortified and ill-guarded point. Aurelian put the traitor to death, without, however, confiscating his property, a virtue rare among the monarchs of that time. The soldiers expected to plunder this wealthy city, but Aurelian forbade them to do it. Apollonius of Tyana still had his admirers; the biographer of Aurelian is one of them, and he maintains that an apparition of the hero prevented the emperor from destroying that city. Policy counselled this moderation, and Aurelian understood that in those troublous times indulgence was due to those who did not know on which side the right lay and where obedience was due.² When he gave out that Apollonius had prohibited the sack of his native city, the soldiery, who might have refused obedience to their emperor, dared not refuse it to "the divine man," and a well-told lie saved a great city.

The passes of the Taurus were not at all guarded,³ and the

¹ p. 372.

² See later the amnesty that he granted.

³ The Taurus, or *Bulghar-Dagh*, has, on this side, peaks which rise to a height of 11,500 feet, but the pass is only 3,170 feet. Thence, by way of Adana and Mopsuestia, Aurelian could reach the road which crossed a spur of the Amanus (*Pylæ Amanides*), then turn at Alexandretta to the point where the Amanus, which runs parallel to the coast at a height of about 6,560 feet,

legions came down into Cilicia, turned the Gulf of Issus, and arriving at the Syrian Gates saw beneath them the Lake of Antioch, the city itself luxuriously reposing on the bank of the



The Passes of Mount Amanus.

Orontes, and Daphne, the sanctuary of licentious rites. Zenobia was there with a portion of her cavalry. An action, which does not seem to have been very sanguinary,¹ gave the city into the

leaves between it and the sea only those two famous defiles called the Cilician and the Syrian Gates, at 2,825 and 2,950 feet above the sea. (See in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr.*, January, 1878, the map of Messrs. Favre and Mandrot.)

¹ . . . *brevi apud Dafnem certamine* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 25). Zosimus (i. 51) represents it as more severe; but it was only a cavalry engagement and a skirmish of outposts.

power of the Romans; they entered it, while the Palmyrenes fell back towards Chalcis. Aurelian continued his system of clemency. Many inhabitants of Antioch, fearing that they should be treated as partisans of the 'queen, had escaped from the city with the Arab army, but a proclamation guaranteed them life and property, and almost all returned.

In another affair which has been made very conspicuous he showed the same spirit of conciliation. Paul of Samosata enjoyed at Antioch both the office of bishop and that of *procurator duce-narius*, or steward of Zenobia's finances. The city contained many Jews and Christians; among the latter were men who, while accepting the Gospel, rejected the divinity of Christ, or at least understood it otherwise than the Church did. According to them, Jesus was but a man in whom the Spirit of God, the *Logos*, resided as formerly in Moses and the Prophets.¹ They recognized the union of the Divine Word with humanity in Christ, and acknowledged that he deserved to be called God. But this attempt at a rational explanation ruined the doctrine of God made man, and diminished the religious fruitfulness of Christianity. Paul thought as they did. In 264 his faith had already become an object of suspicion; at the same time a numerous synod of bishops, priests, and deacons, assembled to examine into his views, had found them not heretical. Five years later his adversaries convoked another assembly, whither came seventy-six bishops, and he was cut off from the Church. A synodal letter addressed "to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, to all the bishops, priests, and deacons forming the Church under the heavens," announced to them the deposition of the bishop of Antioch. Paul, supported by Zenobia, however, did not relinquish the episcopal throne. The case was brought before Aurelian, who, with a good sense which we must admire, refused to give a decision, and still less to call to mind in these circumstances that there existed imperial edicts against the Christians. "These concern bishops," he said; "let him retain the episcopal palace with whom the bishops of Rome and Italy are in fellowship." The brother of Seneca, the tribune at Jerusalem, had also made answer on the subject of S. Paul, accused

¹ At the same time admitting his miraculous birth, *ἐκ παθόντων*. (S. Athan., *Contra Apollin.*, i. 3.)

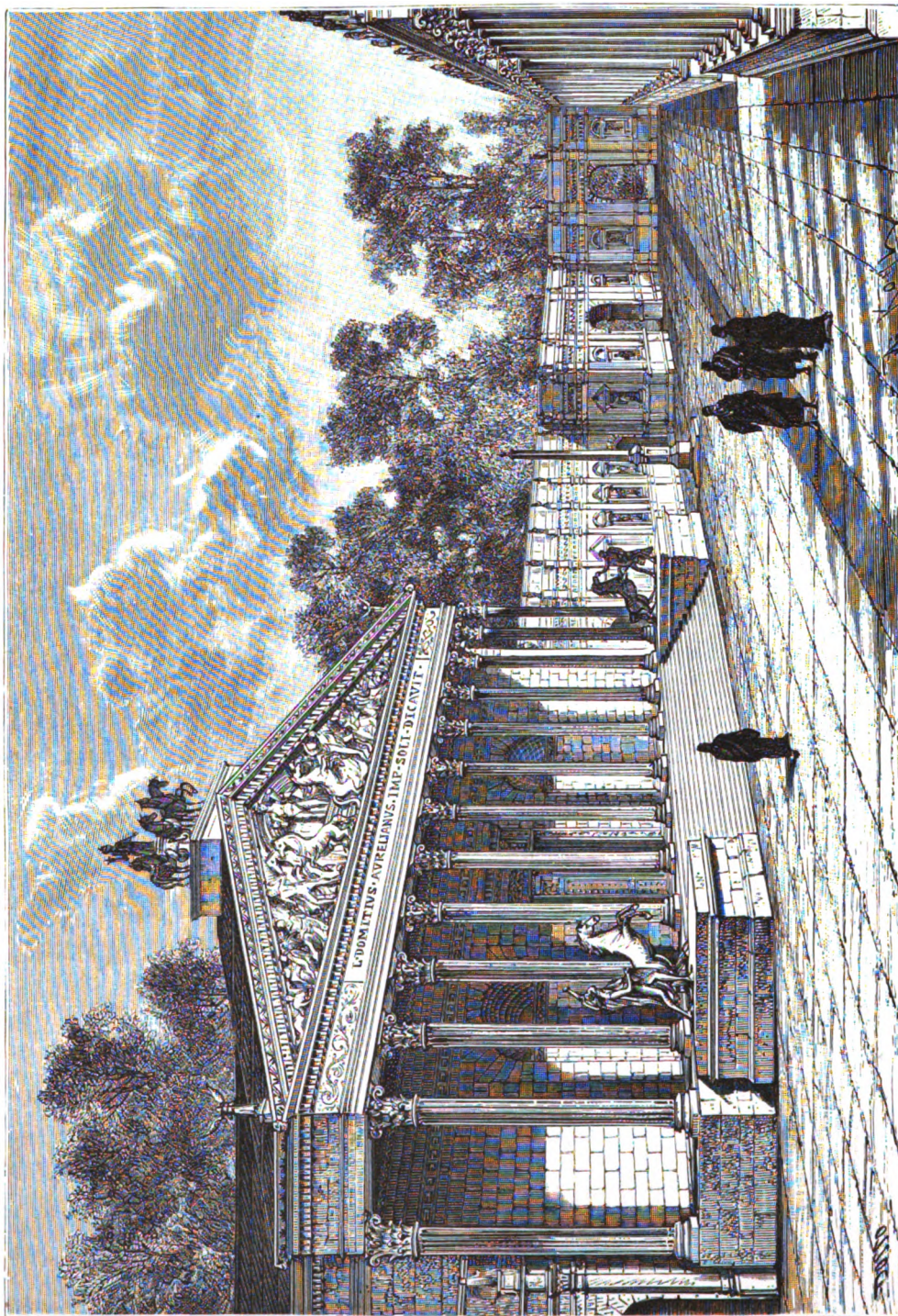
by the Jews: "I am not a judge of these matters."¹ The brave and honest soldier whose history we write had discovered for himself this admirable truth, which so many emperors have despised and still despise.² He at once reaped the fruit of it. The bishop's friends had been, like Paul himself, the queen's partisans; Aurelian punished them indirectly, and at the same time he conciliated the Christian community, numerous in that great city.

An attempt has been made to see in the response of the emperor an acknowledgment of the primacy of the Roman See. It was natural that Aurelian, having to decide a point of doctrine between Christians, should address himself to the metropolitan bishops, and should constitute the heads of the Christian communities of Italy arbitrators of the dispute, without attaching other importance to the affair. His judgment, nevertheless, constituted an extremely useful precedent for the pontifical authority.

Affairs being regulated at Antioch, Aurelian set out in pursuit of the enemy. He came up with their rear-guard not far from Chalcis, and dislodged it from a height where it had been posted. The Palmyrenes made no further halt till they came under the walls of Emesa; here Zenobia had gathered 70,000 men, resting on a securely fortified place, and having in front of them a wide plain suited for cavalry movements. The battle this time was desperate. In the one army, the ancient renown of Rome, in the other, the new fame of Palmyra, fired the hearts of all. For a moment Aurelian had reason to fear that his soldiers might give way before the shock; his cavalry was almost destroyed, but a vigorous charge, which he led in person against the centre of the too extended line of the enemy, decided the victory. It had been so dearly bought, however, that the Romans were not in a condition to pursue the vanquished. In the heat of the combat Aurelian had vowed a temple to the Sun, and it was related afterwards that the god himself had been seen in the midst of the legions, restoring their disordered lines. The Sun was the great divinity of Palmyra, he had therefore abandoned his people;

¹ See vol. iv. p. 57.

² Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 27 and 29. The synodal letter is quoted by Eusebius. It contains, as was customary, many recriminations, true or false, against the bishop on the subject of his morals. Hefele (*Conciliengeschichte*, vol. i. 109-117) enumerates three synods of Antioch on this affair, but he is unable to give the date of the second, and we do not mention it.



The Temple of the Sun at Rome. Restoration by Gerhard, *École des Beaux-Arts*.)

but the gods are always on the side of the heavy battalions, and, with a sentiment made up both of pride and humility, the victors took pleasure in transforming into divine assistance the aid which they had found in their own courage.¹

In a council of war held by Zenobia at Emesa it had been decided to fall back upon Palmyra. It was confidently believed that the heavy Roman army could not traverse "the thirsty land," or at least that it would live there with difficulty, exposed as it would be to attacks from the nomads. The "Syrian robbers," as Vopiscus calls them, did, in fact, much harm to the Romans, but did not hinder them from arriving before the desert capital. It was surrounded by a deep moat and a wall covered with innumerable machines of war, which sent off an incessant shower of arrows, darts, and flames.² The emperor had not expected a defence so determined. On arriving in sight of the city, he wrote to the queen: "Aurelian, emperor of the Roman world, and conqueror of the East, to Zenobia and those who are engaged in her cause. You ought to have done willingly that which I order in this letter. I command you to surrender, and I promise to spare your lives. You, Zenobia, will withdraw with your family into a place which I shall indicate to you, by the advice of the honourable senate. You will surrender to the Roman treasury all that you possess of precious stones, gold, silver, silk, horses, and camels. The Palmyrenes will preserve their rights."³

The reply was no less proud: "Zenobia, queen of the East. No person has ever dared to demand what your letter asks. You wish me to surrender myself, as if you did not know that queen Cleopatra preferred to die rather than owe her life to a master. I am momentarily expecting assistance from the Persians; the Saracens and Armenians are on my side. The Syrian robbers have defeated your army, Aurelian; what then will be the case when we have received the reinforcements which are coming to us from all sides? You will then cease this proud tone with which you demand my submission, as if your arms were everywhere victorious."⁴

¹ See in Zosimus (i. 57-8) the numerous oracles made to speak in all the temples of Syria.

² Doubtless employing the bitumen with which the region abounds.

³ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

After this interchange of haughty language it only remained to storm the city or to reduce it by famine. The Roman army invested the place. Zenobia counted on Persia, but Persia had changed rulers three times in as many years, amidst conspiracies of the nobles and religious quarrels agitating the people. Sapor, the conqueror of Valerian, had died in 271. His son Hormisdas, devoted to peace, reigned fourteen months, and his successor, Bahram Varanes, less than four years. Of Hormisdas is related an anecdote worthy of the *Arabian Nights*. Being suspected of entering into some conspiracy with the satraps, who were dis-



Coin of Bahram or Varahran I.¹

contented at the protracted duration of Sapor's reign (thirty years), the prince cut off his hand and sent it to his father as a sign of his fidelity. It was contrary to custom that a person in any way mutilated should succeed to the throne,

but Sapor, to honour his son's heroism, bequeathed to him the royal authority. This legend has preserved to us the memory of Hormisdas: at Ram Hoormuz, which he built, the Persians still show an orange tree which is said to have been planted by him, and is an object of veneration to them.²

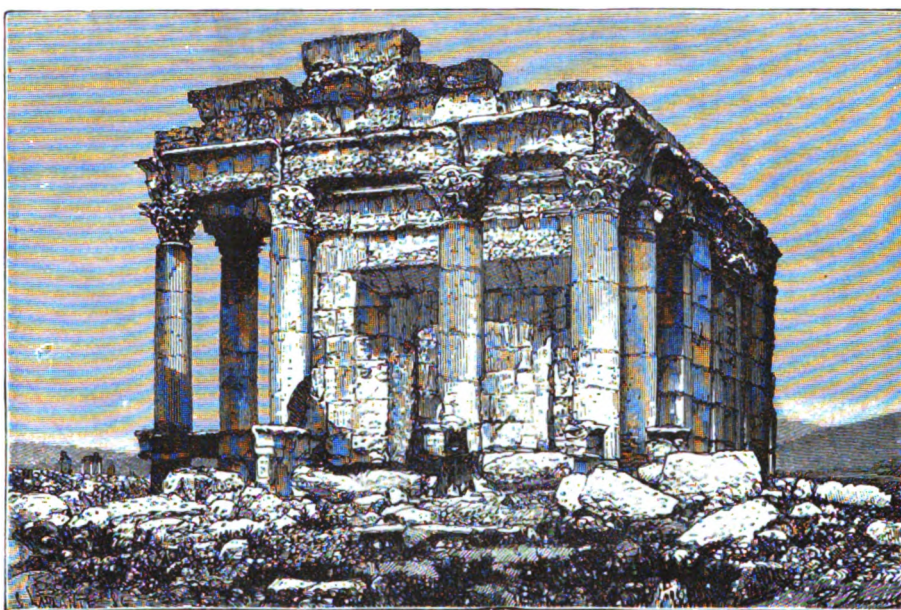
Bahram was on the Persian throne when Aurelian appeared before Palmyra. But the kingdom was agitated by the preaching of Manes, who sought to blend in one the religions of Christ and of Zoroaster. The people, and even the court, were divided between the old and the new doctrines. Sapor had banished the sectary; Hormisdas favoured him. The magi, anxious for their authority, succeeded in re-establishing their influence over the mind of Bahram, who condemned Manes to be flayed alive, and was shortly after himself assassinated by a partisan of the reformer. This double tragedy came later than the siege of Palmyra; but these domestic dissensions explain the reserved attitude of those

¹ Legend: *The worshipper of Ormuzd, the excellent Varahran, king of kings, of Iran and Turan, celestial germ of the gods*, around the head of the king. On the reverse: *The divine Varahran*; in the centre, a pyre; on the left, Varahran, standing; at the right, another figure. (Silver coin.)

² Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 100.

who had but recently held a Roman emperor in captivity. They contented themselves with sending some slight reinforcements to Palmyra, which were, however, intercepted on the way. In respect to Armenia, we have already indicated the reasons which made the friendship of Rome indispensable; as for the Arabs and the Saracens, they were either bought or intimidated, and but little gold and little strength was needed for either.

Zenobia, then, stood alone. When she knew that she could no longer count on those whom she believed her allies, and when



Ruins of the Temple of Diana at Palmyra.

she saw her provisions rapidly decreasing, she resolved to escape to the Persians and endeavour to persuade them to make a vigorous effort while her warriors still held out. Mounted on a rapid dromedary, she made her way to the Euphrates, and was nearly at its bank when the horsemen who had been sent in her pursuit came up with her. This sad news caused great confusion in Palmyra. Some were disposed to prolong the defence, but the larger number threw down their arms and opened the gates. Aurelian made no change in the terms he had offered at first; he treated the city with mildness, left it in undisturbed possession of its rights, and contented himself with taking the treasures of Zenobia.

Returning to Emesa, where, from the resources of a rich province the troops could compensate themselves for the privations they had lately suffered, the emperor constituted a tribunal to judge Zenobia and her ministers. In her first interview with Aurelian, she asserted herself as proudly as ever. "How dared

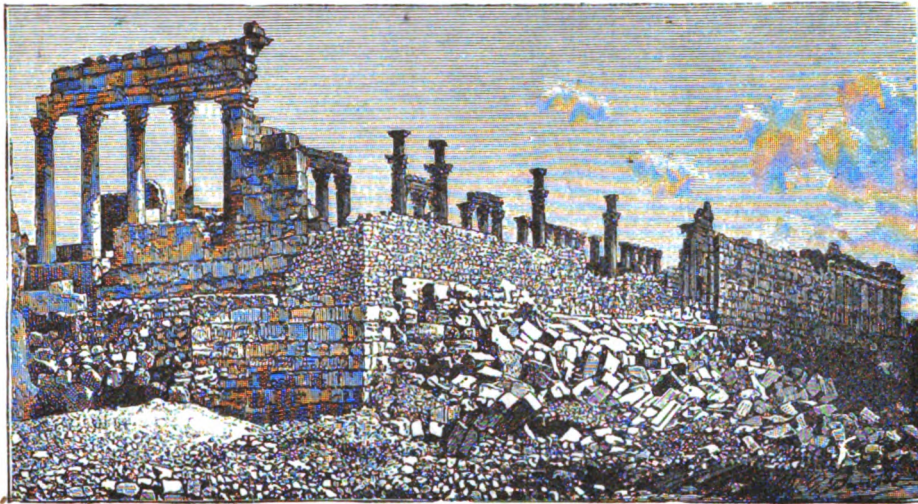


Gate of Zenobia's Palace. (Actual Condition.)

you," he said, "insult the majesty of the Roman emperors?" And she replied: "I acknowledge you as an emperor, since you are able to conquer; but the Gallieni, the Aureoli, and the rest, were not emperors." The compliment was not excessive. It is said, however, that before the tribunal she basely threw upon her councillors the responsibility of the war. This is probably a calumny of the victors or a clever invention of Aurelian. The soldiers were eager for blood, and he had determined not to put

the queen to death, for he proposed to have this second Cleopatra as an ornament to his triumph. The judges made it their plan to find only the ministers guilty, and these persons were put to death, among them Longinus, who met his fate with the serenity of a sage (273).

The fall of the queen of the East produced a great impression; and the desertion of all her allies proved the fear which the resuscitated Empire inspired. Aurelian therefore had quitted Syria with a mind freed from anxiety, and had traversed Asia



Ruins of the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra.

Minor, and even a portion of Thrace, when the news came to him that the Palmyrenes were again in arms, that the Roman garrison and its commander Sandarion had been murdered, and that, finally, one Antiochus had been proclaimed emperor.¹ Palmyra had not been willing to submit to falling back from her rank as an imperial city to the condition of a mere trading mart. She had for a moment drunk of the cup of grandeur, and was intoxicated by it still, and in her dreams there returned perpetually the image of her caravan leaders made Roman Cæsars. The act of folly which she had just now committed was cruelly expiated. Aurelian's anger was terrible; his severity in Rome had been already manifested, and at Palmyra, as he had been more clement,

¹ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 31 : cf. Zosimus, i. 60-61.

he was now even more pitiless. We know nothing of the expedition to which he committed his vengeance, but a letter shows that it was, as it were, the execution of an entire people. "Aurelian Augustus to Ceionius Bassus. Let the soldiers use their swords no longer: enough Palmyrenes have been killed. We have not even



The Dragon Bearer.
(Bas-relief of the Trajan Column.)

spared mothers; we have slain children and old men, and put to death the inhabitants of the country. To whom shall we now leave the country and the city? It is proper to spare the few who remain, and believe them corrected by the sight of so much punishment. I desire that the temple of the Sun, pillaged by the eagle-bearer of the tenth legion, by the standard-bearers, by the dragon-bearer,¹ and by the trumpeters, be restored as it was. You have in the treasures of Zenobia 300 pounds weight of gold; you have also 1,800 pounds of silver,

obtained from the possessions of the Palmyrenes, and you have also the royal jewels. Employ all this in the ornamentation of the temple; you will thus do a thing agreeable to the immortal gods and to me. I will write to the senate to send a pontiff to make the dedication of the temple."²

Palmyra never rose after this blow. The families who had made her fortune doubtless perished in the massacre, and of the

¹ The soldier who bore the standard representing a dragon's head, terminated by a red streamer, which in the wind resembled the tortuous folds of the serpent. Cf. Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 8, and Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 12: . . . *purpureum signum draconis summitati haste longioris aptatum*. It seems to have resembled a Chinese flag.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 31.

inhabitants who survived none were able to take their place. Commerce became used to other routes; the sand invaded this depopulated oasis, and for ten centuries the world knew not even the place where the queen of the East had built her palaces of marble; but a spring which still flows has preserved, perhaps, through the ages the name of him who made this vast desolation.¹

After the tragedy of Emesa, Aurelian had hastened his



Ruins of the Palace of Zenobia.

return to Europe without stopping in Egypt, whence a man as valiant as himself had expelled the Palmyrenes. Believing this country pacified, he had not thought it advisable to appear there; but when it was understood that he was on his way to Gaul, a merchant enriched by traffic in the papyrus of Egypt and the commodities of India, Firmus, a Greek, whom the political fortunes of the sheiks of Palmyra had dazzled, undertook to play their rôle. He secured the aid of Blemyes and of the Saracens, stirred up Alexandria, ever ready for riots, and detained the corn-bearing fleet, which was a serious matter. He had assumed the purple at the moment when Palmyra revolted, whence it may be concluded

¹ The *Ain Ournus*, to be seen near Palmyra. It has been conjectured that *Ournus* is an altered abbreviation of Aurelianus. (*Recit. de Fatalla Sayeghri*, discovered by Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, ii. 382.)

that the two movements were concerted.¹ Aurelian had no difficulty in confining the usurper within one of the four quarters of Alexandria, the Bruchium, which was separated by a wall from the rest of the city, and where Cæsar so long braved all the forces of Egypt. There stood the palace of the Ptolemies, the museum, which a long portico, made of the most precious marble, connected with the royal residence, and the palace of the Cæsars, built in the place where once stood the two obelisks called Cleopatra's Needles.² Aurelian did not undertake to storm this peculiar position; but famine eventually delivered Firmus into his hands, and he caused the rebel to be crucified. He then dismantled the Bruchium, the palace of the kings, and all that could serve as protection in case of a new disturbance—so he sought not to leave the provisioning of Rome at the mercy of this seditious city.³ This time at least his anger was directed towards the city itself rather than its inhabitants;⁴ but he augmented by one-twelfth the frumentary tax of Egypt, and laid upon the country a new annual tribute, namely, the sending to Rome of a certain quantity of glass, papyrus, linen, hemp, and other products of the country.⁵

Zenobia being a captive, "the robber Firmus" having been crucified, and the populace of Alexandria restrained by a Roman garrison, order began to be restored throughout the East, which had twice within a few months been overrun by a great and victorious army. From every side came in embassies, protestations of friendship, and presents, among other things, as a gift from

¹ The *Augustan History* does not say this, but the narrative of Vopiscus is extremely confused. I give what is probable, but not certain. A few words in the letter of Aurelian to the senate and the Roman people after the defeat of Firmus would lead us to suppose that the subjection of Egypt had been preceded by that of the Gauls: . . . *pacato toto orbe terrarum* (Vopiscus, *Firm.*, 5); but other information furnished by the *Augustan History*, by Zosimus (i. 61), by medals, and by the course of events, is contrary to this view. There are coins of the fifth year of the reign of Tetricus, that is to say, 272–3.

² In respect to this temple of the Cæsars, constructed in the time of Augustus, see *Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, 1878, p. 175.

³ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 16. See vol. v. p. 521, the letter written by Aurelian to the senate and the Roman people after the fall of Firmus.

⁴ He permitted the women and children and the old men to go out of the Bruchium. At least, Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, vii. 32) relates this fact on the authority of Anatolius, an eye-witness, who later was the bishop of Laodicea, but he does not name Aurelian, and as he represents Anatolius as after this attending the Council of Antioch, held to examine Paul of Samosata, we perhaps ought to place this event in the time of Claudius, when Probus expelled the Palmyrenes from Alexandria and the Delta.

⁵ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 44.

the king of Persia, a purple mantle which seems to have been the predecessor of our Indian cashmeres.¹ Nothing therefore detained Aurelian longer in this part of the Empire, and he was at liberty to turn his attention at last towards the Western provinces, where Tetricus had been reigning for more than five years.²

Victorina, "the mother of the camps," was dead,³ and her resolute soul no longer sustained the courage of the gentle senator whom she had made emperor of Gaul. Established at Bordeaux, so that he need not be disturbed by the noise on the frontier and the outcries of the legions, he waited till Aurelian should come to relieve him of his imperial functions. Medals represent him wearing, not the cuirass, but the toga, and bearing in one hand a sceptre and in the other a cornucopia. When, in receiving their pay the soldiers beheld the emperor represented on the coin with the attributes of peace and a legend signifying that moderation in success makes a ruler great, they must have considered this peaceful personage as unworthy to have the command of men. They retained him, however; their pride was gratified in maintaining this Gallic empire which they had created. They and their chiefs had their entire lives and all their interests in these provinces, and they said to each other that Tetricus would never disturb their tranquil existence by leading them to the opposite end of the Empire to fight with Persians or Blemyes. Moreover, Gaul was their domain also; they conducted themselves as masters there with all the insolence of a soldiery commanding its officers. To resist their demands, Autun closed its gates; they besieged the city for seven months, and Tetricus made no attempt to end this strange war. Claudius, to whom Autun appealed, was too much occupied by the Goths to listen to these far off complaints; the unhappy city was sacked,⁴ and many of its citizens perished (269). One of them

¹ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 20.

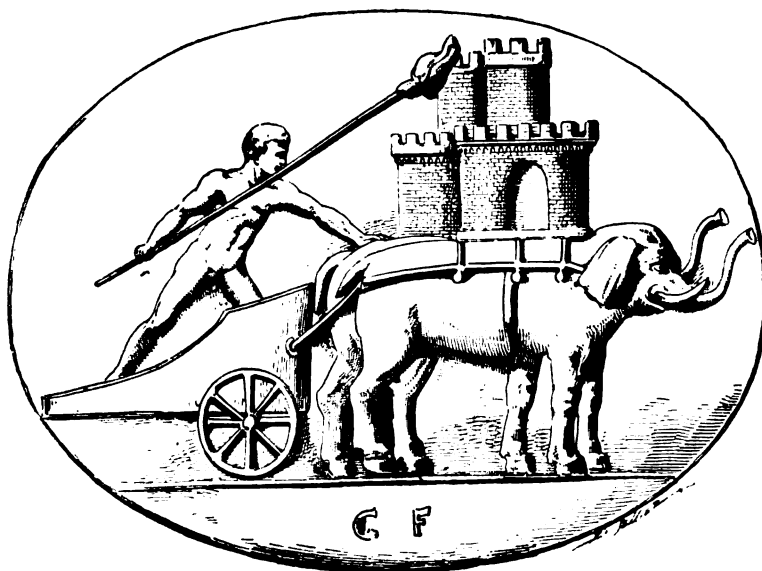
² See de Boze, *Tetricus*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxvi. pp. 515 et seq. Numerous medals of this emperor bear the words: *ubertas, lætitia, felicitas publica*, and milestones prove that he repaired the roads in Gaul in order to facilitate commerce.

³ Certain accounts represent her as having been put to death by Tetricus, which is improbable. He instituted solemn funeral ceremonies in her honour and decreed her apotheosis, *consecratio*.

⁴ Eumenes (*Pan. vet.*, vii. 4: *Gratiarum actio Constantino*, and *pro Restaur. scholis*, 14) represents certain Bagaudes or insurgent peasants as mingled with these soldiers, *latrocinium Bagaudicæ rebellionis*.

fled as far as to the foot of the Pyrenees, to Tarbes, "which the Adour traverses, and it hears afar the roar of angry Ocean;" the fugitive married there, and was the ancestor of the poet Ausonius, one of the last literary reputations of the Empire.¹ Other cities were of the same mind with Autun; an inscription at Barcelona attests the fidelity of this city to Claudius and to the Empire.²

The selfish devotion of the Gallic legions did not at all re-assure their emperor. We have reason to believe that he sought



Elephants attached to a Chariot and bearing a Tower.³

the confidence of Claudius by secret messages,⁴ and we know that, quoting Virgil, he wrote to Aurelian: "Invincible hero, deliver me from these miscreants."⁵ An understanding was readily established between two men, one of whom had no wish for a colleague, while the other was eager to be again a subject. When the armies met near Châlons-sur-Marne, Tetricus communicated his order of battle to Aurelian, and at the moment when the action began, deserted his troops, who at once disbanded.⁶ The whole Empire

¹ Auson., *Parent.*, 4. The poet states this flight as occurring under Victorinus.

² Orelli, No. 1,020.

³ Engraved stone. (La Chausse, *Recueil*, etc., ii. pl. 129.)

⁴ See p. 474.

⁵ *Eripe me his, invicte, malis* (words of Palinurus in the *Æneid*, vi. 265).

⁶ Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 35.

was united again under a single chief (274); it was now twenty-one years since this had been the situation.

Aurelian celebrated the great event by a triumph, where he assayed to surpass in magnificence those ancient solemnities which Rome had not for a long time seen.¹ Slowly there passed under the eyes of the dazzled crowd the innumerable wreaths of gold offered by the Roman cities; twenty elephants and giraffes, tamed animals; the chariot of a Gothic king drawn by four stags, that of the queen of Palmyra made of chased gold and silver and gleaming with a thousand gems; pictures representing the battles won, the cities taken, and representations of conquered nations.



The Elder Tetricus
on Horseback.
(Gold Coin.)

Then followed the senate, the magistrates, and the pontiffs; the people in white togas, and the colleges or corporations, preceded by their banners; the army with its standards; the *cataphractarii* with their heavy armour, and the soldiers with their military decorations;



The Younger Tetricus.²

lastly, 800 pair of gladiators, followed by the crowd of captives of all nations adjacent to the Empire, some in chains, others bearing the captured spoils, and among them women of Gothic race who had been taken fighting among their fathers and husbands. But all eyes were fixed upon Tetricus and his son, who walked clad in the scarlet chlamys and wearing the Gallic braccæ, that all might recognize the emperors of Gaul. Zenobia followed them laden with precious stones, a gold chain on her feet, another on her hands, a third about her neck; and, as a last insult, it was a Persian buffoon who held up these chains—whose weight would have overwhelmed her—to recall to the fallen queen in what a vain hope she had trusted. Aurelian brutally enjoyed his victory. More clement, however, than Marius and Cæsar, he did not make

¹ Orosius (vii. 9) enumerates, from Romulus to Vespasian, 320 triumphs, and Pitiscus (*Lexic. Ant.*, s. v. *Triumphus*) has made out only thirty from Vespasian to Belisarius, who celebrated the last of them.

² C. PIVS ESUVIVS TETRICVS CAES. Bust of the young Tetricus, bare-headed, from a bronze medallion found on the banks of the Rhône at Andancette, the ancient *Figlina*. (Museum of Grenoble. J. de Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. xlv. No. 4.)

the fatal sign upon the road as he went up to the Capitol, which would have been the order to conduct the captives to the Tullianum, whither Jugurtha had preceded Vercingetorix.¹

The pageant being ended, he gave back to Tetricus his honours, bestowed upon him a palace on the Cælian Mount, and appointed him governor of Lucania,² telling him it was better to rule an Italian province than to reign on the other side of the Alps, which the ex-Augustus did not contradict. The emperor often called Tetricus his colleague, sometimes his comrade-in-arms, and even emperor, and these distinctions authorized the senate after the death of Aurelian to place Tetricus among the *divi*.³ Vercingetorix ended otherwise; but he had lived differently.

To Zenobia Aurelian also gave a villa near Tibur, in the neighbourhood of that of Hadrian. She lived there like a Roman lady of rank; her daughters married into the most illustrious houses, and 200 years later some of the nobles of Rome called themselves descendants of the queen of Palmyra; among them we know of one who was a contemporary of S. Ambrose, S. Zenobius, bishop of Florence.⁴

The triumph had been the festival of the ruler; later the people had theirs: scenic representations, great hunts, mock sea-fights, combats between gladiators, and gratuitous distributions. Aurelian decided that, for the future, citizens should receive every day a loaf of wheat bread and a piece of pork. All distributions were increased by an ounce, that is to say, a twelfth. He even formed the design of buying lands in Etruria and establishing a vast vineyard, so that he could give the people a measure of wine,

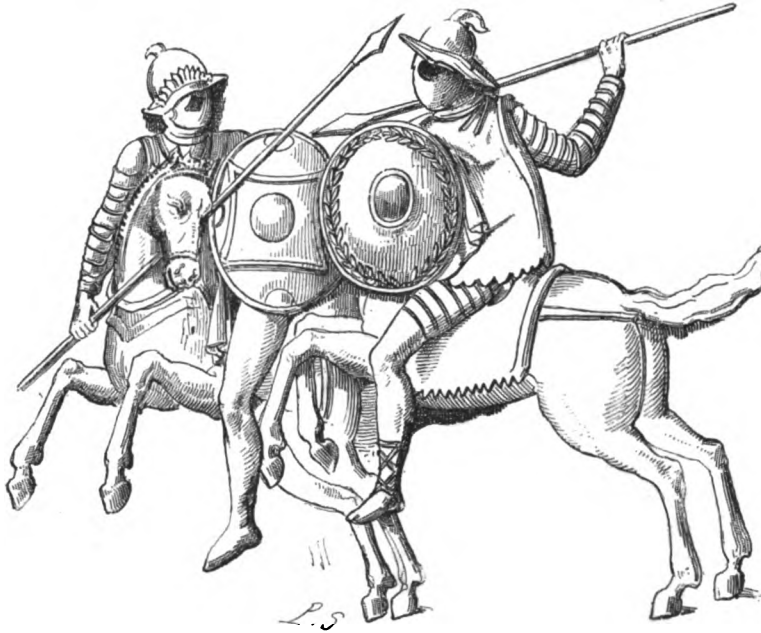
¹ It has been asserted that the arch of triumph whose remains are seen at Besançon was erected on occasion of this pageant.

² Treb. Pollio (*Tyr. trig.*, 23) says "of all peninsular Italy." It is probable that we ought to read *corrector Italiae regionis Lucaniae*, as in the case of Postumius Titianus, consul in 301, who was *corrector Italiae regionis Transpadanae* (*C. I. L.*, vi. 1,418, 1,419). Borghesi (*Œuvres*, ii. 416) formed out of the eleven *regiones* of Augustus in Italy eight provinces, which Diocletian retained.

³ This at least seems to be inferable from the coins of Tetricus bearing the word *consecratio*. (Cohen, v. 171.) Cf. de Boze, *Hist. de Tétricus*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxvi. p. 521. Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 457) differs from this opinion.

⁴ Zosimus mentions only a son of Zenobia, brought with her to Rome, but does not give his name, and says that the other captives were drowned in the Bosphorus. What was the end of Waballath is not known. Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 403) supposes that Aurelian gave him a principality in Syria.

as he did a measure of oil, daily. A counsellor, wiser than the emperor, opposed this project. "After this," said the prætorian prefect, "we should be obliged to give them also chickens and geese." Aurelian yielded, but he caused the treasury to offer wine at reduced price, a measure of political economy almost equally objectionable. After food, clothes: he distributed tunics



Gladiators on Horseback. (Pompeii.)

of African linen, and long strips of cloth, "which they might use in the circus, waving them to indicate their approbation."¹

We have to remark here that these largesses to the populace were not an act of base adulation to win their favour. The strength of Aurelian lay in the armies; it did not depend upon Rome, and in spite of his liberality towards the Romans he was very indifferent as to their good or ill will.

At Emesa Aurelian had come upon his mother's god, and he had attributed his victory to the Sun. The extravagances of Elagabalus had not brought this divinity into disfavour; it was held in great honour, and this was natural, for, as the pagan world

¹ . . . *quibus uteretur populus ad favorem* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 47). Formerly it had been a corner of the toga that was waved in sign of applause. After Aurelian's time the distribution of mere corn was certainly resumed. Theodoric gave 120,000 modii annually. Cf. Hirschfeld, pp. 20-21.

was tending more and more to a belief in the divine unity, the Sun, shedding light, heat, and life through all nature, seemed the author of these gifts.¹ Aurelian had offered stately sacrifices to the Sun in Emesa, and he created at Rome a new priesthood in the honour of this deity,² building a temple which was esteemed by contemporaries the most splendid in Rome, and was so



The Sun.³

especially on account of the vast wealth deposited in it, a great quantity of gems and 15,000 pounds weight of gold; but for fear of the jealousy of the other gods, Aurelian offered gifts in the temple of each.

So many prodigalities, not to speak of the money given to the people and the soldiers, or of the expense for the fortifications of Rome, for the cleansing of the Tiber, for the quays which he constructed at

certain points along the river, for the construction of thermæ along the right bank, for that of a forum at Ostia, for the increase of the flotilla bringing to Rome the corn of the frumentary provinces, compel us to admit that the successful wars which he had carried on placed great resources in his hands. Historians tell us only of the pillage of Palmyra; but Alexandria must have furnished large booty, Antioch, Ancyra, Tyana, the cities of Syria, at that time so prosperous, large ransoms; and Gaul, like Egypt, certainly paid for its return into the Empire by an increase in the taxes.

¹ This was Pliny's faith (*Hist. nat.*, ii. 4), a philosopher who did not believe in many things.

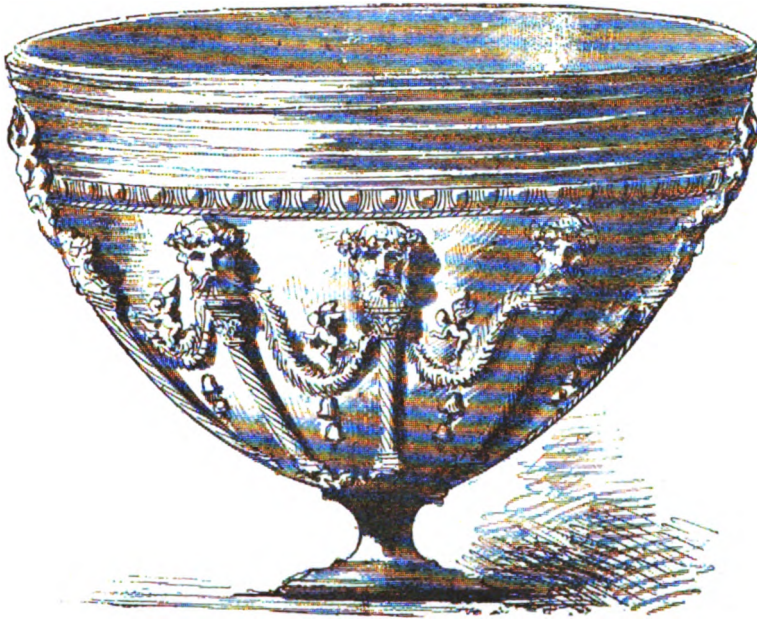
² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 35.

³ Marble medallion representing in relief the masque of the Sun, according to the type of the Rhodian coins. (Roman Sculpture in the Museum of the Louvre; Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpt. ant.*, etc., No. 421.)

Aurelian's economy procured him other resources. He lived simply, and required this of the persons around him. He obliged his slaves to keep the modest habits they had before his accession, and the empress to superintend the affairs of the palace; he refused her a silk mantle because at this time that material was worth its weight in gold; and he made his friends presents which gave them comfort but not wealth, that envy might not be excited against them.¹ He himself never had a silver vase weighing over thirty pounds; the gods came into possession of the presents that were made him: all the magnificent objects displayed at his triumph were carried



The Empress Severina, Wife of Aurelian.²



Silver Vase from the Hildesheim Treasure. (Reproduction in the Museum of Cluny.)

into the temples, as in the old days of republican virtue, to serve as resources in case of extreme peril.

Sumptuary laws were a Roman malady, and Aurelian did not fail to establish many.³ Thus, to guard against a scarcity of the precious metals, he forbade the use of gold on furniture and

¹ . . . *divitiarum invidiam patrimonii moderatione vitarent* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 45).

² SEVERINA AUG(usta). Diademed bust of the empress placed on a crescent. (Coin of copper alloy, Antoninianus of the weight of 4,05.)

³ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 45-6. Cf. Lamprid., *Elagabalus*, 4. He limited the number of eunuchs, etc.

garments. His biographer goes so far as to assert that he renewed the women's senate to whom Elagabalus had given the duty of regulating the matrons' toilettes, a puerility which this soldier would never have copied from the effeminate Syrian. But he had displayed great pomp in religious solemnities, appearing crowned and in garments covered with gold and precious stones. This Oriental luxury was the fashion of the day, reappearing even in the works of art whose

Aurelian.¹Fighting Hero found near Vienne, in Dauphiné.²

decline it marks, and Diocletian carried it much further. These two emperors believed they should be more respected if an imposing ceremonial marked more plainly to the eye the distance between the subject and the ruler.

This luxury, often regarded as necessary, and really so in a certain social condition, has never been able to protect any others than those who protected themselves by their personal valour, or whom the faith of nations enveloped with a sure though invisible protection. From this point of view, Aurelian could

have done without it, for he had the people and the troops on

¹ DEO ET DOMINO NATO AVRELIANO. Radiate head of the emperor. (Small bronze.)

² *Gazette archéol.*, 1876. Clarac (*Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 826, No. 2,083 B) has given this statue the name of Deiphobus.

his side; but an absolute ruler is never secure against conspiracies, and one was shortly to be formed among those immediately about him.

The magnificent entertainment which he had just given the Romans preceded his death by only a few months.

He employed this time in consolidating the work of restoration which he had pursued so vigorously for the five years preceding. A sedition in Gaul called him into that country.¹ It is not known what he did there. We hear of a success of Probus over the Franks, near the mouths of the Rhine, and of a victory gained over the Alemanni near Vindonissa (Windisch) by Constantius Chlorus, on the day when his son Constantine was born. Later traditions attribute to him the reconstruction of Dijon and of Genabum, which seems to have taken his name, *Civitas Aurelianorum*. These were two important positions for commerce and war: at Orleans, the geographic centre of Gaul, ended the principal military roads of the country, and Dijon was the great station between the valley of the Rhone and that of the Seine. Forum Julii and the Viennese province owed him perhaps some favour; inscriptions found there celebrate the Restorer of the World.



Reverse of a Coin
(Small Bronze) of
Aurelian, bearing
the Legend:
GENIUS ILLYR.

Aurelian doubtless revisited the banks of the Rhine, the theatre of his earliest successes; then he repaired to the Upper Danube, for we find him afterwards in Vindelicia and Illyricum. He wished personally to inspect this frontier lately so disturbed, and where it was well from time to time to exhibit the imperial crown, especially when it was worn by a conqueror. Aurelian had the intention of doing more than this, and was about to go as far as Ctesiphon for the purpose of visiting upon the allies of Zenobia the injuries they had done the Empire, but he was stopped by a conspiracy before reaching Byzantium.

Ecclesiastical authors assert that divine justice put a stop to his evil designs against the Church.² The emperor's conduct in

¹ Zonaras, xii. 27.

² Euseb., *Hist. eccl.* vii. 30, and Zonaras, xii. 27. In book viii. chap. iv., Eusebius says that, from the time of Decius and Valerian until the last years of Diocletian, the devil slept,

the affair of Paul of Samosata, the peace which the Christians enjoyed during his reign, forbid us to believe that he was proposing to undertake a persecution, and to explain his death it is not necessary to employ a method which in all ages has been used to explain sudden catastrophes. Following the example of Septimius Severus, whom he seems to have taken for a model, he maintained discipline in the administration as well as in the army; he kept watch over the imperial agents in the provinces, and punished extortioners rigorously, even going so far as to put them to death by crucifixion. Having cause for displeasure against one of his secretaries, Mnestheus, he threatened him with chastisement. The freedman knew that the emperor spoke no idle words; he counterfeited Aurelian's handwriting, prepared a list of persons known to be out of favour, placing his own name on the list to make it the more credible, and exhibited the list to the persons whose names were on it as an order of death which he had discovered and seized. To escape from the punishment which they believed impending over them, these persons conspired and assassinated Aurelian (January or March, 275). He was but sixty-one years of age, and had reigned five years.

During the reign of Aurelian there was a sedition of a peculiar character. We have seen¹ how greatly in these times the gold and silver coins had been altered. The master of the Roman mints, Felicissimus, had formed the idea of sharing in the profits which the emperors believed they were making by this scandalous operation. Very little gold and silver was furnished him for the coin he had to make; he put into it even less, and doubtless associated with himself as sharers in the profits those who were employed under him. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why a sedition should have broken out when Aurelian sought to bring this abuse to an end.² The revolt was formidable; the manufacturers

and Sulpicius Severus, who lived in Gaul, has no knowledge of the great persecution which has been placed in Aurelian's reign.

¹ pp. 385 *et seq.*

² *monetæ opifices qui, quum, auctore Felicissimo rationali, nummariam notam corrosissent, pænæ metu bellum fecerant* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 35). Cf. Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 38. The procurator *monetæ* of equestrian rank commanded a whole army of workmen. Upon this organization, see *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. ix. p. 218: Fr. Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, i. 251; and Cuq, the *Examinator per Italiam*, p. 36.

interested in the trade in precious metals, the silversmiths and goldsmiths, the bankers and all who handled silver, threatened with reforms which were likely to unsettle the market, appear to have made common cause with the *employés* of the mint, and the people, as usual, took part in the quarrel, through hatred of the police. A battle actually took place in Rome, on the Cælian hill, and 7,000 soldiers perished in it, which implies great carnage among the rebels.

We are very ignorant in respect to this affair.¹ Was the senate concerned in it? Possibly, for old authors mention the execution of many senators without telling us the cause of it, and the senate lost on that occasion the right it had possessed since the time of Augustus to coin bronze money. At least we find no longer, after the reign of Aurelian, the letters S.C. on coins—a proof that the senatorial mints were united after this time to those of the emperor.² The biographer of Aurelian adds that the emperor afterwards coined better money and withdrew the false from circulation. Aurelian had not time to carry to completion this double work, which Tacitus took up after him,³ and to which their successors devoted much care, without completing it until the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine.

These measures prove the resolution of Aurelian to introduce order everywhere. The same spirit manifests itself in other acts. He ordered to be burned in Trajan's forum, as Hadrian had done before him, the registers containing the accounts of the debtors of the state—bad debts, and for the most part irrecoverable, but holding over a number of private individuals the perpetual fear of a judicial execution. The lodging of information against those violating the fiscal laws was forbidden. The *quadruplatores*, always so numerous at Rome, did not disappear at once, but their odious

¹ The letter of Aurelian to the Roman people, after the defeat of Firmus (see vol. v. p. 521) gives reason to suppose that the senate, the knights, the people, and the prætorians were not harmonious among themselves, since the emperor recommends concord to them all.

² The *triumviri monetales* disappeared at the same time; the last known, with certain date, was consul in 225. (Wilmanns, 1,211.)

³ . . . cavit (Tacitus) *ut si quis argento publice privatimque æs miscuisset, si quis auro argentum, si quis æri plumbum, capitale esset cum bonorum proscriptione* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 9). From this attempt resulted a little more regularity in the coinage. The Antoniniani of Aurelian, of Tacitus, and of Claudius II. are somewhat more valuable than those of their predecessors. Cf. Mommsen, *Geschichte des röm. Münz.*, iii. p. 96.

trade ceased to be encouraged. It cannot be that to fill his treasury the author of these measures could have put to death senators guilty only of wealth.

Notwithstanding, Aurelian is accused of cruelty, and in the fourth century this reproach already rested upon his memory. Assuredly he was not a mild ruler; but the times were not suited for mild government, and in a monarch responsible for the tranquillity of an empire, indulgence towards the guilty was treason towards the innocent. To confirm the reproaches made against him, we need to have the names and number of the victims, the motives or the pretexts of their condemnation; for we have learned in the course of this history, from more than one instance, how little remains of these vague and often contradictory accusations when examined narrowly. Vopiscus, who had conversed with contemporaries of the emperor whose memoir he writes, dares not affirm anything. "It is said," he relates, "that to rid himself of many senators he imputed to them designs of revolt;" but according to John of Antioch and Suidas some men of rank were condemned on the revelations of Zenobia, which gives us reason to think that during the war in the East plots had been formed at Rome, as in the time of Severus during the war in Gaul.¹ One fact justifies our hesitations. It is certain that a catastrophe took place in the imperial family, one member of it being condemned to death. Who was this person? Some say the niece and others the nephew of Aurelian; a third party maintains that both perished, and still others assert that the person condemned was the daughter-in-law of the emperor.² If this last story be the true one, it would seem that Aurelian, by this execution, vindicated the honour of his house. In any case, it was a domestic tragedy, of which the cause must have been serious, Aurelian not being one of those madmen who, for a caprice, stain their household with blood.

Titus is not our ideal of a ruler, and we shall therefore not reproach Aurelian with having chastised offenders like the accomplices of Felicissimus, or promoters of revolution like those who doubtless intrigued with Zenobia. We shall commend him for

¹ We have also seen that Zosimus speaks of many plots, admitting their existence.

² Suidas, s. v. *Aurel.* But another difficulty arises, for, according to Vopiscus, Aurelian had no other children than one daughter.

having given up his freedmen and slaves to the ordinary judge when they were guilty, for the imperial household must be always held strictly in hand, that they should not pursue the numerous means of doing harm which came within their reach; and we shall accept the judgment of the Emperor Julian, who was not inclined to be favourable towards a ruler whose glory eclipsed that of Claudius, the head of his own house. In the *Cæsars*, when Aurelian appears before the Olympian areopagus to be judged, the Sun takes up his defence: "The accused," he says to the gods, "is even with Justice, or you have forgotten my oracle of Delphi: one ought to suffer the woes one has caused others to endure."¹

This judgment seems even too severe; for, at the side of the strict right, Aurelian often placed clemency for those who had gone astray. We have seen him accord pardon to all the inhabitants of Antioch and to the Palmyrenes; we have seen that even after the second revolt he put a stop to the massacre; and at Alexandria he allowed part of those who were besieged to go out from the Bruchium,² although their departure must have permitted the resistance to be prolonged. His conduct in respect to Tetricus, Zenobia, and Antiochus³ contrasts with that of his predecessors, and he contradicted Roman customs even more evidently when he proclaimed an amnesty for political offences.⁴ It was a worthy completion of the restoration of the Empire thus to efface the traces of twenty years of civil wars, during which many more persons had been unfortunate than criminal.

¹ Vopiscus says nearly the same thing (*Aur.*, 37): *Aurelianus fuit princeps necessarius magis quam bonus.*

² See p. 494, n. 4, which explains that this trait of clemency was not perhaps Aurelian's.

³ Antiochus is that Palmyrene Cæsar "whom he sent away," says Zosimus, "not deigning to punish."

⁴ *Amnestia sub eo delictorum publicorum decreta est* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 39).

CHAPTER XCVIII.

TACITUS, PROBUS, AND CARUS (275-284 A.D.).

I.—AN ATTEMPT AT A SENATORIAL RESTORATION; TACITUS AND FLORIANUS (25TH SEPTEMBER, 275, TO JULY, 276).

THE death of Aurelian was followed by a strange situation: for six months the Empire remained without a head. He had restored order with so vigorous a hand that all things went on as if he were still alive: the magistrates remained in the exercise of their functions; the people in their respective occupations; and, strangest of all, the army in a state of subordination. This peace during a long interregnum—the first and only one that the Empire ever knew—speaks more in praise of Aurelian than all our eulogies. At last men recognized in him the restorer of the Empire, the ruler who had put an end to usurpations, had pacified the provinces, had given back their military honour to the legions and to Rome its grandeur. There was for the moment something like a new birth of public spirit and patriotism. The army, ashamed that it had not been able to preserve its illustrious chief from a vulgar conspiracy, punished itself by refusing to exercise the right which seemed to have become its recognized prerogative, namely, that of electing an emperor, and the senate received with amazement the following communication:¹ “The brave and fortunate legions to the senate and people of Rome. The crime of one man and the inconsiderateness of many have deprived us of our late emperor Aurelian; you, whose paternal cares direct the state, honoured men, deign to place this emperor among the number of the gods, and to designate the successor whom you judge most worthy of the imperial purple; none of those whose crime or whose misfortune has caused our loss shall reign over us.”

¹ By letter (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 41), or by a deputation from the army (Aur. Victor).

The Conscript Father to whom his rank gave the right of expressing his opinion first, an old ex-consul by name Tacitus,¹ believed to be a descendant of the great historian, proposed to gratify the wish of the legions in respect to the honours to be decreed to the dead emperor, and Aurelian was deified upon the spot; but in the matter of the second request, the prudent senator knew that to yield to it would be dangerous for the man whom the senate should choose, perhaps even for the senate itself, since the soldiers would not long maintain this attitude of repentance and humility. The choice was therefore sent back again to the army, but the latter persisted in its determination—a way of commanding under a new form.

A few patriotic generals—to whom, moreover, the number of imperial deaths in so few years made it evident that the purple was likely to change quickly into a shroud—had been the determining agents in this conduct of the army, and now made the soldiery persevere in it. The senators were even less covetous of this perilous honour. The one among them who was most likely to be chosen, by reason of his name, his honours, and his fortune²—Tacitus—had taken shelter, after the session of the senate, in one of his villas in Campania. The consul's order convoking the assembly for the 25th of September drew him reluctantly thence. In his address the consul Gordianus spoke with some discreet doubt of the persevering moderation of the soldiers: "Let us give a leader to the armies," he said; and he prudently added: "Either they will accept him whom you have chosen or they will name another." He then called attention to the barbaric world, which lay around the Empire, making new efforts to break into it; Persia, so lately threatened by Aurelian, perhaps meditating an attack; the Syrians, a fickle race, ready to guide her squadrons across the provinces; the Egyptian and Illyrian frontiers endangered; the Rhine crossed by the Franks, and once flourishing Gallic cities now in ashes. "We need an emperor," he

¹ Upon coins and inscriptions he is called M. Claudius Tacitus.

² It seems impossible to accept the statement in the *Augustan History* with respect to the fortune of Tacitus, *quod habuit in redditibus, sestertium bis milies octingenties* (Tac., 10); but we are not able to substitute another. It is certain, from what afterwards occurred, that this fortune was immense.

exclaimed; and turning to Tacitus, with all the other senators, he added: "It is you whom we require." Vainly did the old man of seventy-five plead his age, his enfeebled health, and his pacific tastes. "You need a soldier," he said, "and you choose me, who am hardly able to fill the peaceful office of senator; the very unanimity of your choice will be fatal to me." But the senators would not listen to him; acclamations twenty or thirty times repeated hailed him emperor; and the report of this session of the senate, which, to some, seemed to open a new era, was written according to custom on an ivory tablet, which the new Augustus signed, his soul filled with sad presentiments.¹

No doubt it was an error to give the Empire a chief like this; and since, as a result of the decree of Gallienus,² there could be found in the senate no bold soldier, it would have been the proper course to seek one in the armies. Probus, Carus, Diocletian, had none of them been concerned at all in the murder of Aurelian, and the army would have been grateful to have its momentary disinterestedness applauded without such action on the part of the senate as must cause the soldiery immediately to repent of it. The choice of an eminent soldier made by the senate would have been to seal, at least for a time, a reconciliation between the civil and the military orders. But, living as they did, remote from public affairs, in their idle grandeur and their gilded servitude, the senators had lost their grasp of the actual world, and no man reminded them of the day—which many among them had seen, however—when the soldiers dragged to the Gemoniæ Maximus and Balbinus, and shouted: "These are the senate's emperors!" At first rendered anxious and uneasy by the political rôle which fell to them again, they had ended by resuming their old illusions, and they abandoned themselves to the puerile delight of again grasping a power which they were incapable of retaining.

The ex-consul next in rank to Tacitus, Falconius Nicomachus, reminded the senate of the woes that Rome had suffered under too youthful rulers, which was at once a truth and a flattery; then

¹ Vopiscus (*Tac.*, 5) read this report in the Ulpian library.

² See pp. 337.

addressing himself to Tacitus, whose sons were only boys, Falconius besought him, if the fates should soon snatch him from the state, to choose a successor, not from his own family, but from outside, "for the reason that it would not be right to dispose of the Empire as of a private estate." Falconius meant to say that the electoral power should remain with the senate, and the general opinion was with him. Loud cries of assent were heard from all parts of the senate.

The Conscript Fathers were enraptured at the turn events had taken. In the excess of his joy and of his hopes, one of them wrote to a less enthusiastic colleague: "Emerge from your indolence; come forth from your retreat at Baïæ or Puteoli. Give yourself back to the city, the senate. Rome flourishes, and with Rome, the whole state. Let us give a thousand thanks to the army, which is a truly Roman army. One just authority, that object of all our desires, is at last re-established. We receive appeals, we appoint emperors, we make kings. Can we not also unmake them? You understand me without further speech; to the wise, a word is enough."¹ This word was repeated by all the writer's colleagues. "I shall rule with and through you," Tacitus had said. When he asked the consulship for his brother Florianus, it was objected that the list was full, and he contented himself with replying: "The senate knows well what ruler it has made." Emperor though he was, the feeble old man was really to the senate only its first member, and it was said openly that the true ruler was now the senate itself.²



The Emperor Tacitus, laurelled.
(Bronze Medallion.)

Official letters made known this restoration of the Roman Republic to the chief cities of the Empire: Milan, Aquileia, Athens, Corinth, Thessalonica, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, and Treves. Two of these we have; the following is the one addressed to the capital of Roman Africa:

"The honourable senate of Rome to the decurions of Carthage:

¹ Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 6 and 7; *Flor.*, 6.

² *ipsum senatum principem factum* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 12).

"Peace and happiness, security and prosperity to the Republic and to the Roman world.

"We have recovered the right of conferring the imperial authority, of appointing the ruler, the Augustus: it is to us, therefore, that you will submit affairs of importance. Appeals from proconsular decisions and from all the tribunals of the Empire will be laid before the urban prefect. Your own authority is restored to its former condition, since in recovering its own rights the first body of the Republic protects the rights of others." And men clothed themselves in holiday attire and immolated white victims to thank the gods for the return of the ancient liberty;¹ medals were struck whereon it was promised to this emperor, who already had one foot in the grave, that in due time the *decennalia*² should be celebrated for him. Alas! the election of Tacitus, these ostentatious messages, and these vain promises were the last political act of the Roman Republic.

The prætorians, the people, and the armies accepted the emperor chosen by Rome's former masters,³ and the inhabitants of the Empire swore fidelity to him. All things seemed to go well. But the Alani, seeing the Empire without a leader and defenceless, had invaded Asia Minor, whither the Goths, encamped in the vicinity of the Palus Mæotis, followed them. Tacitus was obliged to journey in haste to the scene of action. In Thrace he presented himself before Aurelian's army, which must have been astonished to see this feeble old man in the place where they had seen so long the martial figure of the iron-handed hero. Accordingly the prætorian prefect essayed by humble words to prevent discontent. "Most virtuous comrades,"⁴ he said, "you have asked the senate to give you an emperor; the very illustrious assembly has obeyed your will and command. It is not fitting for me to say more in the presence of the emperor who will watch over us. Listen to him with the respect that he merits." Tacitus in his turn was extremely modest; he feigned to consider himself

¹ *antiquitatem sibi redditam* (Vopiscus, *Flor.*, 6).

² Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 498.

³ In addressing the prætorians, Tacitus said: *sanctissimi milites*, and in speaking to the plebeians he called them *sacratissimi Quirites*. Oriental bombast extended to all men. Modern Italy has preserved something of it to this day.

⁴ *Sanctissimi commilitones* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 8).

the choice of the soldiers, and spoke in fitting terms on the subject of his age, which did not permit him to imitate the great exploits of his predecessors, but would inspire him with wise counsels. "Trajan also was an old man when he came to the Empire, and was called to it by the choice of one individual. To-day it is first by you, most virtuous comrades, by you, who know how to judge the worth of a ruler, and in the second place by the senate, that I have been judged worthy of this title." It was imprudent to evoke in the midst of these troops the grand figure of the conqueror of the Dacians, the Germans, and the Parthian Empire; but the liberal *donativum* which Tacitus paid with his own money made the address seem eloquent.

The barbarians made pretence that they had been summoned by the late emperor under the title of auxiliaries to give help against Persia. Not receiving the pay promised for an expedition which had not been made, they paid themselves with their own hands by the pillage of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia. Bold predatory bands penetrated even into Cilicia before Aurelian had been many months dead. What never-ceasing vigilance was needful to keep in check those innumerable free-booters who prowled around the Empire, and, under Gallienus, had learned all the roads that led into it! Tacitus negotiated, paid, and sent home a part of these barbarians. Others fell under the sword of his soldiers. But the latter were becoming weary of their good conduct. They murdered one of the emperor's kindred whom Tacitus had intrusted with the government of Syria, and after that, to escape punishment, the emperor himself. A six months' reign, and a colossal fortune dissipated in gratifications to the soldiery or abandoned to the state,¹ were what the senate's election had procured for Tacitus and his family.

He was a man of upright character and religious mind: never did he omit to have served in his house the meat of the sacrifices, a sort of communion with the god to whom the sacrifice had been offered. He punished some of the assassins of his predecessor, and it cannot be denied that his intentions were of the best. His biographer attributes to him many statutes, an easy thing; but he

¹ *Patrimonium suum publicavit* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 10).

had neither the ability nor had he the time to bring out good results to the state. We owe him, however, very special gratitude: he caused the works of Tacitus to be placed in all the public libraries and ordered that every year ten copies of them should be made. In multiplying thus the copies of the *Annals* and the



M. ANN(ius) FLORIANUS,
crowned with Laurel.
(Bronze Medallion.)

Histories he increased our chance that they should be preserved; and while we are not able to say that the one manuscript which has kept this great writer's work alive is due to these copies, it may certainly be the truth that without them we should have lost the tragic history of the Cæsars.¹

Tacitus had appointed as prætorian prefect his brother, M. Annianus Florianus, and the latter now caused the purple to be given him by his soldiers, themselves desirous not to leave the senate time to make a second choice. But the army of the East had at this time as leader a valiant captain whose services had always outrun his



The Emperor Probus,
Laurelled, with Pike and Buckler.
(Bronze Medallion.)

honours. At the news that Tacitus was dead the troops of Probus proclaimed their general emperor, and those of Florianus rid themselves at Tarsus of the man they had just chosen (beginning of July, 276). He had reigned three months. Upon their estate near Interamna was raised to the two brothers a cenotaph and statues thirty feet high. Doubtless to console their descendants, whom these nine months of the imperial dignity had deprived of their family chiefs and reduced to in-

digence, some friend of the senate put in circulation this prophecy, which Vopiscus hands down to us: "In a thousand years, a mighty prince of the blood of Tacitus, after a glorious reign, will give back to the Conscript Fathers their authority, and, a true son of early Rome, will live submissive to the good old customs of the country." "I do not anticipate," says Vopiscus modestly, "that

¹ There exist two manuscripts, the *Medicei*, each giving us a portion of his works, so that we depend on one MS. for all that we have.

my book will live long enough for men to read this prediction at the time when it will either be seen fulfilled or will be relegated to its place among fables." Vopiscus was deceived: his book has lived much longer, without much deserving it; but the avenger of the senate never appeared.¹

II.—PROBUS (JULY, 276, TO SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER, 282).

The reigns of Tacitus and Florianus had been only a continuation of the interregnum. The real successor of Aurelian was one of his compatriots and his best comrade in arms, M. Aurelius Probus.² We already know him: two letters of Valerian, drawn from the imperial archives, show with what esteem he had been able to inspire this emperor, a relative of whom Probus had with his own hand rescued when about to be carried into captivity by the Quadi: "In accordance with the opinion I have always had of young Probus, and the testimony of the most honourable citizens, who call him the man of his name, I have appointed him tribune, contrary to the ordinance of the divine Hadrian,³ and have intrusted to him six cohorts of Saracens, the Gallic auxiliaries, and the Persian cavalry brought to us by the Syrian Artabasses." Aurelian and Tacitus had like confidence in him. The first wrote to him: "To show you in what esteem I hold your merits, I intrust to you my Tenth legion, which I myself received from Claudius. By a sort of happy accident this corps has never had for leaders others than future emperors;" and the second: "The senate has appointed me emperor; but know this, that the greater part of the burden will rest upon your



Reverse of a Coin of Probus, of the type of the She-Wolf Coins, and bearing the Legend: ORIGINI A V G. (Small Bronze.)

¹ I have followed the rendering some have given to the words *talis historia*, but without certainty whether it be not to the prediction itself that they apply rather than to the book of Vopiscus. It is, however, unimportant.

² Probus was born at Sirmium. (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 3.) Aurelius Victor (*Ep.*, 37) makes him a Dalmatian. His father was a centurion, and later a tribune. One of his coins bears the words *Origini Aug.*, with the she-wolf, *Lupa gemellos lactans*, whence it may be inferred that he claimed to be of Roman origin. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 505.)

³ The one which prohibited the appointment of too youthful tribunes, *sine barba*. Some sentences from the two letters of Valerian are here put together (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 4). The second contains the enumeration, always curious and significant, of the payments granted.

shoulders. We all know your worth. Aid us then in our times of need. I have given you the command of the army in the East,¹ I have increased your emoluments five-fold,² doubled your military decorations, and you will share the consulship of the coming year."

Probus did not desire the Empire. "You make a mistake," he said to the soldiers who saluted him, "for I shall never flatter you." He said the same to the prætorian prefect of Florianus, whom he did not remove from office. "I have not wished for this title, and it is contrary to my desire that it is given me. But I am not at liberty to refuse the burden which the army lays upon me: it is now a question of fulfilling my duty well." He was in the prime of life, forty-four years of age, and to his military abilities he joined uncommon good sense, which preserved him from being dazzled by his imperial destiny. The events which followed the death of Aurelian show that a reaction against the military saturnalia had begun in the minds of the generals themselves.³ Probus was one of those who felt most keenly the necessity of raising the civil order, depressed since the time of Caracalla by the outrageous conduct of the soldiery. The proof of this is in his letter where, while notifying the senate of his accession, he appears to await from it the conferring of authority. "In choosing one of your own number, Conscript Fathers," he wrote, "to succeed the emperor Aurelian, you acted in conformity with your usual rectitude and wisdom; for you are the lawful rulers of the world, and the authority which has come to you from your ancestors will be transmitted by you to your posterity. Would to the gods that Florianus, instead of seizing upon his brother's purple, had waited until your sovereign will had decided either in his favour or for some one else! The legions have done well to punish his rashness; they have offered me the title of Augustus, but I submit to your clemency my claims and my services."

This letter does honour to the statecraft of this soldier. He

¹ *Decreto totius Orientis ducatu* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 7).

² *Salarium*. According to a letter of Valerian (*id.*, *Prob.*, 4), the *salarium* would include all the material advantages attached to the grade and probably also the pay.

³ It is perhaps another sign of this same reaction in men's minds that the name of Marcus Aurelius was borne by most of the emperors after Claudius Gothicus. Notwithstanding his wars, Marcus Aurelius was eminently the representative of civil order.

knew the weakness of the senate and knew well that he had nothing to fear from it; but this decrepit body had still the grandeur of ancient memories, and Probus deemed it wise to give back in the eyes of the soldiery some splendour to this overclouded majesty, that the army might be made to believe that outside of them, and above them, there existed, if not a power, at least a right.

It is needless to say with what acclamations the senators welcomed this letter. Probus was likened to Alexander and to Trajan; he was endowed with all the virtues of the Antonines, all the talents of Claudius and Aurelian, and he merited these eulogies. What joy again when a second message announced that the senate was to receive appeals, to appoint pro-consuls and their legates, and finally, which was a more important thing, that it was to confirm the imperial decrees!



Probus. (Marble Bust, Museum of Naples, No. 32 of the Catalogue.)

The claims of the Conscript Fathers had never gone so far as that; Probus granted them more than they themselves had wished to take upon Aurelian's death, and the senatorial restoration seemed complete. In reality no change at all was made. The emperor employed towards the venerable assembly gentle words instead of a displeased mien; the Fathers no longer trembled; they seemed more active in their curule chairs and they praised in good faith the unselfishness of the new emperor. Probus asked nothing better, and he did not feel that he paid too dearly for this harmony at the cost of a few marks of deference. The reality of

power remained, where the public weal demanded that it should be, in his hands, and we shall see that he used it well.



Column commemorative of the Victories of Probus over the Alemanni (P), found at Merten, near Metz. (Restoration from the *Revue archéol.*)

under the feet of the invaders, like that of Hadrian in Britain

Aurelian being dead, the barbarians had fallen upon Gaul and had devastated many Gallic cities.¹ Probus went thither with a large army. While his generals were driving back the Franks into the marshes of Batavia and Frisia, he himself forced the Alemanni across the Rhine, pursued them into the valley of the Neckar and over the slopes of the Suabian Alps, retaking their spoils and the captives they were carrying away. In the hope of closing the road against new incursions, he constructed an earthwork covering the Decumatian lands from Ratisbon to Mayence, that is to say, from the Danube to the Rhine.² Like Marius and Hadrian he believed that to occupy the soldiers was the best means of preserving discipline; he caused them to construct or repair a stone wall having great towers at regular intervals, an excellent precaution if a valiant army were always posted behind this rampart, ready to repulse assailants wherever they might attempt to break through,³ but a useless measure when the Empire, assailed

¹ Vopiscus, *Prob.*: in chap. xv. it is said seventy; in chap. xiii., sixty. Vopiscus adds that Probus destroyed 400,000 barbarians; I am disposed to read *quadraginta* instead of *quadringentis*. These 400,000 men killed would suppose a more formidable invasion than that of the Goths in the time of Claudius II., and nothing indicates that this was so.

² On the subject of these works, see vol. iv. p. 707, and the map on p. 361.

³ At the present day the republic of Buenos Ayres adopts the same method of defence

beneath the advancing Picts; but as late as the Middle Ages the Suabian peasant, building his hovel with the stones taken from these ruins, was amazed at the grandeur of the work, crossing valleys and passing over hill-tops, and attributed its construction to demons, and it has always been called the Devil's Wall.

These gigantic works, and the presence of the emperor and his army, intimidated the barbarians; nine tribes sought for peace, and gave hostages and corn, cattle and horses, their sole wealth. Probus received into his army 16,000 of their warriors, scattering them through the legions in small bands that they might be a power and not a danger, and he expressed this in words: "They must be felt, not seen" (277). Thus the Empire, on the side of the Rhine, again assumed a vigorous defensive.

The following year Probus visited Rhætia, Illyricum, and Moesia, where the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, and the Goths had re-appeared; he drove out these unimportant bands, and once more restored security to these countries where for the last forty years life had been so perilous. On the middle or lower Danube, he encountered a German nation, the Lygians, whom Tacitus represents as having a frightful aspect, which in the hand-to-hand fights of ancient war might well intimidate the adversary: "They blacken their shields, their bodies, their faces, and choose the darkest night to make their attack. The surprise, the horror produced by darkness, the mere aspect of this terrific host which seems to have emerged from the infernal regions, chill with fear the bravest heart, for in battle it is always the eyes which are conquered first."¹ These black warriors did not, however, prevail against Roman discipline. From the time of this collision their name disappears from history, as if they had been utterly destroyed. Probus had promised his soldiers a piece of gold for each head of an enemy brought to him. In the case of the prisoners taken from all these barbarous tribes, he gave them lands in Britain, where they proved faithful to him.

against the Indians of the pampas, and China has done the same for centuries with her great wall. These lines of defence do not always prevent incursions, but they embarrass the return of the invaders.

¹ Tac., *Germania*, 43.

After having appeased in Thrace the disturbances caused by the barbarous tribes of this country, whom the Græco-Roman civilization had not yet been able to transform into inoffensive labourers, he passed over into Asia Minor (279), and put an end to the exploits of Palfurius, a famous brigand, and especially to those of the Isaurians, inveterate free-booters who pillaged on land and sea, and had up to this time been able to resist the Roman power. Probus organized an expedition against them, penetrated into their mountains, searched through all their valleys, and when he withdrew left behind a force of veterans.¹ These he established in the principal haunt of the bandits, and he distributed lands among



Coin of Bahram II.
or Vararahnes.²

them on condition that their sons, on attaining the age of eighteen, should serve in the legions. This was like instituting military fiefs. He probably imposed like conditions on the captives whom he had transported into Britain. Severus had set an example of this sort of tenure of land, and the usage increased.

In Syria, Probus received a Persian embassy. Bahram II., who had reigned since 275, had had time to learn the value of the legions led by a brave and able chief. He begged for the friendship of Probus, and sent him presents, which the emperor scornfully refused. "I am surprised," Probus made answer, "that you send me so little, when all that you have will one day belong to me. Keep it until it suits my convenience to come and take it." This was bluster; but it was suited to the Oriental taste, and the condition of the Roman fortresses in Mesopotamia and menacing³ preparations which were going forward decided Bahram not to resent this insolence, and it even appears that a treaty was concluded between the two empires.⁴

Did the emperor then proceed into Egypt, or did he charge

¹ Zosimus, i. 69-70. This author relates at length the desperate resistance made by Lydians, one of the Isaurian chiefs, at Cremna, in Pisidia.

² Busts of Vararahnes or Bahram II. and the queen, with the legend: The worshipper of Ormuzd, the excellent Vararahnes, king of the kings of Iran and Turan, germ of the gods. The reverse bears: The divine Vararahnes, and a pyre between two figures. (Silver coin.)

³ A coin of Probus bears on the reverse: *Exercitus Persicus*. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 504.)

⁴ *Facta pace cum Persis* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 18).

one of his lieutenants to call to account—for assistance rendered some years before to Firmus—Coptos, Ptolemais, and the Blemyes? This we do not know, but Rome shortly beheld in her streets negro captives who had been taken on the borders of Ethiopia.

Probus had now completed, like Aurelian, Severus, and Hadrian, the review of the frontiers, those of Africa excepted, where all was tranquil. This had become a periodical necessity, since the barbaric world was astir and always ready to fall upon the provinces.

The emperor was recalled into Thrace to effect an important work. The invasions and battles which for half a century had been incessant along the whole line of the Danube had made many parts of these provinces desolate. Probus resolved to call in the barbarians and give them lands, cattle, and farming implements. He had already transported Lygians and Vandals into Britain, and had advised the Alemanni to settle in the Decumatian lands. The hostility of the Goths of Dacia towards the Bastarnæ, who occupied the eastern Carpathians, gave him the occasion to call into the Empire this latter tribe, the remnant of that great mass of Gallic nations whom we have seen, in the time of Alexander and Perseus, established in the valley of the Danube.

A hundred thousand Bastarnæ with their wives and children came down into Thrace, where, happy at escaping from their enemies, they moulded themselves rapidly enough to this new life. Rome rejoiced. "For us the barbarians labour," it was said; "for us they sow."¹ The same attempt was made in the case of the Gepidæ, the Guthunges (Goths), and the Frankish prisoners. It was a dangerous system, for to fill the provinces with foreign elements was equivalent to making the barbarians the warders at the gates of the Empire; the peaceful invasion which the emperor himself organized, far from hindering the other which was made with violence a century later, facilitated it. Ancient Rome had had a different policy: she Latinized conquered regions; Probus Germanized Roman provinces.²

These barbarians introduced into the provinces did not always accept their exile. The Gepidæ and the Guthunges preferred to

¹ *Barbari vobis arant, vobis serunt* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 15).

² See pp. 364 *et seq.* the paragraph relative to the army.

continue in Thrace their nomadic life; they ranged through the cultivated lands and committed such ravages that it became necessary to kill a great number and adopt rigorous measures against the rest. The Franks did better still: relegated to the lands about the Euxine they seized some vessels, says Zosimus,¹ crossed the Bosphorus, and having ravaged along their way the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece, they passed through the Straits of Hercules, and coasting Spain and Gaul came round to the mouths of the Rhine, where they related to their amazed fellow-countrymen how they had with impunity traversed the whole of the great Empire. This was a fatal revelation, too well understood by the Frisians and Saxons, who from that time began to ravage with their piracies the coasts of the western provinces. Other dangers were to be feared from the barbarians destined for the games of the circus. These men who were so ready to shed their blood did not take kindly to the trade of amusing the populace. Probus had reserved a large number of them for the shows he was obliged to furnish to the city after his victories, but they broke their chains, and a serious combat was necessary before they could be subdued.

About this time the turbulent population of Alexandria proclaimed as emperor Saturninus, an able general valued by Aurelian and Probus, but of volatile mind and restless disposition, like that Gallic race, says the historian, whence he sprang.² At first he suffered the populace to play at making an emperor; then, seized with fear, he fled into Palestine to escape this dangerous honour, and, lastly, believing that there was no longer safety for him in a private station, he took off a purple veil from a statue of Venus and made himself an imperial mantle of it. But he said, weeping, to the soldiers who dragged him to this honour: "Alas, how useful a citizen is lost to the state! I have restored the Gallic provinces, I have taken Africa from the Moors, and I have pacified Spain. To what profit is it all? In one day I lose all that I have gained. In calling me to the imperial power you sentence me to death." Probus would willingly have spared him; the emperor

¹ i. 71.

² *oriundo fuit Gallus, ex gente hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi principis vel imperii* (Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 7). Zosimus and Zonaras consider him a Moor.

wrote friendly letters to Saturninus with promises of pardon; but the soldiers who hoped to profit by his promotion compelled him to persevere in his usurpation. On the arrival of the imperial troops he sought shelter in a fortress, but was captured and put to death.

At Lyons a similar occurrence took place. Since the time that the armies had resumed obedience under the strong hand of their new leaders, the populace of the great cities had seemed to inherit the former's turbulence. The Lyonnese proclaimed Proculus, a rude and coarse man whom Probus had but to touch with his finger to overthrow. Bonosus, another old soldier, revolted to escape the responsibility of a fault; he had suffered the Germans to burn the Roman flotilla on the Rhine, of which he had been left in charge. Defeated by the imperial troops with the aid of the German auxiliaries, he attached a rope to a tree and strangled himself. His body was an object of derision: "This is not a man hanging here," it was said; "but only a skin of wine;"¹ and this funeral oration was merited. Probus had spared the family of Proculus, and he did the same in the case of Bonosus, granting to Hunila his wife a pension for life.

Still further an attempt at revolt was made in Britain. A friend of the emperor had persuaded him to give the government of this province to some individual whose name has not been preserved; learning that the fidelity of his *protégé* was wavering, and fearing to be regarded as his accomplice, the emperor's friend feigned to have fallen into disgrace at court, exiled himself into Britain, and being cordially welcomed by the governor assassinated him.

All these attempts had failed miserably; none the less, however, were they a dangerous symptom. The bad instincts, which had for a moment given way before a feeling of the public disasters, were re-awakening. Probus owed his elevation to war; he wished, however, to occupy himself only with works of public utility, and condemned his soldiers to this. The troops were not unwilling to be employed in repairing military roads and rebuilding

¹ Vopiscus, *Bonos.*, 15. He was a Breton of Spanish origin and his mother a Gaul. His father had been a schoolmaster. In respect to his habits of intoxication, see above, p. 372.

fortifications which had been destroyed, as their predecessors had so often done; but Probus would have them construct temples and porticos, regulate the course of rivers, and drain marshes, break up the ground and plant the vine in Gaul, Pannonia, and Mœsia, where these vineyards, longer of life than the Empire, still exist; and there was current a dangerous saying of his: "The day will come when Rome will no longer need an army." Our sympathy is due to this gallant soldier who did not underrate the share of the civil order in an established community; who, in the midst of arms, was mindful of the labours of peace and employed his legions therein. He was yet young,¹ beloved of the senate, feared by the barbarians, and had he lived would have secured prosperous days to the Empire; but he was not suffered to live. The Roman army was composed of too rough material for ideas of devotion to the public weal taking any other form than that of courage in battles to be comprehensible to these men who were in no respect Romans. One summer day, in a torrid heat which rendered fatigue greater and the mind more excitable, the soldiers employed in draining a marsh in the neighbourhood of Sirmium threw down their implements, seized their swords, and forcing an entrance into a tower where Probus was overlooking the work, they murdered him² (September or October, 282). The deed being done, they wept over the man whom they had just killed, and upon his tomb were inscribed these words: "Here lies the emperor Probus, a truly upright man, who conquered all barbarous nations and all tyrants."³ Carus, whom he had loaded with honours, avenged his death upon the murderers.

¹ Fifty years of age. (Orelli, No. 1,104.)

² This tower was protected with iron, *turris ferrata*, whence it may be inferred that murmurs had already been heard, and that Probus had guarded against a surprise. Zonaras represents this murder as preceded by a revolt of other troops who had constrained Carus to assume the purple and march upon Italy. Cf. Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 21; Aur. Victor, 37; Eutropius, ix. 17; Orosius, vii. 24; the Syncellus, etc. The authority of all these writers not being great, I adopt that version of the story which seems to me most probable.

³ The coins of Probus have for their legend: *Bono imp. C. Probo*, an epithet rare upon imperial coins. An inscription (Wilmanus, 1,048) bears the following: *pietate justitia fortitudine et plane omnium virtutum principi vero Gothico veroque Germanico ac victoriarum omnium nominibus inlustri, M. Aur. Probo*. Mommsen concludes, from the words *vero Gothico veroque Germanico*, that Probus had refused these two titles. It seems to me that the general character of the inscription gives another meaning to these words. The people of Valentia, in engraving these words, wish to contrast the important victories of Probus over the Goths and

We add one title more to those which Aurelian and Probus owe to the esteem of history: these valiant emperors created the great military school whence emerged Carus, Diocletian, his three colleagues, Constantine, Licinius, and the generals who for more than a half-century protected the frontiers from invasion.

III.—CARUS (SEPTEMBER, 282, TO DECEMBER, 283); CARINUS AND NUMERIANUS (DECEMBER, 283, TO APRIL, 285).

M. Aurelius Carus was also an Illyrian,¹ but he had been brought up in the capital, called himself a Roman, and had filled military and civil offices, the proconsulship of Cilicia, and the prætorian prefecture. He was therefore a senator; but he had less consideration for the senate than Probus, and contented himself with announcing to that body his accession, and congratulating them that their emperor was this time one of their own order.



Coin of Carus.

He had two sons of very different characters and tastes: Carinus, violent and profligate; and Numerianus, of gentle manners and cultivated mind. If we may believe the flatteries of the senate, who caused a statue to be erected to him in the Ulpian library,² the latter was a great orator, and his verses were compared with those of the most famous poet of his time, Nemesianus. The new emperor appointed his two sons Cæsars, and sharing the Empire with Carinus gave him, perhaps not without hesitation, the government of the western provinces. It is at least asserted that the emperor soon repented of this act, and sought to withdraw the authority from his son in order to bestow it upon Constantius Chlorus.³ He himself, resuming the project formed by Probus of striking a heavy blow at Persia,

Germans with the pretended successes of so many other emperors who were anything but real conquerors.

¹ At least born in Illyria; one of his historians represents him as the son of a Carthaginian, *Pænis parentibus* (Vopiscus, *Carus*, 4); Zonaras calls him a Gaul.

² DEO ET DOMINO CARO INVIC. AVG. Radiate busts; facing each other, the Sun and Carus. (Small bronze.)

³ This statue bore the following inscription: *Numeriano Cæsari oratori temporibus suis potentissimo* (Vopiscus, *Num.*, 12).

⁴ Vopiscus, *Carin.*, 16.

the hereditary enemy, directed his steps towards the East, followed by a formidable army; his second son accompanied him (January, 283).



Carus crowned with Laurel.

At the news of the death of Probus the Quadi had crossed the Danube and overrun the whole of Pannonia.¹ Carus killed 16,000 of them, and took a large number of prisoners, among them many women.

He then advanced rapidly into Mesopotamia. Bahram II., whose principal army was at that time employed at the opposite extremity of his Empire, essayed by a humble embassy to avert the storm.

When the envoys arrived in the camp they were conducted into the presence of an old man who, seated on the ground and clad in a simple woollen tunic, was eating some peas cooked with a little salt meat. This old man said to them that he was the emperor, and that if the Persians did not acknowledge the majesty of Rome



Coin commemorative of Victories over the Quadi.²

he would make their country as bare as his head, upon which, removing his cap, he showed it to them perfectly bald. "Are you

¹ Eutropius (ix. 6) places the Quadi in the eastern Carpathians; but this must be an error, for we have always found them in the vicinity of the Marcomanni.

² Intaglio of the *Cabinet de France* (nicolo, 14 millim. by 12), No. 2,106 of the Catalogue; not a likeness: Carus was older and bald, if the words attributed to him are authentic.

³ IMP. NUMERIANUS P. F. AVG. Laurelled bust, holding a spear and a globe. On the reverse: TRIVNF. VQUADOR.: Carinus and Numerianus in a quadriga. (Bronze medallion, Cohen, No. 19.) But neither the father nor the elder son were ever to return to Rome, and of

hungry?" he then said; "if you are, eat from this dish; otherwise, you may go."¹ A victory gave him the road to Seleucia, and he entered that region without difficulty; he crossed the Tigris, took Ctesiphon, and was making ready to execute his threats, when one day during a storm his tent was seen to be in flames. Aper, his prætorian prefect, declared it to have been set on fire by a flash of lightning, which had also killed the emperor. The lightning was probably not the real culprit. Carus was a hard master, and his soldiers and officers, fatigued by this summer campaign under a burning sun, saw themselves with alarm dragged away by him into the heart of Asia. A prophecy was put in circulation that no Roman emperor could go beyond Ctesiphon, and some one took advantage of the storm to strike the blow. The oracle was fulfilled, and the flames concealed all traces of the crime (end of December, 283). The emperor's secretary wrote to the urban prefect: "Our beloved emperor Carus was ill in his bed, when a furious storm burst over the camp. The sky became so darkened that we could not distinguish each other, and in the general confusion incessant peals of thunder prevented our being aware of what was going on. Immediately after a very heavy burst of thunder the outcry was raised that the emperor was no more; it appeared that, in the transports of their grief, the household officers had set on fire the imperial tent, whence has arisen a report that the emperor had been killed by lightning; but, so far as we have been able to investigate the matter, we believe that his death was caused by the illness from which he was suffering."³

Bahram II. (Vararahnesh).²

this triumph, all that was ever seen were the coins which bore its emblems. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 512.)

¹ These words have been also attributed to Probus.

² Intaglio of the *Cabinet de France* (sardonyx of 15 millim. by 11), No. 1,357 of the Catalogue. Under the No. 1,359 the same collection possesses an intaglio cut on both sides; the reverse of the head of Bahram II. is a lion surmounted by a scorpion.

³ Vopiscus, *Car.*, 8.

Numerianus inherited the title of Augustus, which his brother Carinus also assumed at Rome, and the army, abandoning its conquests, fell back into the provinces. The young emperor, a man of gentle and contemplative nature, preferred to dream over his verses rather than to add new exploits to those achieved by his



M. Aur. Carinus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 79.)

father. His constitution was delicate; he had not been able to endure the fatigues of this expedition, and the sun and the burning sands of the desert had brought on an affection of the eyes which made it necessary for him to live in darkness. He never left his tent except concealed in a litter, and the soldiers became accustomed to not seeing him. Thus slowly the army crossed

Mesopotamia, the Syrian provinces, and Asia Minor. The prætorian prefect, Aper, father-in-law of Numerianus, was in command. At the beginning of September they reached the shores of the Bosphorus. A part of the army had already crossed the straits when a rumour was put in circulation that Numerianus was dead. The soldiers rushed to the emperor's tent, and found there a dead body from which life had departed some days before. This secret kept so long directed suspicion upon the man whose duty it had been to reveal it instantly; the soldiers surrounded Aper, accused him of being his son-in-law's murderer, loaded him with chains, and the generals, assembled at Chalcedon on the Asiatic side, formed themselves into a tribunal to judge the murderer whose crime no man doubted. Before the decision, they chose one of their number as chief; he was the son of a freedman and himself a soldier of fortune, the captain of the household troops,¹ Diocles by name, a man who must have been an honoured soldier, since without canvassing or the intervention of the soldiery he was the choice of his companions in arms. He ascended the tribunal, and swore by the Sun, the divinity who sees all things, even the secret thoughts of men, that he had in no way been concerned in the murder nor had desired the imperial power; then turning towards Aper he exclaimed: "This man is the assassin;" and plunged his sword into the prefect's heart, as the priest immolates the victim devoted to the infernal gods. As supreme judge he had pronounced sentence; as soldier he executed it (17th September, 284).

¹ *Domesticos regens* (*id.*, *Numer.*, 13). The *domestici*, who are mentioned as early as the time of Caracalla, were companies of the bodyguard: their captains naturally took the rank and authority given them by the confidence of the emperor, whose life was in their hands. An inscription found at Nicomedia mentions a bodyguard of protectors, *protectores divini lateris*, under Aurelian. (*C. I. L.*, iii. 327.) Another mentions an officer of this guard who was consul in 261. (Perrot, *La Galatie*, etc., vol. i. p. 6.) In an inscription of the time of Claudius II. the *protectores* are mentioned. (*Bull. épigr.*, No. 1, p. 5.)

CHAPTER XCIX.

DIOCLETIAN: WARS AND ADMINISTRATION.

I.—DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, OR THE DYARCHY (284–293).

DIOCLES, who after his accession gave to his Greek name a Roman and more sonorous form, Diocletianus,¹ was a Dalmatian from the environs of Scutari, whose father had been a slave.



Diocletian.³

Entering the service at an early age, he attracted the notice of his superior officers, less by brilliant achievements than by his acute and penetrating mind, which always found the wisest measure to adopt and the best means of carrying it into execution.² At the time of the death of Claudius Gothicus, Diocletian was twenty-five years old, an age perfectly suited to profit by the lessons of the great military school of Aurelius and Probus.⁴ In these stormy times advancement was rapid; he rose quickly to the higher grades in the army, was made consul *suffectus*, governor of Mœsia and commander of the palace guard, a post of confidence which gave him very high rank. To set in circulation the report that in taking the life of Aper he had executed a decree of heaven, Diocletian related that a druidess of Tongres in Belgium had promised him that he should be emperor after he had killed a wild boar. "From that day,"

¹ His name in inscriptions is C. (or M.) Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus. (Wilmanus, 760 and 824.) He was born in 245 at Doclea, in Dalmatia, near Podgoritz, below Montenegro, and was but thirty-nine at the time of his accession.

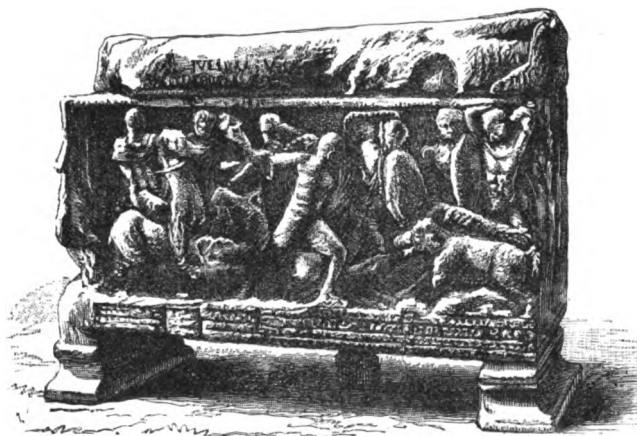
² Aur. Victor, who lived not long after Diocletian, filling high offices under Julian, says that the former was chosen *ob sapientiam*, and calls him *magnus vir* (*Cæs.*, 39).

³ IMP. C(æsar) C(aius) VAL(erius) DIOCLETIANUS P(ius) F(elix) AUG(ustus). Laurelléd bust with cuirass and ægis. (Bronze medallion.)

⁴ *usumque bonæ militiæ quanta his Aureliani Probiq[ue] institutio fuit* (Aur. Victor, 39).

he said, "I sought the wild boar everywhere, and I have killed many, but other men have eaten them." Aurelian, indeed, and then Probus, Tacitus, and Carus ascended the throne, and still Diocletian remained in the ranks. On the 17th of September, 284, the designated wild boar¹ fell at last beneath his blows, and the son of the Dalmatian slave became the emperor of Rome.

The rare documents which we possess in relation to Diocletian do not give those inner details which permit us to penetrate into



Chase of the Wild Boar.²

the genius of the man. However, notwithstanding gaps and obscurities, it is clearly to be seen that he was something more than a soldier of fortune. But he did not come from one of those rich and intellectual communities in which the Antonines had learned the elegancies of the Roman world. Accordingly, not possessing their natural or acquired distinction as a means to keep the crowd at a distance, he surrounded himself with a cold and solemn ceremonial, regulated by the strictest etiquette. In the arts his taste inclined to the massive constructions, the heavy ornamentation of periods of natural decline; and while Hadrian's

¹ *Aper* is the Latin word signifying wild boar. It has been believed that, by this precipitate murder, Diocletian intended to prevent compromising revelations, since he, as commander of the bodyguard must have known what was taking place in the tent of Numerianus. But as father-in-law of the emperor, as well as prætorian prefect, Aper had a superior authority which would have permitted him to send away all persons who might have prevented the carrying out of his designs.

² Bas-relief from a sarcophagus found at Salona, the subject of which is regarded as an allusion to the murder of Aper.

villa at Tivoli has preserved to us a great number of masterpieces, from the palace of Diocletian at Salona, an enormous mass of marble, granite, and porphyry, not one work of art has come down to us.

He seems to have had more appreciation of literature. We know that he gave to Nicomedia a school of higher instruction, to which he called Lactantius, the most eloquent rhetorician of his time;¹ that he excused students, up to their twenty-fifth year, from municipal burdens;² that he took as his model the philosopher Marcus Aurelius,³ a greater man than himself, but not so great a ruler; that finally he caused biographies of the emperors to be written.⁴ Unfortunately the lessons that he learned from history, while revealing to him the points truly important for an administration, did not teach him gentleness. He showed himself pitiless towards armed insurrections, and even towards those that were not armed, and if he had in his retirement much practical philosophy, he appeared never to have had a very lively interest in intellectual matters; at Salona his garden was far more attractive to him than were his books. His religion was that of the peasant: for his infirmities, a healing deity, Æsculapius; for his fortunes, a protecting deity, Jupiter, and the voice of the Oracles, listened to more attentively in certain cases than the utterance of human wisdom.

But he possessed the qualities which make the ruler: a knowledge of men, a comprehension of the needs of the state, and the firm resolve to give incessantly his thoughts and himself

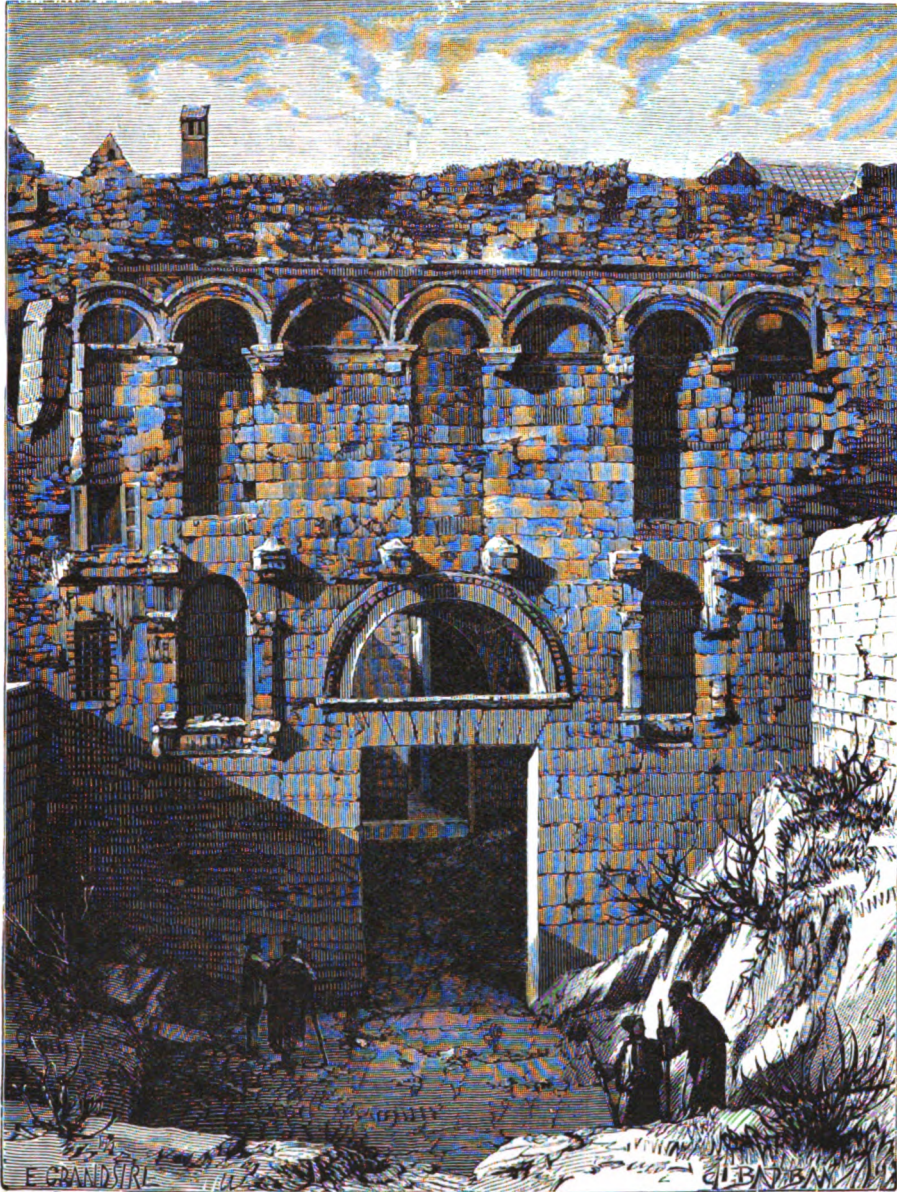
¹ Lactan., *Div. Inst.*, v. 2, and S. Jerome, *de Vir. illustr.*, 80: . . . *Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe accitus cum Flavio grammatico*. Another writer, Hierocles, was vicar of the diocese of Bithynia.

² . . . *ut studiis non avocantur* (*Code Just.*, x. 49, 1). See in the reign of Valentinian I. an ordinance concerning the schools of Rome. Diocletian also said: *artem geometriæ discere, atque exercere publice interest* (*Code Just.*, ix. 14, 2).

³ *Augustan History*, *Marc. Ant.*, 19. He blamed the savage temper of Maximian, *asperitatem*, and said of Aurelian that he was better suited to be a general than to be an emperor (*ibid.*, *Aurel.*, 43). Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*) speaks of his moderation: . . . *hanc moderationem tenere conatus est*.

⁴ A part of the *Augustan History*. Cf. Teuffel, *Geschichte der röm. Literatur*, No. 388. Capitolinus says to him (in *Macrino*, 15, *ad fin.*): . . . *quæ de plurimis collecta Serenitati Tuae . . . detulimus, quia te cupidum veterum imperatorum esse perspeximus*. The saying of Diocletian that "the best of rulers is in danger of being sold by his courtiers," seems to have been borrowed from letters exchanged between Mnesitheus and Gordian III. (*Hist. Aug.*, *Gordianus III.*, 24-25.)

to the cares of government. We might suppose that this creator of the Byzantine court was an effeminate person, but he manifested,



Gate of the Palace of Diocletian, called the Golden Gate, at Salona.

in respect to provinces, frontiers, and armies, all the masculine energy of a Hadrian. Like that indefatigable traveller he was incessantly on the road throughout the Empire. He weighed his

plans carefully, determined them long in advance, in order to secure their success, and executed with energy what prudence had prepared. His bust in the capitol shows plainly this patient tenacity. By the broad square forehead, the cold and tranquil

face, we recognize a man master of himself, which is the first condition for becoming master of others.

Lactantius accuses him of cowardice and of avarice, strange reproaches to address to the soldier who had gained his promotion on fields of battle, and to the economical ruler who was the most ostentatious of emperors only because he believed this ostentation necessary to the new monarchy he was founding. Nor do we more willingly agree with Lampridius when he calls Diocletian "the Father of the Golden Age,"¹ for the fourth



Æsculapius. (Marble in the Museum at Naples.)

century has no right to this title. The history of his reign which, with but a brief exception, gave to the Roman world a long period of domestic peace, and to the Empire forty years of security, will make us know him better than the words of doubtful veracity spoken by his enemies or by his flatterers.

¹ *Aug. Hist., Heliog.*, 34.

The man chosen by the Eastern army had a dangerous competitor in Carinus, who, proud of a brilliant success over the Jazyges, had no idea of abandoning his paternal inheritance. But detested by the senate¹—a thing, it is true, of but little importance, —Carinus was despised for his sensuality by the rough comrades-in-arms of the later emperors, and he was also dreaded by the soldiers on account of his cruelty, and this disaffection of the army was serious for an aspirant to the throne who had to encounter a competitor.

On both sides many months were employed in making ready for the struggle. Carinus first overcame Julian, governor of Venetia, who had assumed the purple, and he gained also some partial advantages over the advanced-guard of Diocletian. In March or April, 285, the armies met for a decisive engagement at Margus on the Morawa, not far from the confluence of that river with the Danube of Europe. As always, the Asiatic legions gave way before the onset of the legions of Europe; but Carinus was killed by one of his own officers whose wife he had outraged.²



Coin of the Usurper Julian.²

This murder seems to have been a deliverance for every one. On the conqueror's part there were no confiscations, no exiles: each man retained his office, even the urban and prætorian prefects, and Diocletian took one of them for his colleague in the consulship. It is probable an agreement had been entered into before the battle, and that the officers of the Western emperor had sold him to his competitor. Eutropius says that Carinus was betrayed or at least abandoned.⁴ In these days when Rome had only mercenaries for soldiers, the best of all war-engines was a well-filled treasury.

This great commotion had unsettled the Empire, encouraged the barbarians, and diminished the subject nations whom Rome

¹ Carinus had one day said to the Roman populace that the wealth of the aristocracy belonged to them, for the reason that they were the true Roman people. (*Hist. Aug., Carinus*, 1.)

² IMP. C. JULIANUS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus) and the laurelled bust of Julian. On the reverse: LIBERTAS PVBLICA, surrounding figure of Liberty. (Gold coin.)

³ *Suorum ictu interit quod libidine impatiens, militarium nuptas affectabat . . . sese ultimi sunt* (Aur. Victor, 39).

⁴ ix. 20.

protected badly and ruined by her exactions. The taxes were heavy in themselves, and increased because of the exhaustion of the sources of production.¹ What has been said² of the hardships which oppressed trade, commerce, and agriculture, of the disappearance of petty landowners, and the desolation of the country, even in its most fertile regions, makes it comprehensible how in the midst of these populations driven wild by suffering, *Gallias efferatas injuriis*,³ insurrections should have broken out. That of the Bagaudæ⁴ was for the moment formidable. Fugitive slaves, husbandmen oppressed by their masters, vagrant peasants, insolvent debtors, became freebooters and at last formed an army, which gave itself two Cæsars, Ælianus and Amandus (285). We have coins struck for these peasant-emperors;⁵ on the reverse of one is the word: *Spes*. Using every variety of weapons, they flung themselves with the ardour of savage instincts when unchained upon the villages and unwalled cities, ravaging, burning, and killing.⁶ Autun, lately the pride of Gaul, was a second time devastated.⁷ Brigand chiefs are often popular favourites, the war they make upon the rich seeming to the poor but legitimate reprisal. The Bagaudæ remain in the memory of the people as defenders of the unfortunate. A tradition which took shape in the following centuries even represents this outbreak as a Christian insurrection. It would be no cause for surprise if some Christians were among them, as there were some in the Gothic bands which had ravaged Asia Minor. Were they not also sufferers from oppression, and might not the spirit of

¹ Cæsar required from the Gauls only 40,000,000 sesterces (about £400,000). This was a tax which the conqueror knew it for his advantage to render light. Augustus, after reorganizing the pacified Empire, had required from Gaul nearly the same tribute as from Egypt, 12,500 talents (Vell. Paterc., ii. 39, and Strabo, XVII. i. 13) or nearly £2,800,000. Savigny believes that in the time of Constantine the tribute had quintupled. (Marquardt, *Handb.*, ii. 288.)

² p. 382.

³ *Paneg. veteres*, vi. 8, edit. of 1676. The word *efferatas* signifies literally "rendered wild or savage."

⁴ According to Ducange, in the Celtic *bagad* signifies a band. Gallic peasants had already mingled in the tumults of the soldiery in the time of Tetricus. (Eumenes, *Paneg. veter.*, vii. 4, and *Pro rest. scholis*, 14.) For twenty years (254-274) Gaul had been a prey to the devastations of the barbarians and to civil war.

⁵ But these coins are either counterfeit or else re-minted.

⁶ . . . *hostem barbarum suorum cultorum rusticus vastator imitatus est* (*Paneg. veter.*, ii. 4). Was it to conceal from these plunderers the wealth of the temple of Mercury that the treasure of Bernay was then buried? See many objects of this collection, vol. ii. p. 226; vol. v. p. 426, and the index.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 4.

vengeance, which was forbidden to the saints, justly arm against a world which crushed them those who had more wrath than resigna-



Diocletian. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 80.)

tion?¹ While Northern Gaul was in a blaze, the Saxons were scouring the North Sea and the British Channel and devastating

¹ In the middle of the second century, Christianity counted in Gaul only the small but fervent community of Lyons. The great mission, organized a century later, founded churches in Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Limoges, Clermont, Tours, and Paris, which prospered after the edict of toleration issued by Gallienus in 260. In respect to the tardy evangelization of the

the coasts; the Franks were astir along the Rhine, other Germans on the Danube, the Moors in Africa, the Persians behind the Tigris: all the line of the frontiers was threatened and the Empire shaken to its foundations. Diocletian spent twelve years in securing the colossus upon its base.

He had seen the most valiant emperors, men who had saved the state, murdered by their soldiers, and others fall victims to the machinations of their generals. Insurrections of the soldiery, treasonable designs on the part of ambitious men, and attacks from without were the triple peril which must be averted. If to arrive at the sovereign power there was only one man to overthrow, many would still make the attempt; but it would be difficult to destroy two emperors at the same moment, and this difficulty would be likely to cause the disaffected to hesitate. In the interests of the Empire and of himself, Diocletian, therefore, had need of a colleague who, having no further ambition himself, would assist the emperor in controlling that of other men, at the same time that he should keep the barbarians in check. From the first century of the Empire this necessity had been recognized. Piso had been adopted by Galba, Trajan by Nerva; in the time of Marcus Aurelius, Severus, the Gordians, Valerian, and Carus,² there had been several emperors at the same time, and the history of the Thirty Tyrants, which Diocletian studied, had shown him that the enfeebled Empire was exposed to too many dangers for one hand to be able to ward off all the blows. This was the solution of the future, the one imposed by geography, which is a mighty force; by the natural division of the Empire into two halves, the one Greek, the other Latin; and lastly by the weakness of a state which, being no longer able to conquer, was reduced to self-defence. Surrounded by barbarians, whom she had not in the days of her strength cared to subjugate and civilize, Rome was now, as it were, a prey in the midst of devouring wolves. The time had come, therefore, to organize a vigorous

Galic provinces, see the publications of the Abbé de Meissas, who boldly combats the wild assertions of the legendary school.

¹ When Carus appointed his two sons Cæsars, and intrusted to the elder the government of the Western provinces while he took the younger with him into the East, he was already following the system of Diocletian, with this advantage to the latter, that, having no son, he was able to choose his Cæsars from among his ablest officers.

defensive, making, by a division of the power, the imperial action present and effective in all the provinces. As to the rebel legionaries and the usurping generals, it would probably be easier to prevent their revolts by serving the cause of the most ambitious or most able among them.

Diocletian had that clear view of the public needs which in politics denotes the superior man. On the first day of May, 285, he invested with the purple, not one of his own kindred, but a comrade in arms, Maximian; and on this occasion he himself took a new name, Jovius, which may be translated as "devoted to Jupiter." He specially adored this divinity whose name was the beginning of his own;¹ he placed the figure of Jupiter upon his coins, and the statue of the god upon the column before which he presently invested Galerius with the imperial insignia; he built him a temple in the palace of Salona, and made it his study to appear in public ceremonies with the calm majesty of the father of gods and men. To Maximian, whom he adopted as his son,² he gave the name of Herculius, in memory of the assistance afforded by the son of Alemene to his divine father during the war of the giants.³ These appellations were well chosen to characterize the rôle destined for each of the two men: the one



Diocletian with the Name of Jovius.¹



Maximian Hercules.⁴

¹ IOVIO DIOCLETIANO AVG. (Bronze medallion.)

² *Dios* is the genitive of Zeus, the Greek Jupiter. Diocletian probably regarded this accidental circumstance as a sign, pledging him to the worship of the god.

³ This adoption seems to be proved by the names M. Aurelius Valerius assumed by Maximian. (Wilmanus, 769, 1,060, 1,062.)

⁴ HERCVLIO MAXIMIANO AVG. Maximian and Hercules seated; between them, a Victory. Reverse of the same medallion. (Cohen, No. 105.)

⁵ *Eadem auxilii opportunitate, qua tuus Hercules Jovem vestrum quondam Terrigenarum bello laborantem magna victoriae parte iuvit* (Paneg., ii. 4). The inhabitants of Fano and Pisaurum had already made Hercules the companion and colleague of Aurelian: *Herculi Augusto consorti Domini nostri Aureliani* (Orelli, No. 1,031).

to be the ruling thought, the other the executing strength. Maximian was not proclaimed Augustus; his title of Cæsar marked a subordinate rank, and the surname which he had accepted pledged him to filial obedience.

From the time of Claudius II., Illyricum, the region of the Empire where most fighting was required, had held the right to provide emperors,¹ as Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Syria had done in their turn. Maximian was the son of a Pannonian colonist in the neighbourhood of Sirmium, a brave soldier and experienced general, but of coarse manners and uncultivated mind, to the degree that he, who recaptured Carthage, knew nothing of Hannibal, of Scipio, or of Zama; he felt himself the inferior of Diocletian, and was not irritated at this consciousness. The Augustus had chosen, therefore, not so much a colleague as a docile lieutenant.

Carus had taken Ctesiphon, but the Persians had quickly recovered possession of it, so that Rome only scored an additional victory but not an enemy the less. Retained by the hostile attitude of the Persians, Diocletian despatched the Cæsar to Gaul to restore order there and give security to the western frontiers. The Seine and the Marne at their junction form a peninsula which the Bagaudæ had cut with deep trenches (Saint-Maur-les-Fossés): this was their fortress and camp of refuge; there they collected their booty and they believed themselves secure against attack. But their bands, undisciplined and poorly armed, could not stand before the legions; in a few weeks this Jacquerie, shut up in its camp of Saint-Maur, was smothered there.²

The pacification of Gaul gave to the Cæsar the title of Augustus (286).³ Diocletian had not ventured to incur the risk that the victorious army, giving to their leader the supreme title, should make of him a rebel. But to this elevation he added the condition that Maximian Hercules should lay aside the purple whenever he himself should set the example, and a solemn oath on the altar of Jupiter consecrated this engagement.⁴

¹ *Italia . . . gentium domina gloriæ vetustate, sed Pannonia virtute* (*Paneg.*, i. 2) . . . *in quibus provinciis omnis vita militia est* (*ib.*, iii.).

² *Paneg. veteres*, ii. 8: . . . *levibus præliis agrestes domuit* (*Eutrop.*, ix. 20).

³ A rescript of June 21st, 286, gives him that title. As Augustus, he became "the brother of Diocletian" (*Wilmanns*, 739), a title which modern sovereigns interchange with each other.

⁴ This pledge is mentioned twice, in 307 and in 310, by the authors of the *Paneg. veter.*,

As Cæsar, the new Augustus had been already in possession of the tribunitian and proconsular authority, he now received the title of Pontifex Maximus, which had been shared but once before, namely, by Pupienus and Balbinus. He had his own prætorian prefect, his army, his treasury; and he promulgated decrees which were valid everywhere, although he was intrusted only with the administration of the Western provinces. The unity of command was secured by the deference that Maximian had promised to his colleague; it was manifested to all eyes by the unity in legislation, all edicts being issued in the name of the two emperors, and by that of the coinage, which was the same from the banks of the Euphrates to the Rhine. Inscriptions commemorative of public works executed by either bore the names of both;¹ in a word, the administration was divided, but the government was not, Diocletian alone holding the reins.² In public documents his name preceded that of Maximian, as later Constantius was always mentioned before Galerius. This unvarying order proves that, in the system of Diocletian, a certain pre-eminence was reserved to the first Augustus.

For the expedition against the Bagaudæ, the posts on the Rhine had been stripped of their garrisons; the Germans took advantage of this situation, and the Heruli and Chaviones on the north,³ and the Burgundians and Alemanni on the south, crossed the river. But they arrived too late; Maximian had brought his troops back to Mayence, and from this strong position he kept watch on the movements of the barbarians. The Burgundians and Alemanni seemed too numerous for him to attack in front, and he allowed them to advance into the desolated provinces, where famine and disease soon reduced their numbers, and when their

vi. 9: . . . *consilii olim inter vos placiti constantia et pietate fraterna*, and vii. 15: . . . *illum in Capitolini Jovis templo jurasse*. It is also referred to by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine*, book i. chap. xviii. The fact is certain, therefore, though not the date. It seems to me probable that it occurred on the day when Maximian could refuse nothing to the man who invested him with the supreme rank.

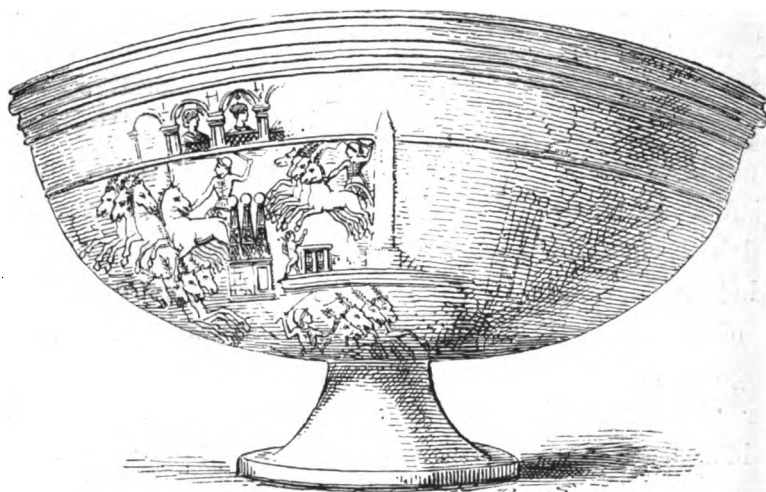
¹ Orelli, Nos. 1.052, 1.054.

² *Cujus nutu omnia gubernabantur* (Aur. Victor).

³ The Chaviones originally occupied Northern Holstein. The great movement of the Germanic tribes towards the south, of which we have already spoken (pp. 356 *et seq.*), had brought to the Rhine the Chaviones, the Heruli, and some Burgundians, the main body of the latter nation having stopped in the valley of the Saale.

diminished bands came again within his reach he easily got the better of them. The Heruli, less dangerous, had been arrested on their first advance and driven back across the river. These were far from glorious victories, but men cared little what devastation the barbarians might have made; the Roman dignity at that time was satisfied when the emperor could say: "The enemy is no longer within the limits of the Empire."

Trèves had become the Rome of the Gallic provinces. It had a palace for the emperor, arsenals and workshops for the armies, a



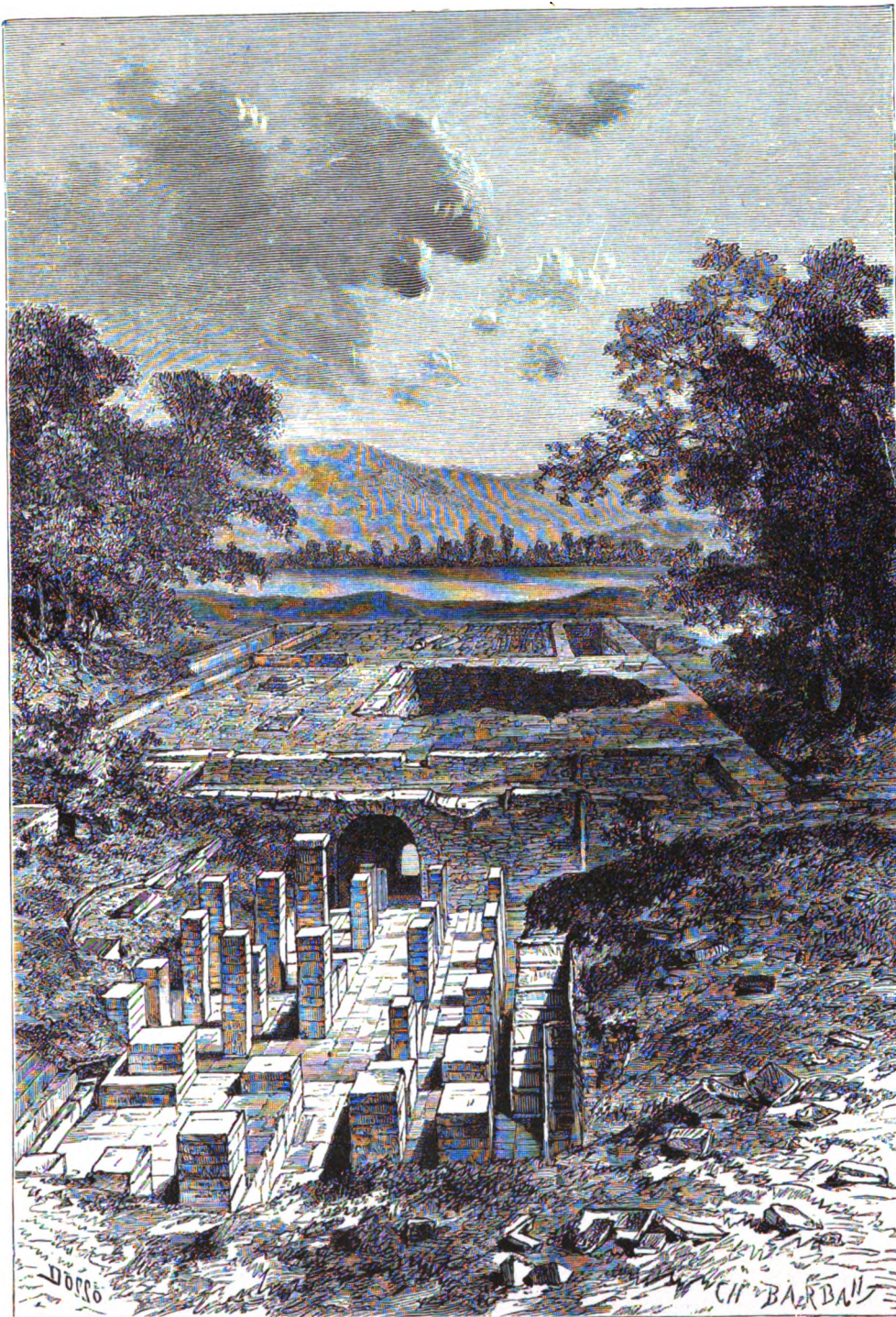
Glass Cup found at Trèves, representing the Great Circus.¹

circus and a forum for the people. On the first of January, 288, a public ceremony had attracted thither vast crowds: Maximian for the second time assumed the consular dignity. According to custom he was about to address the assembly, when a cry was heard from the ramparts: "The barbarians are at the gates!" The emperor threw off the consular toga, put on his cuirass and hastened to meet the foe. It proved to be some German horsemen who had made their way between the outposts and were on a plundering expedition.² Such was life upon this frontier.

To give chase to the Saxon and Frankish pirates who were ravaging the coasts of Britain and Gaul, Maximian had collected

¹ Wilmowski, *Archæol. Freunde in Trier und Umgegend*, 1873, p. 18, pl. ii., and Fröhner, *La Verrerie antique*, Descript. of the Coll. Charvet, 1879, p. 96.

² Or some Alemannic band astray after the late invasion who had escaped the soldiers of Maximian. (*Paneg.*, ii. G.)



Ruins of Hot Baths in a Roman Villa, discovered in 1811 at Bognor, in Sussex (England).
(Lyson's *Reliquiae Britanniae Romanae*, pl. xxv. vol. iii.)

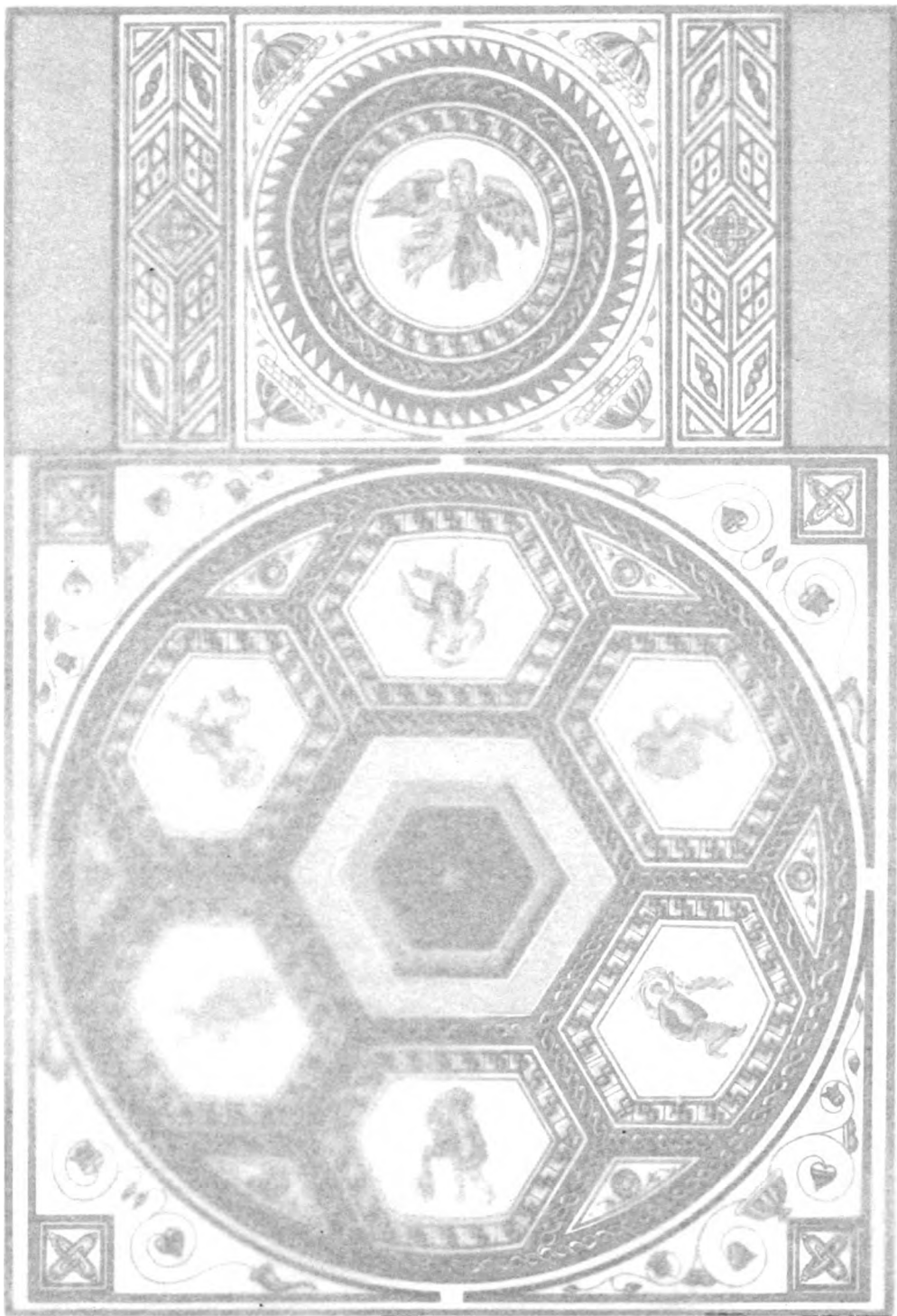
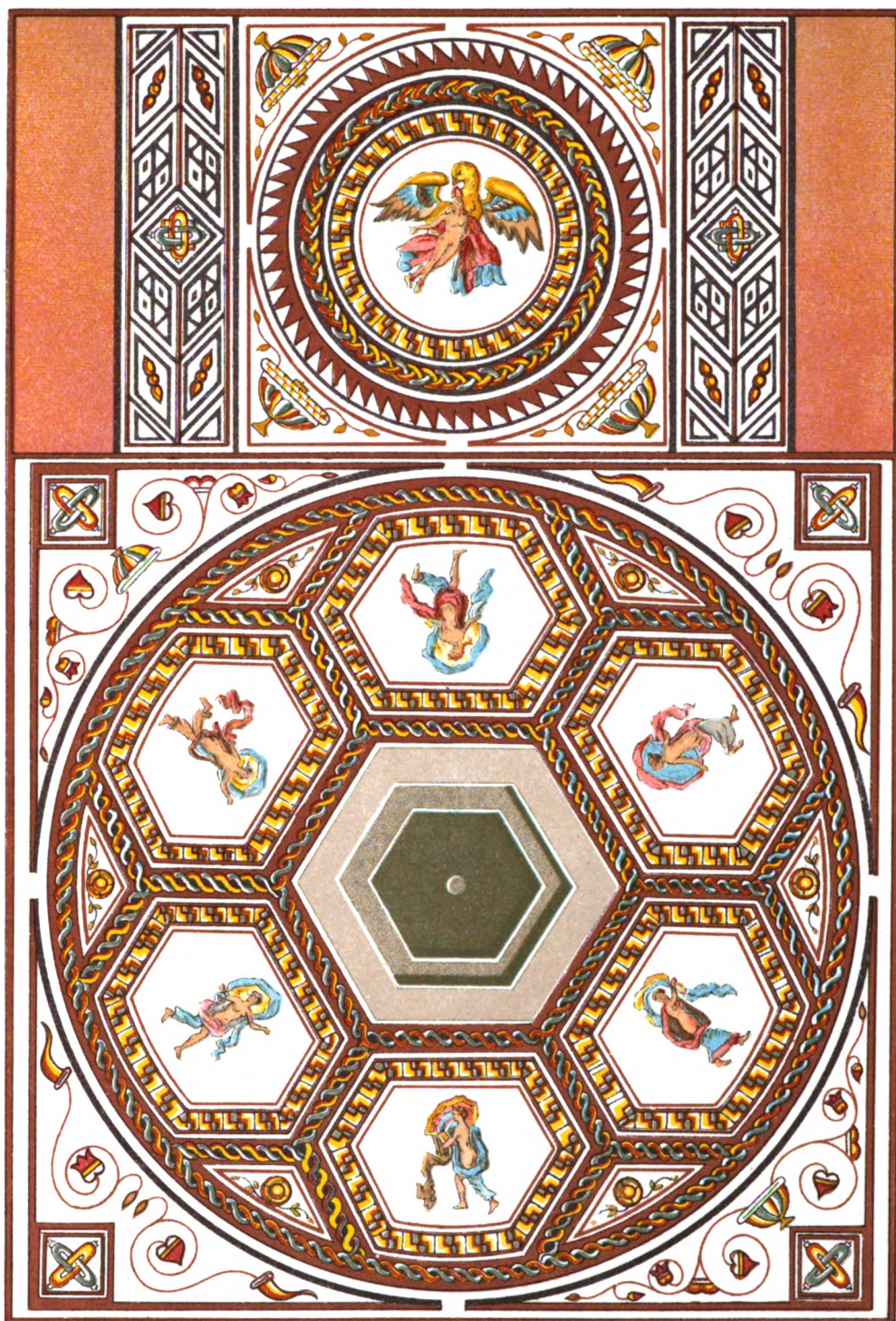


FIG. 1. MOSAIC PAVEMENT

FROM THE MOSAIC PAVEMENT, LONDON



EUMELI DEL. Dosso pinxit

Imp. Fraillery.

DAMBOURGEX chromolith

FRAGMENTS OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT

FOUND IN 1811 IN THE BATH OF A ROMAN VILLA AT BOGNOR, SUSSEX

at Boulogne under Carausius, the Menapian, a fleet designed to close the straits. This Carausius, once a galley slave, had not improved in character with his advance in fortune; he made his plan to plunder the freebooters who were his compatriots. He suffered them to pass freely, but on their return they were detained and compelled to share their booty with the admiral. He in this manner collected money enough to buy his officers and crews, and when Maximian pronounced against him sentence of death no man could be found to execute it. Carausius placed himself out of reach by going over into Britain, where he corrupted the troops and caused himself to be proclaimed Augustus (287). With a remarkable appreciation of the resources offered by the possession of the island, he organized a powerful marine, which caused his standard to be respected as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and his alliance with the Saxons and Franks secured him soldiers and sailors. Many cities on the Gallic sea-coast preserved their old and profitable commercial intercourse with Britain, and Boulogne even remained in his hands. Carausius therefore was master of his island and of the sea, and Maximian could effect nothing against him. The emperor, however, made an attempt to dispute both with him; a fleet was constructed at the mouths of the Gallic rivers, and on the festival of the Palilia (21st of April, 289) the official panegyrist¹ celebrated in Trèves the approaching fall of "the chief of the pirates." The details of the conflict are not in our possession, but we know that the brigand chief came out of it a legitimate emperor, in virtue of a treaty which admitted his title of Augustus and left to him the kingdom of which he had taken possession (290). The British mints issued coins with the figure of Hercules, "preserver of the three Augusti;" and others bear the words: "Carausius and his brothers."



Coin of Carausius, with the Legend: VIRTVS CARAVSI. (Cohen, No. 35.)



Carausius, Diocletian, and Maximian Hercules.²

This treaty was a confession of impotence, but Diocletian

¹ He is known as Mamertinus, but the name is not given by the older manuscripts.

² CARAVSIUS ET FRATRES SUI. Radiate head of Carausius, with the bare heads of Diocletian and Maximian Hercules. (Small bronze.)

considered it as an armistice necessary until more propitious days should come. He was not willing that Maximian should divert his attention and his troops from Germany ; he himself had been obliged to go into Syria, in order to keep watch upon Egypt, where turbulent Alexandria was causing anxiety, and upon the Persians, whose courage had been revived by the death of Carus. The prolonged sojourn of the emperor and an army so near the Persian frontier, together with a civil war caused by a competitor for the throne, decided king Bahram to avoid all disagreements with the Romans. His envoys came to meet Diocletian as the emperor drew near the Euphrates, bringing presents from their master and soliciting his friendship.

Diocletian for the moment asked nothing more, preoccupied as he was with an affair more important for the security of the Empire than any new victory over cavalry impossible to capture. For the last twenty-seven years Armenia had been a Persian province, and since the time of Augustus, even since that of Pompey, the traditional policy of Rome had been to retain this country under her influence. An heir to the Armenian crown, Tiridates, was now living at the imperial court, and by his amiable deportment had gained the regard of the most important men ; also by his courage, his strength, and skill in martial exercise, the esteem and respect of the soldiers. This prince was an invaluable instrument for the execution of a design suggested to the mind of Diocletian by the anarchy prevailing in Persia. Given up to all the woes of a foreign dominion, Armenia had been wounded in her religion and in her patriotism ; the statues of her kings had been thrown down, the objects of her worship profaned, and her nobles excluded from public office. A violent hatred brooded in the hearts of all.¹ Everything was ready for a revolution, and the domestic troubles of Persia rendered success probable. Tiridates set out, with the instructions and good wishes of Diocletian, but without ostensible assistance. This was, in fact, not needed, and would moreover have been a violation of the promised friendship lately granted to king Bahram. As soon as the new claimant appeared defections occurred in every direction. Tiridates ascended

¹ See p. 422.

the throne of his fathers and henceforth held in the interest of Rome that great fortress of Armenia which protected against the Persians Asia Minor and a part of the Syrian provinces (287).

This bloodless victory, gained by statecraft, was an important success. To avoid all complaints on the part of the Persian king, Diocletian had quitted Syria before the departure of Tiridates on this expedition. A rescript shows him to have been in Thrace in the middle of October, 286;¹ he then went into Pannonia, which was ravaged by Sarmatian bands, and into Rhætia, where it was needful to show the eagles. Following the example of the great emperors he visited the frontiers, to restore security with the restoration of respect for the name of Rome; and everywhere he repaired the line of defences which had been trodden down under the feet of the barbarians.³



Maximian.²

Maximian had come from Gaul to meet his colleague; in their conference doubtless were concerted the measures against

¹ Mommsen, *Ueber die Zeitfolge der in den Rechtsbüchern enthaltenen Verordnungen Diocletians*, in the *Journal of the Academy of Sciences* of Berlin, 1860, pp. 349–447. Tillemont had already begun this work in his learned history, and Godefroy has given a chronology of the laws of the *Theodosian Code*, vol. i. pp. 5–214, edit. of 1737.

² Half figure of marble; fragment of an armed statue found in the capital of Carinthia. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 980, No. 2,526.)

³ *Omnia quæ priorum labe conciderant resurgentia, tot urbes diu silvis obsitas instaurari mœnibus castra toto Rheni et Istri et Euphratis limite restituta* (Eumenes, *Paneg. veter.*, iv. 18). Suidas (s. v. *ισχαριά*) speaks in the same way: ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς λόγον ποιούμενος τῶν πραγμάτων, ψήθη δὲ δυνάμειν ἀρκούσαις ἐκάστην ἰσχατιὰν ὀχυρῶσαι καὶ φρούρια ποιῆσαι.

Carausius which that skilful usurper was so well able to defeat the following year. The rare and confused documents of this period do not enable us to reconstruct its life;¹ we are reduced to gathering up in the panegyrics or the political pamphlets, two very muddy springs, a few isolated facts, without being able to establish between them that connection of cause and effect which forms the solid texture of history. The rescripts of the emperors show indeed the cities where they were at the time, but give no hint of the interests which had called them thither; these interests can only be conjectured by placing beside the dates inscribed on these decrees the legend of some coin, or a word let fall by the poor writers of the time. Thus we find in February, 291, Maximian at Rheims, at Trèves, and in the country of the Nervii, where, carrying out the disastrous policy of Augustus and Tiberius, he established Frankish prisoners as colonists.² In January, 290, Diocletian is at Sirmium, in February at Adrianopolis, in April at Byzantium, in May at Antioch. He expels from Syria the Saracens who have come in to pillage, and we find him again at Sirmium in the middle of July. This was like the activity of Cæsar.³ It has not been usual to recognize this diligence and this laborious life in the emperor who established that severe etiquette whose supreme expression came to be the immovable majesty of the Byzantine emperors.

The occurrences which recalled Diocletian in so great haste to the shores of the Danube, where he remained till the close of this year 290, were the great national movements then agitating Germany. Sanguinary encounters were taking place: the Goths were falling upon those of the Burgundians who had followed them in the East, the Taifales and the Thervinges upon the Gepidæ and the Vandals;⁴ it was impossible to say what might arise out of this confusion—possibly a new invasion. But the emperors guarded the frontier and nothing could pass.

¹ Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Zonaras give each of them but a few lines to Diocletian, and scarcely more can be extracted from the bad rhetoric of the panegyrists or the eloquent invectives of Lactantius. What Zosimus says of Diocletian has been lost.

² Also, possibly, Sarmatian. Ausonius, in his poem on the Moselle, speaks of Sarmatian colonies established near Trèves.

³ . . . *illum modo Syria viderat, jam Pannonia suscepit* (*Paneg. veter.*, iii. 4).

⁴ *Paneg. veter.*, iii. 16 and 17: *Ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum populi . . . obstinateque feritatis pœnas, nunc sponte persolunt.*



II.—THE TETRARCHY.

At the beginning of the year 291 the two Augusti crossed the Alps in the middle of winter to have another conference at Milan.¹ Diocletian was meditating a reorganization of the state. The division of power made in 286 was only partially successful, because the part assigned to each emperor was still too great for the action of the government to be everywhere prompt and effectual. Dangers were increasing. In the East, the pacific Bahram was about to die, and the Persians to become once more a source of danger. In the North, the barbaric world was pushing forward its turbulent tribes towards the Rhine and the Danube. The Chemavi and the Frisones had seized upon Batavia at the mouths of the Rhine, a tract half land, half sea, a domain divided with less certainty between the Germans and the Empire. At this time all the shore of the North sea, from the Meuse to Jutland, was bordered with a population who sailed the seas in search of Gallic merchant vessels. In the interior extensive provinces were becoming detached from the Empire. Egypt was about to proclaim an emperor, Britain had already done it, which signified that both countries were aspiring to independence; and the Moors of Africa were claiming their liberty, sword in hand. Diocletian considered it wise to complete his political system; he decided that the two Augusti should take to themselves, under the title of Cæsars, two lieutenants, their necessary heirs. It was his hope that the Empire would thus be better guarded, the ambition of subalterns more certainly controlled, and the grave question of the succession settled, without giving opportunity in future for the soldiers to intervene with their caprices and their demands. The first day of March, 293, Constantius and Galerius were proclaimed Cæsars.²

Theoretically this conception was a happy one; with Diocletian it could succeed, thanks to the authority which his wisdom, proved by ten years of firm and successful rule, gave him; and it is with

¹ The memory of this occasion was consecrated by coins bearing the words: *Concordia Augg.*

² Orelli, No. 487, and *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 1,439. The two Cæsars were designated consuls for the year 294, and must have been so from the first year which followed their elevation.

good reason that contemporaries have praised the harmony which he knew how to maintain among princes of characters so different. But in this system he did not take into account the rivalries which would inevitably break out after his time from the impatient



Constantius Chlorus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 80.)

ambition of the Cæsars and the mutual jealousy of the Augusti who would succeed the founders of this tetrarchy. This plan had the fate of so many other projects inspired by political sagacity, but sure to fail through passion or contrary circumstances. However, when we add to this reform in the constitution of the government that which Diocletian also made in the administration, we shall be obliged to recognize in this ruler a very high order of intellect and to place him in the first rank of Roman emperors. The name of Charlemagne has

remained great, although his work also failed; it is true that it lasted for a longer time.¹

Galerius was a Dacian who had been a shepherd in his youth,

¹ Charlemagne pursued the same plan as did Diocletian, in giving three of his sons the title of kings, while holding them subject to his superior will. At the division of 817 the sons of Louis le Débonnaire were similarly placed. Charlemagne also organized his army on the Roman principle, that the military service was a charge on property. Again, like the Romans, he laid the keeping up of roads and bridges upon the adjacent landowners, who were bound, moreover, to furnish subsistence for the emperor or his agents when passing over their lands. One of the injunctions of Charlemagne to his counts in respect to their fiscal vigilance is a sentence from two of Justinian's *novellæ* (viii. 8, and xvii. 1), and his bishops were like Constantine's, public functionaries. How many Roman institutions we find in the Middle Ages, if we examine them closely!

and whose family, fleeing before the invasion of the Carpæ, had taken refuge near Sardica (Sophia) in the Dacia of Aurelian. From a shepherd he became a soldier. He was another Maximian, rude and coarse, but like him again obedient and faithful; illiterate but not without courage; of violent and cruel nature; good in a secondary position if held there, but detestable when in the highest rank.¹ With Constantius, on the contrary, reappeared qualities that had been long unknown in the emperors: gentle and elegant manners, a cultivated mind, an amiable character, and, a thing always of importance in the midst of these parvenus, a noble



GAL. VALERIA
AUGUSTA, Daughter
of Diocletian
and Wife of Galerius.
(Silver Coin.)



FL. MAX. THEO-
DORA AUG.,
Second Wife of
Constantius
Chlorus. (Small
Bronze.)



CONSTANTIVS
ET MAXI-
MIANVS AUG.
Laurelled Heads.
(Medium Bronze.)

lineage, his mother being a niece of Claudius Gothicus and his father descended from an old Macedonian family. Under Aurelian he had distinguished himself by defeating the Alemanni near Windisch (274), and Carus, it is said, had thought of adopting him. The pallor of his countenance had caused him to be called by the Greeks Chlorus, or the Yellow, and to attach themselves to his race, all the emperors, down to Theodosius, took his family name, Flavius,² as Severus and his successors had taken those of the Antonines. Being appointed Cæsar before Galerius, Constantius was to succeed that one of the two Augusti who should first quit the world or the political stage.

Constantius and Galerius were married. They now repudiated their wives, of whom one, Helena, who had been united to

¹ Church writers have accumulated all forms of accusation against Galerius. According to them he was made up entirely of vices and cruelties. Eutropius speaks otherwise of him: *vir et probe moratus et egregius in re militari* (x. 2). As administrator, the Empire owed him a new province, Valeria, which he formed in Pannonia by turning a forest into cultivated land and causing the Danube to flow into Lake Pelso. (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 40.)

² The usurper Maximus gave this *gentilicium* to his son Victor (Wilmanns, 824). Eugenius took it, and Valentinian III. again bore it (*ibid.*, 645).

Constantius by that marriage of the second order which the Romans called concubinage,¹ has remained famous as the mother of Constantine and a zealous Christian. After this sacrifice made to policy, the Cæsars married the daughters of the two Augusti: Galerius, the daughter of Diocletian, whose lieutenant he was; Constantius, the daughter of Maximian, under whose orders he was placed. Each was subordinated to the emperor, whose faults he balanced or whose virtues he complemented by opposite merits; warlike energy was joined with wisdom, mildness with strength. Diocletian took with him the youth Constantine, then nineteen years of age. It was as a pledge of the father's fidelity, a needless precaution in the case of such a man as Constantius, but one long practised at the imperial court.²

Diocletian had reserved to himself the administration of the

¹ Zosimus, Orosius, and the *Alexandrian Chronicle* affirm this; S. Ambrose implies it; the Benedictines, his editors, admit it (note to the *Opera S. Ambrosii*, vol. ii. p. 1,210); and we find no weight in the objections which Tillemont draws from the virtuous character of Constantius Chlorus, and Gibbon from the condition of illegitimacy which would have prevented Constantine from being his father's heir. It has been already explained (p. 25, n. 2) that there was no disgrace attached to marriages of this kind. Many reasons gave cause for them, among others, the inferior condition of the woman, and we know that Helena was an innkeeper's daughter, *stabularia*, says S. Ambrose. Constantine had also, before his elevation, a concubine, Minervina, who was the mother of Crispus (Zosimus, ii. 20; the author of the *Epitome*, 41, and Zonaras, xiii. 2). Concubinage was a real marriage, *conjugium inæquale*, says Theodosius; *licita consuetudo*, says Justinian; and it was as well accepted by the legists and by the Church as is in our days the morganatic marriage of the Germans. The bishop of Seville, S. Isidore, wrote: *Christiano non duas simul habere licitum est, aut uxorem, aut certe loco uxoris concubinam*; and the Fathers of the first Council of Toledo, in 400, think the same in their seventeenth canon: *qui non habet uxorem et pro uxore concubinam habet a communione non repellatur*. Similar decisions were made by the Councils of Mayence, 815, and of Tibur, 895. The condition of the children of these unions was not in civil law the same with that of children born of full legal marriages. Thus Libanius, in his twelfth discourse, asserts that the brothers of Constantine, born of Theodora, had more right than he to the Empire, which would confirm Gibbon's opinion. But Constantius Chlorus and Constantine did not feel themselves bound by these ancient rules. Each of them had a son grown to manhood, capable of succeeding his father and meanwhile of being useful to him, and also children of a second marriage who were still very young. The eldest was useful—necessary, even; the others were not so; and the omnipotence of the two Augusti sanctioned all. Constantine, so severe on "unequal marriages" (law of 337, *Code Just.*, v. 27, 1), made a law giving all the rights of legitimate children to those born while their parents were living in concubinage, if the latter should afterwards contract *justæ nuptiæ* (*ibid.*, v. 27, 5). It would seem as if this law, whose date is unknown, may have been suggested to Constantine by the memory of his mother and of his first wife.

² When Maxentius demanded of the viceroy of Africa that the latter should give him his son as a hostage, he refused to do it (Zosimus, ii. 12). Aur. Victor says of Galerius that he detained Constantine at his court, *ad vicem obsidis* (*Cæs.*, 40). Commodus retained at Rome the sons of the governors of provinces (Herodian, iii. 4). Before the news of his proclamation as emperor arrived at Rome, Severus caused his children to be removed from the city.

East, with Egypt, Libya, the islands, and Thrace; Galerius was to take charge of the Danubian provinces and Illyricum, with Macedon, Greece, and Crete. In the West, Maximian had the government of Italy, Africa, and Spain, and Constantius had Gaul and Britain.¹

The Cæsars, being invested with the tribunitian power² and the military *imperium*, were treated as regal personages, and wore the diadem;³ their names were often placed with those of the Augusti at the head of edicts, but they issued none by their own authority; and in the case of an ordinance made for a part of the Empire governed by a Cæsar, the act bore indeed with the names of the two Augusti that of the Cæsar concerned in its execution, but never the name of the other Cæsar. The legislative power remained undivided between the two Augusti, as it had been between Severus and Caracalla and between Valerian and Gallienus; or rather, it was entirely in the hands of him who was the soul of this government, Diocletian.⁴ The Augusti entered the Cæsarian provinces at their pleasure, and exercised in this a supreme authority. Thus, in the absence of the Gallic Cæsar, Maximian guarded the Rhenish frontier, and Diocletian in residing at Sirmium was not outside his imperial domain; most of his rescripts are dated from Illyricum or from Thrace. The Cæsar received orders and even reprimands from the Augustus. We shall see that Diocletian called Galerius into the East after a defeat which the latter had suffered, and treated him with the severity of early times.⁵ It seems as if there reappeared, under other names and with a great difference in the duration of the authority, the ancient dictator and his master of the horse.

Each one of the four rulers selected a capital. The two Cæsars established themselves on the frontier: Galerius at Sirmium, the central point of defence in the middle valley of the Danube; Constantius by turns at Trèves or at York, to protect Gaul or

¹ Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*, 8) gives Spain to Maximian; referring to the persecution by Diocletian, he says further (chap. xvi.): *Vexabatur universa terra, præter Gallias*, where Constantine was in command. Tingitanian Mauretania formed part of the district of Spain.

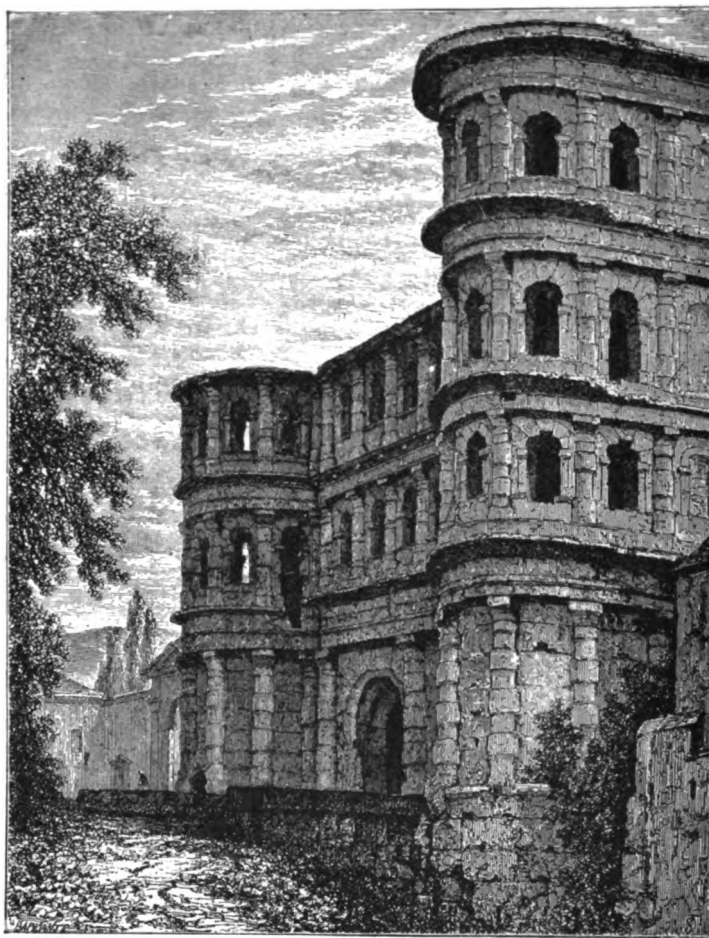
² Wilmanns, 1,061, and *Paneg. veter.*, v. 1: . . . *cum apud majestatem tuam divina virtutum vestrarum miracula prædicarim*. The Cæsars were called *nobilissimi*.

³ Euseb., *Life of Constantine*, i. 18.

⁴ . . . *Valerium ut parentem suspiciebant* (Aur. Victor, 39).

⁵ Under Constantius the Cæsars, Gallus and Julian, were merely lieutenants of the emperor.

Britain. The two Augusti placed themselves in the second line : Maximian at Milan,¹ behind the Alps, but having within reach the Germans who were making an attempt to establish themselves in Rhætia and the upper valley of the Rhine; and Diocletian at



Roman Gate, called the Black Gate, at Trèves.

Nicomedia, on the shore of the Sea of Marmora, whence he kept watch at once upon the Tigris, the lower Danube, and the Euxine, by way of which so many dangerous invasions had come in. At the same time no one of them confined himself to the city which

¹ Here Maximian built a palace and baths, of which there remain the sixteen columns which decorate San Lorenzo. The church itself, of octagonal form and surmounted with a cupola, like the so-called temple of Jupiter at Salona, seems also to have been one of the great halls of the palace or of the thermæ of Maximian mentioned by Ausonius in his little poem, *Oratio nobilium urbium*.



Milan: the Sixteen Antique Columns of San Lorenzo. (From a Photograph.)

he had made his chief residence; incessantly they were in motion along the frontier, which was well guarded; and if the barbarians did not fall back, at least they no longer advanced.

Constantius had orders to resume against Carausius the expedition which had failed in 289. The treaty signed after the Roman defeat had been violated by the usurper's alliance with the Franks, to whom he promised the islands of the Batavi and all the coast as far as the river Schelde; the plundering of the Gallic coast had doubtless been recommenced.¹ Carausius had a garrison at Boulogne and a squadron in the harbour; Constantius closed the port by a dyke, and both garrison and vessels were obliged to surrender. Before attempting a descent into Britain he made an expedition against the Franks, pursuing them into their marshes between the Wahal, the Rhine, and Lake Flevo, a submerged territory easy to defend, but badly defended, however, by the barbarians.³ He drove them back into Germany, and distributed his numerous captives under the title of colonists through certain portions of the territory of Amiens, Beauvais, Troyes, and Langres, which had been laid waste by the Bagaudæ.⁴

Carausius was assassinated in 293 by his prætorian prefect Allectus, who took his place and kept it three years; but the new master of Britain had neither the talent nor the authority



Roman Vase found in the Neighbourhood of Amiens.²

¹ *bellum quod cunctis provinciis videbatur* (*Pan. vet.*, v. 7).

² This bronze vase is part of the collection of M. Danicourt of Péronne. We give it in its actual size.

³ *Illa regio terra non est* (*Pan. vet.*, v. 8).

⁴ As late as the seventh century there existed, near Langres, a *pagus Chamavorum*. (Guérard, *Divisions territoriales de la Gaule*.)

of "the arch-pirate."¹ The prætorian prefect, Asclepiodotus, having collected a fleet off the mouth of the Seine, crossed unseen one foggy day and landed in the southern part of the island. To increase the determination of his soldiers the Roman burnt his vessels. Allectus was awaiting in the Isle of Wight the attack of Constantius, who had another fleet at Boulogne. Rendered anxious by the descent of the prefect, he hastened in disorder to meet him, was defeated and killed; and when Constantius arrived on the coast of Kent the population, happy to be rid of these emperors, who for ten years had isolated them from the rest of the Empire, welcomed him as a saviour (296).



Allectus,
Crowned with
Laurel.

The city of London was already the chief market of England, and the barbarian auxiliaries of Allectus had hastened thither in order to pillage. A part of Constantius's fleet, astray in the fog, had got into the Thames; carried by the tide these vessels arrived before the city in season to save it, a service which the inhabitants recognized with gratitude.²

Maximian had quitted Milan, his usual residence, and had come to exhibit to the barbarians, in the absence of Constantius, the imperial purple, that he might remove from them all inclination to take advantage of the departure of the troops and fall upon Gaul. The expedition being ended he set out for Africa, and the Cæsar returned to keep in his turn the guard over the Rhine. This vigilance could not be for a moment slackened, for the Alemanni never resisted the temptation to make a raid into the Gallic provinces. In 301 they crossed the Rhine, the Ill, and the Vosges mountains, and very nearly captured Constantius himself near Langres. He had been wounded and had only time to have himself drawn up with ropes to the top of the rampart.³ Some troops were in the neighbourhood who, hastening up, chased away these marauders; Eutropius represents them as an immense army, speaking of 60,000 killed and an enormous number of prisoners. Eusebius reduces the number of the slain to 6,000, which is still large. The captives were given up, under the title

¹ *archipiratam satelles occidit* (*Pan. vet.*, v. 12).

² *Ibid.*, v. 17.

³ Eutropius, ix. 23.

of colonists or *Læti*, to the Lingones and Treveri owning land. They thus occupied, with the consent of the Empire, the left bank of the Rhine, where, except in the cities, they caused the German race and speech to predominate.¹ Eumenes saw some of them come as far Trèves and even Autun, "accompanied by their wives and children, sad, desperate, or wildly shaking their chains; but by degrees they grew milder, cultivated the soil which they once ravaged, or, at the call of the generals, they eagerly resumed their weapons, bent to the centurion's discipline, and were willing to fight and die for those who had torn them from the paternal forests."

This Eumenes, whose works we have, was the friend and secretary of Constantius: an unsuccessful rival of Cicero, he wrote panegyrics, where rhetoric and hyperbole have more place than eloquence and truth. Some interesting details, however, are found in his writings concerning the schools of Autun. Constantius caused this city to rise from its ruins; he rebuilt its baths, temples, and the aqueduct which brought abundant water; he also strove to reconstruct the moral city, restoring life and distinction to its schools, whither formerly the Gallic youth flocked in crowds, and he wrote to Eumenes, putting him in charge of these schools, a letter which does him great honour: "Our Gauls deserve from us that we should take care of their children, and what better could we offer them than knowledge, the only thing that fortune can neither give nor take away? Accordingly we have determined to place you at the head of these schools, to which we desire to restore all their former distinction. You will there direct the mind of youth towards the study of better living. Do not fear that in accepting you will derogate from the honours you have already acquired. That you may understand that our esteem for you is proportioned to your merits, your salary will be 600,000 sesterces, paid by the state."²

¹ The *Notitia dignitatum* (ii. 119-122) indicates an extensive distribution of the *Læti* through Gaul, and only there. These *Læti*, who have given rise to so many discussions, did not belong to any one German tribe; they were either captives whom the Empire established upon deserted territory, or German adventurers who had solicited lands in return for military service. Guérard says in the *Polyptique d'Irminon* (i. p. 254): "I have no doubt that the name *Læti* had the signification of *avril* in the language of the nations of Germany. The word *lid* or *led* has preserved this meaning in the most ancient monuments of the northern languages."

² *Pan. vet.*, iv. 14. In 376, at Trèves, the professor of eloquence, *rhetor*, received thirty rations: *triginta annonæ*; the *grammaticus Latinus* twenty; the *grammaticus Græcus* twelve, *si qui dignus reperiri potuerit*. (*Code Théod.*, xiii. 3, 11.)

We must place it to the credit of this emperor that, in the days of the Roman decline, he had a taste for noble objects, and bestowed magnificent recompenses upon those who kept alive the last embers of the sacred fire, now so nearly extinct.

Eumenes was worthy of his master; he employed his 600,000 sesterces in the reconstruction of the schools, and they were opened with great public ceremonial. The governor of the province presided at the festival, and Eumenes made his finest oration. Words of sincere emotion are found in this address, and even of eloquence, when he exclaims, for example, pointing out to the governor's notice the distant ruins of the gymnasium which is about to be rebuilt: "You have seen on the walls of these porticos the earth represented with its nations, its cities and rivers, with its continents that the ocean enwraps like a girdle, that it separates from one another, or that it cleaves with its impetuous waves. In the presence of these pictures we shall explain the world, and relate the history of our invincible princes. When the messengers of victory come to tell us that our emperors are visiting arid Libya, or Persia with the twin rivers, or the shores of the Nile or of the Rhine, we shall say to the youth gathered about us: 'Do you see this region? This is Egypt, chastized by Diocletian and now reposing after its tumults. Here is Carthage and Africa, where Maximian exterminated the revolted Moors. This land is Batavia; this island Britain, with its gloomy forests, rearing its rough head above the waves, these Constantius holds under his powerful hand. Yonder, Galerius treads under foot the bows and quivers of the Persians.' It is a pleasure to study a representation of the world where there is nothing which does not belong to ourselves."¹ We have been accustomed to believe that our own age invented "object lessons;" but the Romans already had the idea 2,000 years ago.²

The expedition into Africa of which Eumenes speaks took

¹ *Pro restaurandis scholis*, 20.

² *Ibid.*, 20: . . . *quo manifestius oculis discernentur quæ difficiliter percipiuntur auditu*. Horace had already said the same thing in his *Ars Poetica*, 180; Varro (*de Re rust.*) speaks of a picture representing *in pariete pictam Italiam*: Propertius, iv. 3, 37: . . . *e tabula pictos ediscere mundos*. This was, says Florus, at the beginning of his History, a common usage, practised from the time of Alexander, adds Ælianus (*Hist. Var.*, iii. 28), and Agrippa did but follow it. *Erat autem*, says Pliny (*Ep.*, viii. 14), *antiquitus institutum ut a maioribus natu non auribus modo, verum etiam oculis disceremus*.

place in 297. Five powerful Moorish nations had taken up arms. "They were," say the writers of the time, "the most savage of the African races." Like the tribes of the Sahara, always ready for a raid upon the Algerine oases, these Moors had often burned the farms of the African colonists. One of Diocletian's lieutenants had already several times encountered them.¹ In 293 they recommenced their incursions, and threw the whole province into a state of uneasiness, which a usurper, Julian (?) by name, profited by to assume the purple in Carthage. This usurpation rendered the situation so serious that the Augustus of the Western provinces felt it necessary to show himself in Africa. After defeats, concerning which we have no details, Julian died by his own hand; the conquered Moors were pursued into the most inaccessible retreats in the Atlas, and the captives made among them were transported into the provinces. To stifle the last embers of this fire, for a moment formidable, Maximian remained in Africa till the middle of the year 298.

These successes of the Cæsar and the Augustus of the Western provinces were matched by those of Galerius upon the Middle Danube, which river he had in charge. The Iazyges were defeated and a part of the nation of the Carpæ transported into Pannonia (295).

Some years later, in 299, the Sarmatians and the Bastarnæ were also constrained to emigrate to the right bank of the Danube.² This system, begun in the first days of the Empire, was then always carried out; Constantine, Valens, and Theodosius in turn continued it, and the frontier provinces were thus peopled with secret enemies who were to begin by driving out the Roman civilization, and afterwards to open the gates to other invaders. The emperors believed their power eternal—they expected to have time to Romanize these foreign colonists; but it was the barbarians who, from the Schelde to the Save, Germanized the zone of colonization that was given up to them and peopled with Slavs the peninsula of the Balkans.

Diocletian had remained during these years in Pannonia,

¹ *Bulletin de correspondance africaine*, January, 1882, p. 16.

² *Ingentes captivorum copias in Romanis finibus locaverunt* (Eutrop., ix. 25). Even the bodyguard of the emperors was formed of barbarians. (Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 38.)

Moesia, and Thrace, visiting the defences of the Danube,¹ inspiring salutary fear among the barbarians who bordered its left bank, and notwithstanding this prolonged stay on the extreme frontier, remaining in a sense present at all points of the Empire by the attention he gave to its wants. A multitude of rescripts dated from these regions show his legislative activity.² Under the powerful influence of this great prince the Empire revived, security was restored to the provinces, and for this vast body, including all the civilized life of the world, it was enough to bring back prosperity that a strong hand kept the barbarians at bay and the soldiers submissive.



Coin of Domitius Domitianus Achilleus.³

There was a country, however, in which prosperity did not again revive: turbulent Egypt. In the capital of that country seethed an immense population of men of all races, conditions, and faiths, and under that burning sun men readily became hot-headed. Worshipers of Serapis, of Jehovah or of Jesus, sceptics and *illuminati*, philosophers in search of the absolute, and neophytes who believed they had found it, all detested and despised one another. Hatred brought about riots and riots became revolt; as soon as one man had struck all came to blows; the streets were full of dead bodies, and in the harbour the sea was red with blood. "There is not a Christian," says the bishop Dionysius, "who is not involved on one side or the other." On Easter day the church stood empty, for all men were at the barricades. The murders of which the bishop speaks were in the reign of Gallienus; but the spirit of revolt still possessed the great city. We have seen Aurelian and Probus obliged to visit Alexandria to overthrow usurpers, and

¹ Idacius places at this time the construction of the strongholds in the country of the Sarmatians, on the left bank of the Danube, and inscriptions mention the reconstruction, by Diocletian and Maximian, of cities in Switzerland, Africa, etc. The oration of Eumenes, *pro restaurandis scholis*, testifies to the immense works at that time going on for the fortification of the frontiers along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. From the *Notitia* have been counted 103 strongholds or fortified positions in the Eastern Empire.

² Letter from Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius, vii. 21.

³ IMP. CL. DOMITIVS DOMITIANVS AVG., surrounding a wreathed head of the usurper. On the reverse: GENIO POPULI ROMANI ALE, around the Genius of the Roman people. (Bronze coin.)

under the reign of Diocletian, Achilleus even ventured to assume the purple there.¹

This rebellion was a misfortune for Rome, as it hindered its provisioning; but it was not a peril to the Empire, since no dangerous enemy could come from Egypt. The emperors, no longer residing in their ancient capital, heard not the starving cries of its populace, who demanded indeed *panem et circenses*, but made no riots. The insurrection breaking out in Alexandria did not turn them away then from the more important cares which detained them upon the northern frontier. This region being pacified, Diocletian directed his route towards Egypt, arriving there in the middle of the year 295. Alexandria held out against all his efforts for eight months, he only entered the city after having cut the aqueducts which brought the water of the Canopic branch. To put an end to these perpetual revolts, which were a dangerous example, he gave the city up to a military execution; it was sacked, and blood flowed in torrents. Coptos and Busiris had the same fate.² The country was then reorganized. Eutropius, who lived nearly a century later, says that this reorganization, of which he does not give the particulars, was in existence still in his time.³ Like Augustus, Diocletian respected the Egyptian religion; but in that land of prodigies and credulity books of occult science were everywhere in circulation, and these the emperor caused to be seized and burned.⁴ He did another service to Egypt by protecting it against the Blemyes, who plundered the caravans coming from ports of the Red Sea and infested the Thebaïd with their brigandage. Instead of wasting his time and strength in tracking

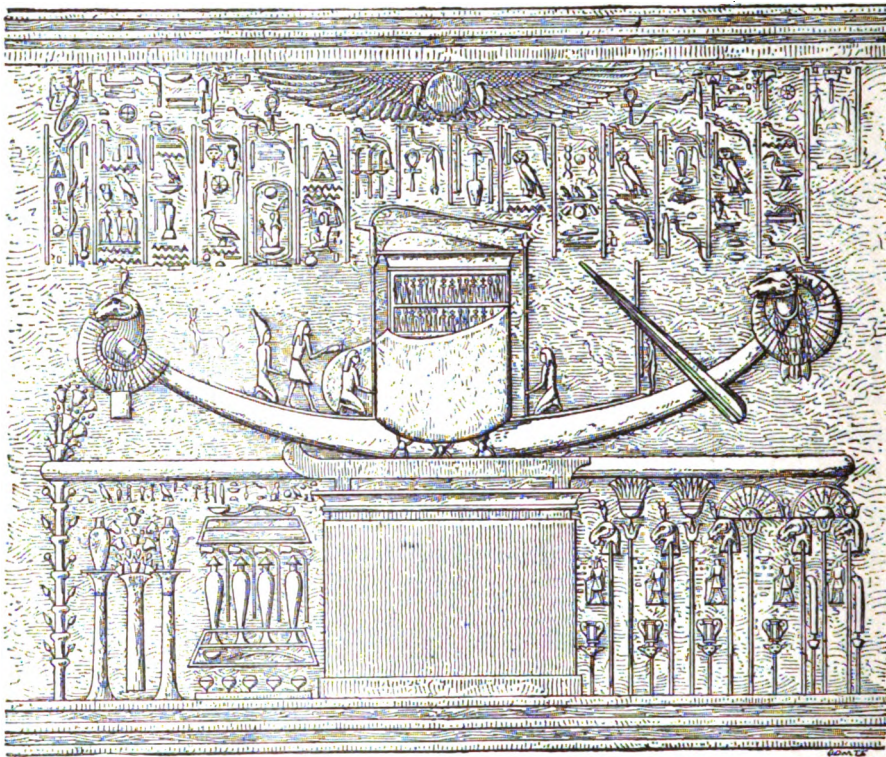
¹ Eutrop., ix. 22; Aur. Victor. *Cæs.*, 39. On the authority of a medal, Tillemont represents this Achilleus as reigning six years. But Diocletian was not the man to have allowed an insurrection to exist for so long a time that could possibly be suppressed, and Eckhel (vol. iv. p. 96) declares this medal false.

² Malalas (xii. p. 309) relates one of those stories so dear to the Oriental mind: Diocletian had given orders to kill until the blood should come to his horse's knees; but the horse having stumbled over a corpse, got up with his knees bloody. It was a sign sent by the gods; the emperor comprehended it and stopped the massacre.

³ ix. 23: . . . *ordinavit, provide multa . . . quæ ad nostram . etatem manent.*

⁴ "Egypt was the headquarters of the occult sciences, to which sciences the Chaldæans seem to have added nothing except horoscopy and prophecy, founded on an examination of the skies" (Revillout, *Revue égyptol.*, i. p. 147). Diocletian prohibited throughout the Empire divination by astrological diagrams, *ars mathematica damnabilis est et interdicta omnino* (*Code Just.*, ix. 18, 2).

them in their deserts, he called in the little garrisons scattered through Lower Nubia, between the First and Second Cataracts, where they were too feeble to hinder anything. It was a movement of falling back; but the Empire in concentrating made itself stronger. A numerous garrison occupied the island of Philæ and entrenched themselves strongly there; another was posted on an inner line, at Maximianopolis, which had been built on the ruins



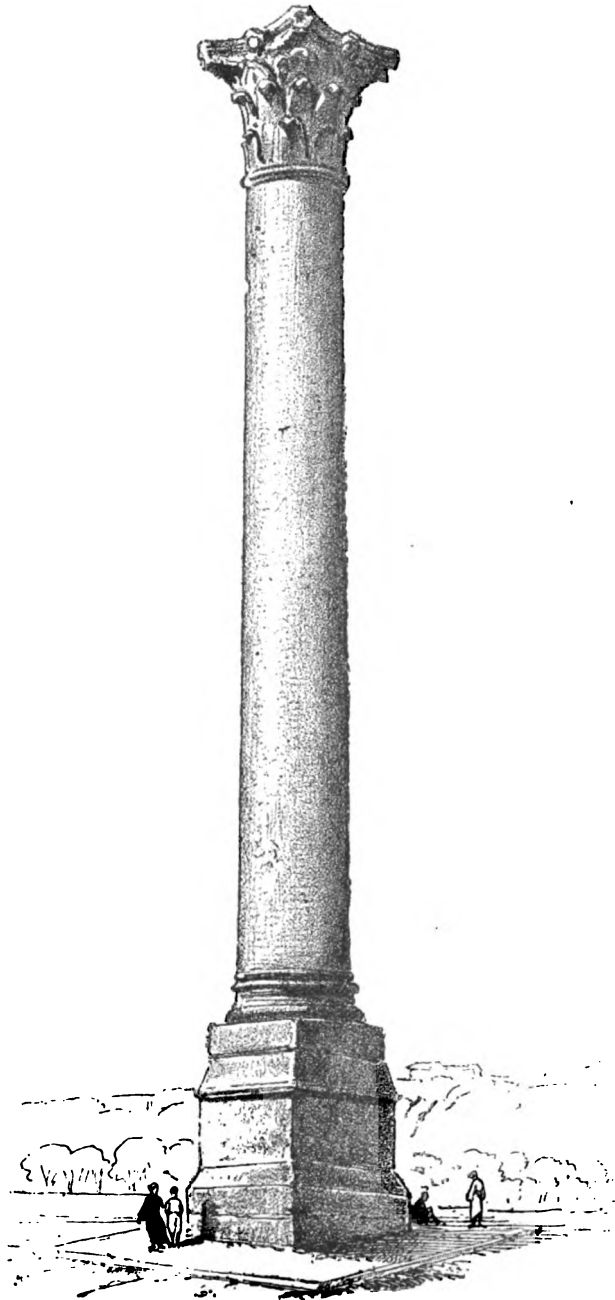
Sacred Egyptian Barque carrying a Shrine. (Perrot's *Ancient Art*.)

of Coptos; a wall, connected with the defences of the island, barred the whole valley, and remains of this wall are still to be seen. Not to neglect any means of making this frontier secure, he negotiated with the Blemyes, who for an annual subsidy agreed no longer to molest Egyptian commerce. The agreement was consecrated by religious ceremonies in the temple of Isis. The Blemyes were fervent worshippers of the Egyptian goddess; they claimed free access to her temple, and the renewal of the old law which authorized their priests¹ to come annually to the island and

¹ Letronne, *Mémoires pour l'histoire du christianisme en Égypte*, etc., pp. 74 et seq.

carry away her image to keep it for a certain time in their country. In an inscription which appears to be of the time of the Antonines we read: "Upon the Nile I have seen the rapid barques bringing back the sacred temples from the land of the Ethiopians." These temples were coffers, most frequently gilded, which contained a statuette of Isis. Diocletian would never have consented to let a Latin divinity make excursions after this fashion; but the supreme pontiff of Rome did not concern himself with regard to the adventures of Isis, and since the Blemyes attached importance to these pilgrimages, he deemed it wise to allow them.

He had written his name in blood on the walls of Alexandria but he reorganized a method of relief for the poor;¹ and the



Pompey's Pillar at Alexandria.

fickle-minded city saw without displeasure the prefect Pompeius

¹ It had already long existed there. See p. 396. Procopius (*Historia Arcana*, chap. xxvi.)

erect a column surmounted with the statue of Diocletian, with an inscription in honour of "the invincible emperor." The statue exists no longer, and the column still standing near the harbour does not even bear the name of Diocletian, "the tutelary Genius of Alexandria;" it has long been believed a monument of him who was defeated at Pharsalia, and is called to this day "Pompey's Pillar."¹

In 294 Narses, second son of the peace-loving Bahram, had assumed in Ctesiphon the diadem of Persia. He was a valiant prince, who occupied himself in re-awakening the martial ardour of his people; Diocletian was at the time in the interior of Egypt and Galerius in Pannonia, and the Persian judged it a favourable moment to attack Armenia, where he drove out the *protégé* of the Romans, and at the beginning of the year 296 he crossed the Tigris with a numerous army. Narses remembered the prosperity of Sapor and he hoped to emulate it, even to excel it, and to maintain it for a longer time.² Warned by the blow struck at Tiridates, Diocletian had already called into Syria the Cæsar of the Oriental provinces, and himself was approaching Palestine, but slowly, as suited a monarch whose calm majesty was never disturbed by impetuous movements.

Did Galerius know how and why Crassus had perished? Without calumniating him, it may be doubted if he did; but the defeat of Valerian was recent enough to have been clearly in his mind, and it afforded him no lesson. He crossed the Euphrates and led his legions into that plain of Carrhæ where the sand but scantily concealed so many Roman bones. The scenes of former times were repeated; his cavalry could not resist the shock of the cataphractarii, and his heavy infantry, overcome by heat and by thirst, blinded by the dust, in the midst of the rapid squadrons sweeping around it, experienced the fate of the legionaries of Crassus. It is said that Tiridates escaped only by swimming across the Euphrates, weighed down as he was with his armour. Galerius also escaped with his life and the shattered remnant of

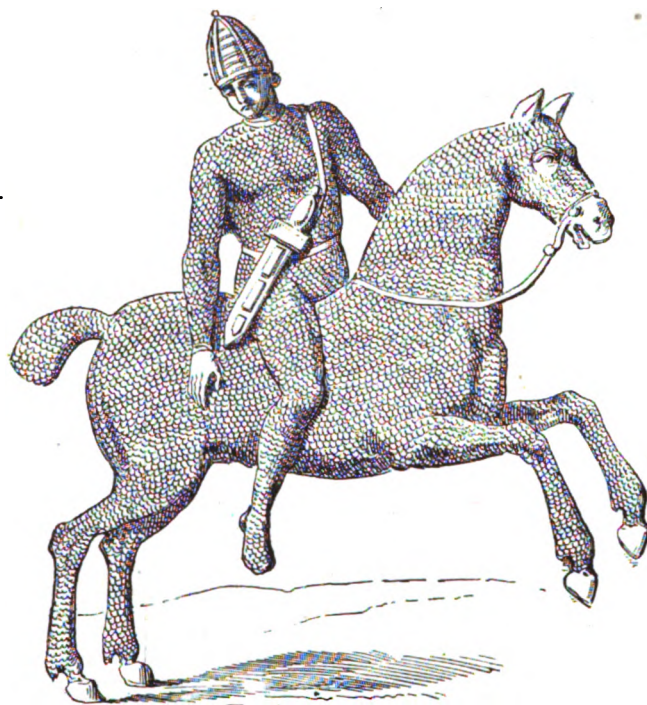
speaks of 2,000,000 *modimni*, equal to 12,000,000 *modii*. dispensed at this time. Cf. *Chron. of Alexandria*, ad ann. 302.

¹ C. I. G., 4,681.

² *Ad occupandum Orientem magnis copiis inhiabat* (Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 9). Concerning Sapor, see above, pp. 423 et seq.

his army. Just outside of Antioch he met Diocletian, who received the defeated general with a severe countenance, and refused to let him enter the imperial chariot. The spectacle was seen of the haughty Cæsar clad in his purple mantle, and with shame upon his brow, walking on foot for the space of a mile before the chariot of the angry Augustus.¹

Diocletian rapidly collected the troops from the camps on the



A Cataphractarius. (From Trajan's Column.)

Danube, enrolled barbarians in the army, especially Goths,² and re-formed the Sýrian army, which seems to have been very strongly constituted. He divided it into two corps: with one he took up a position on the Euphrates, to defend the fords in case of need; he put Galerius at the head of the other, tracing out for him the plan of a campaign in which the military experience of the former lieutenant of Probus appeared manifest. He directed the Cæsar to take, in the favourable season, the route formerly followed by Antony across the Armenian mountains, and gave him for a guide

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xiv. 11.

² Jordanes, 21.

in this country the expelled king Tiridates. At their approach the people rose to meet them; provisions and information came in abundantly to the camp; the legions had all the advantages which the complicity of the inhabitants gives to an invading army. The Persians came to meet them on this unfavourable battle-ground; and filled with confidence by reason of their recent victory, kept so careless a watch that Galerius with two horsemen was able to come into their very camp in reconnoitring the position. By a vigorous night attack, he created a panic among them and made great slaughter. Narses, who was wounded, escaped with



Coin of Narses, Son
of Bahram II.¹

the greatest difficulty, but the wives and children of the Persian king were captured, together with the treasure heaped up in the royal tents (297). Since Alexander's victory at Issus, six centuries before, the Oriental barbaric world had suffered no such affront.

At the news of this brilliant success Diocletian entered Mesopotamia and joined Galerius at Nisibis. The Cæsar talked of repeating Alexander's expedition. The Macedonian conqueror had not been guilty of too great rashness when he hurled the mass of his army upon the empire of Darius and plunged into the remote East to the banks of Indus, for he had nothing to fear from the nations he left behind him. But the Romans, who on the west and south and north had an immense frontier line always threatened, were not in a position to imitate this dangerous enterprise. Diocletian calmed the too impetuous ardour of Galerius, and the Augustus displayed towards the captives that had been taken a consideration not at all usual at that time. When Narses, won by this conduct, made overtures of peace, Diocletian received them cordially. The first condition claimed by the Romans was however rejected.² They wished the Persians to agree to have all commerce with the Empire pass through Nisibis, doubtless in order to simplify the service of the imperial custom-house, and to concentrate the relations between the

¹ Bust of the prince and a legend signifying "the worshipper of Ormuzd, the excellent Narses, king, celestial germ of the gods." (Silver coin.)

² In the *Excerpta de legationibus*, edit. of Bonn, p. 134, are to be found curious details in respect to these negotiations, preserved to us by Peter Patricius. He lived in the time of Justinian, but was able to examine the archives. Cf. *Fragm. Histor. Græcor.*, iv. 188.

two countries at a single point easily to be watched.¹ Narsès refused to agree to this and the project was abandoned; but he admitted the Roman possession of northern Mesopotamia, whose limit on the south seemed to admit of being marked by the fortified city of Circesium, near the confluence of the Chaboras with the Euphrates, and by Singara, at the base of a mountain in an arid region, which rendered an attack difficult, but also difficult the bringing of any succour. Nineveh on the Tigris, where for two centuries a Roman colony had maintained itself in some unknown way,² marks perhaps the eastern extremity of this line. In the upper valley of the Tigris the Persians yielded five Armenian provinces which had been conquered by Sapor I., and these in the hands of Rome were now to be used to cover a part of Armenia and Asia Minor against the Persians.³ Tiridates recovered his kingdom, increased by a part of Media Atropatene, and the princes of Iberia in the basin of the Kour relinquished their allegiance to Persia and accepted the supremacy of Rome (297). This treaty was a brilliant success, worth far more than the recapture by Augustus of the standards of Crassus, for it gave the Empire as allies the nations living near the Caspian and the Caucasus, at the same time that the Roman garrisons were establishing themselves in the mountainous region situated on the north of Mesopotamia,

¹ These questions of import dues had so great a financial and political importance for the Empire that a schedule of duties, recently found at Palmyra (De Vogüé, session of the *Acad. des inscr.* of June 1st, 1883), shows that as early as the reign of Tiberius the Romans had interposed in that city for the drawing up of a tariff of which they doubtless shared with the Palmyrenes the products. (Cf. *Code Just.*, iv. 61, 13.) The Roman domination having crossed the Euphrates, Diocletian desired to have Nisibis occupy the position that Palmyra had held, that of being the desert mart between the two empires.

² See on this point p. 74. Nineveh was still a great city in the time of Amm. Marcellinus (xviii. 6), and this author calls it the capital of Adiabene. Its inhabitants, like the Greeks of Seleucia, had doubtless a sort of municipal independence, which permitted them to incline towards whichever of the two empires seemed for the moment the more formidable. The Persians traversed it freely in 359.

³ Uncertainty exists respecting the names of these five provinces, which Peter Patricius and Amm. Marcellinus (xxv. 7) give differently: Zabdicene, Corduene, Arsacene, Intelene, and Sophene, according to the former; Zabdicene, Corduene, Arsacene, Moxoene, and Rehimine, according to the latter. We are not able even to assign to them all a well-determined geographical position. It is enough to know, however, that they are all north of Nineveh, in the upper basin of the Tigris and on its eastern shore in the Kurdistan of modern times. During the reign of Julian, Corduene had for governor a Persian satrap of Roman name, Jovianus, a man secretly in sympathy with the imperialists. (Amm. Marcellinus, xviii. 6.) The occupation of Corduene by the Persians was merely *de facto*, doubtless acquired in the reign of Constantius, for this province was expressly ceded by Jovian in the treaty of 363.

whereby every attack upon Asia Minor and Syria could be arrested on its advance or defeated by a flank movement. The victory of Galerius and Diocletian's statesmanship bestowed upon Roman Asia a peace that numerous fortresses, built along the eastern frontier, maintained for forty years.¹ The Augustus had well deserved the honour of a triumph; the senate decreed it to him, but he waited six years to celebrate it at Rome.

III.—ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION AND LEGISLATION.

It is in fable only that Minerva springs full-armed from the brain of Jupiter. In history, political creations are prepared by the travail of ages, and these only are lasting.



Large Bronze of Antoninus, representing him with his Head crowned with Rays and a Nimbus.⁴

More than one emperor before Diocletian had felt the necessity of taking a colleague, of dividing the great administrations, even of sharing the Empire itself,² and enfeebling the prætorians; more than one had allowed himself to be called lord or god,³ and the coins of Trajan and of Antoninus Pius represent them with the radiate crown. The sacred nimbus, which was assumed by the Christian emperors, does not yet appear in the coins of Trajan, and we also see it around the head of the fabulous bird which in Egypt was believed to spring from its own ashes; but those of Antoninus already give him this symbol of immortality. The nations were displeased neither at these titles nor these crowns, for the state religion made it a duty for them to adore the

¹ Malalas says that the line of fortresses constructed by Diocletian extended from Egypt to Persia. See also Suidas, s. v. *ισχυρία*, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxiii. 5.

² Vespasian had set the example of these divisions of provinces. In the time of Caracalla and Geta a division of the imperial authority had been under consideration. See vol. iv. p. 670, and p. 241 of the present volume.

³ Caligula had assumed to be both; Commodus had caused himself to be called god: . . . *ἐκαλειτο καὶ θεός* (Zonaras, xii. 5). The decurions of Barcelona declared themselves *devoti numini majestatique Claudii Gothici* (Orelli, No. 1,020). The same words were used in respect to Aurelian by one of the legions (*ibid.*, No. 1,024). Medals of Aurelian and of Carus, struck during their lifetime, gave them the titles of *deus* and *dominus*. (Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 508-9.)

⁴ See W. Madden, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xviii. p. 9 (1878). A cameo represents Severus, also with the radiate crown, and Gallienus wore it: . . . *radiatus sæpe processit* (*Hist. Aug. Gall.*, 16), and Aurelian did the same.

emperor living, and they were accustomed to erect temples to their dead emperors.

A century and a half before Diocletian, Hadrian had made his council the principal machinery of government; and Caracalla and Gratian had separated the civil functions from the military in not permitting the presence of a senator in the army.¹ The offices of *comes*, *corrector*, and *dux* were very ancient; in the third century A.D. we find the *magister militum* and the prætorian prefect had long had the administration of justice and finance. The system of grants of land made to the soldiers with the condition of military service was an old republican institution, the *colonia*,



Coins of Trajan, representing, on the Reverse, the Phoenix crowned with the Nimbus.

preserved by Augustus, possibly regulated by Alexander Severus; and two of the dangers which were to end by destroying the Empire, namely, the Germanization of the frontier provinces and that of the army, had begun with him. Cæsar had Germans in his army in Gaul, and Tacitus shows around the first emperors and in the auxiliary corps of the legions foreigners of every nation.²

A pride in titles was extremely ancient at Rome: we have seen the rigorous classification made by Augustus. From the first days of the Empire it was required to salute the senators as *clarissimi*; the knights of noble family were *illustres*, and under Marcus Aurelius the *eminentissimi* and the *perfectissimi* had privileges which lasted for three generations. A *procurator* under Commodus is called *egregius*. Those of Severus all bore this title, and from the third century or even earlier there existed a sort of heredity for the *curiales*. The nomenclature for the hierarchy was already formed.³

¹ Lampridius says of Alexander Severus, 24: *provincias legatorias præsidiales plurimas fecit*. Borghesi (*Œuvres*, vol. iii. p. 377; vol. v. pp. 307 and 405) thinks that from this time forward the *præses* had the civil administration, the *dux* the military command.

² Tac., *Ann.*, i. 17; *Hist.*, i. 46.

³ *Divo Marco placuit eminentissimorum quidem nec non etiam perf. virorum usque ad*

Language, manners, and the necessities of defence had prepared the separation of the Roman world into two Empires. Asia had repeatedly had governors who were invested with full powers: Agrippa and C. Cæsar under Augustus, Germanicus under Tiberius, Corbulo under Nero; and Marcus Aurelius, Valerian, and Carus had relinquished to a colleague half of the provinces.

For many years the Conscript Fathers had been entirely without authority, and all the power had remained with the imperial chancery. The revival of the senate in the time of the Gordians and of Probus had been but the last flicker of energy in a body whence life was departing; all things were now done in the offices of the sacred palace,¹ for the reason that there was the only force which could set in motion the vast machine. Finally, the industrial corporations and the agricultural colonization had made the beginning of a profound change in the world of labour.

Diocletian therefore did not create in all its parts a new political and social edifice; in reality what he accomplished was a great administrative reform. But the republican exterior so carefully maintained by Augustus, preserved by many of the succeeding emperors, and restored again by Carus, was now thrown off; the master was no longer concealed, *el rey netto*, and the autocratic republic of Augustus assumed its final aspect, that of an Oriental monarchy.²

We have already spoken of the most important of the measures of Diocletian, the establishment of the tetrarchy. To prevent revolutions, by securing the regular succession to the Empire dependent upon the choice of the living emperor; to defeat the intrigues of the ambitious and the riots of the soldiery, by dividing the commands, the armies, and the public treasure—such had been his theoretic conception. His method of execution was to give the

pronepotes liberos plebeiorum pœnis vel quæstionibus non subjici. A dishonourable action, *violati pudoris macula*, arrested, however, the transmission of this privilege which Ulpian recognizes, *decurionibus et filiis eorum* (Code, ix. 41; cf. C. I. L., vol. i. 1,085, and vol. vi. 1,603). The use of these exaggerated epithets went very low. In an inscription of the time of Alexander Severus, an iron mine is called *splendidissimus*. (*Rev. épigr. du midi de la France*, No. 257.)

¹ Hirschfeld, *Römische Verwaltungsgeschichte*. We have seen, in the reign of Hadrian and in chap. xcv. § 3, the beginning of the slow evolution which transformed the monarchy of Augustus into an autocratic and Oriental despotism.

² Eutropius (ix. 26) says: *imperio Romano regie consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanæ libertatis inivit.*



Empire, divided equally, two Augusti, one being superior to the other, and two Cæsars, who, subordinate to the Augusti during the lifetime of the latter, should succeed them on their deaths. This form of government was an important innovation, inasmuch as Diocletian was making a rule of what had been hitherto only a temporary accident, and because, instead of emperors reigning together in Rome—where their action, not being divided, might prove conflicting—each of the Augusti and Cæsars had permanently provinces to govern and barbarians to hold in check.

After the division of the Empire and the imperial power, came that of the provinces.¹ The republic had not greatly changed the frontiers of the nations; its domain was divided only into fourteen governments; and at the accession of Hadrian there were forty-five. This increase was due to the conquests of Augustus, Claudius, and Trajan, but especially to the dismemberment of the early provinces. Since the time of Vespasian the emperors had been aware that commands extending over regions as vast as kingdoms gave rise to ambitious desires and dangerous temptations. More than any one of his predecessors Diocletian had felt this peril; and as he had divided the Empire, in order the better to defend it, so he increased the number of provincial divisions in order to rule it more successfully. At the time of his accession there were fifty-seven provinces; during his reign the number was increased to ninety-six, forming thirty-seven new governments,² and these

¹ Aur. Victor, 40; Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, chap. vii.: . . . *provinciae in frusta concisæ, multi præsidēs et plura officia singulis regionibus ac pæne jam civitatibus incubare, item rationales multi et vicarii præfectorum.* In Egypt were created the provinces Ægyptus Jovia and Æg. Herculia; in Mœsia and in Pannonia the provinces Margensis (in honour of the victory gained by Diocletian at Margum) and Valeria (named from the emperor's daughter); in Britain, Flavia Cæsariensis (in honour of Constantius Chlorus); and many others in Asia Minor.

² The *Notitia dignitatum*, prepared about the year 400, gives 120 provinces; a list of 386(?) comprises only 113; another, of 360(?), gives 104. The list given by Mommsen in the *Memoirs of the Berlin Academy* for 1862, p. 489, from a manuscript of Verona, probably dates from the year 297. It enumerates ninety-six provinces, distributed in twelve districts, as follows: 1, the East (comprising Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia); 2, Pontus (the northern and eastern portions of Asia Minor); 3, Asia (the western part of Asia Minor, with the islands); 4, Thrace (between the Rhodope, the Lower Danube, and the sea); 5, Mœsia (between the Middle Danube and Thrace); 6, Pannonia (the western part of Illyricum); 7, Italy; 8, Africa; 9, Spain (with Mauretania Tingitania); 10, Viennensis (Narbonensis and Aquitania; later, the district of the Seven Provinces); 11, Gaul; 12, Britain. If it be true that the memoir in which Emil Kuhn (1877) disputes the value of this document has been justly combated by Czwalina (1881), there remain, however, doubts in respect to certain provinces inscribed in the list of Verona, the formation of which appears to date from the second half of the fourth century. See

last figures justify the words of Lactantius: *provinciae in frusta concisæ*, but does not justify the malevolent intention which dictated it, since the measure was excellent. Diocletian grouped these ninety-six provinces into twelve *diœceses* or districts, each governed by a *vicarius*, or vicegerent, who had a surveillance over the consuls, *correctores*,¹ and presidents or judges sent into the provinces. Two or three countries, by reason of their ancient renown—Carthaginian Africa, Greece, and Asia—were governed by proconsuls, who were amenable directly to the emperor.² Thus we find, at the head, the Augusti; below them the Cæsars; lower yet, the vicarii; and lastly, the presidents. This political construction, where the upper strata rested with all their weight upon the lower, seemed capable of resisting attacks from without and suppressing any domestic disturbances. For more safety, the military order was rigorously separated from the civil, and the governors of provinces, whose promotion depended upon their services, were reduced to juridical and administrative functions.

Originally the provinces had been divided between the senate and the emperor; as late as the reigns of Tacitus and Probus we have seen what the claims of the Conscript Fathers were in this matter. In the new organization all the provinces were dependent upon the emperor; and the extent of many of them being reduced, the surveillance of the governors was more efficacious, justice more prompt, matters were examined at closer range, and decisions

C. Julian, *De la Réforme provinciale attribuée à Dioclétien*. (*Revue hist.*, vol. xix. 2nd part, pp. 331 et seq.)

¹ The words *diœcesis* and *corrector* were not new. The *diœcesis* was originally a financial or juridical subdivision of the province (Or.-Henzen, No. 6,498; Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, 1,433). Diocletian, on the contrary, united several provinces to form a *diœcesis*. Under Caracalla we find an *electus ad corrigendum statum Italiae*. The *juridici* of Marcus Aurelius became *correctores*; under Aurelian, Tetricus was *corrector Lucaniae*. Cf. E. Desjardins, *Revue archéol.*, 1873, 2nd part, p. 67. It has already been remarked that each supreme magistrate had his corps of subordinates, *officium*, which did not change with their chief: . . . *officiales perpetui sunt* (Paulus, *Sent.*, ii. 1, 5; cf. *Code Théod.*, xi. 30, 59). They kept the official books, and could remind the judge of the statute in case he had forgotten it (*Code Théod.*, xi. 40, 15).

² Böcking, *Not. dign.*, i. 167, and ii. 148. Macer had said, as early as the time of Alexander Severus (*Digest*, i. 18, 1): *præsidis nomen generale est eoque et proconsules et legati Cæsaris et omnes provincias regentes . . . præsidēs appellantur*. In the fourth century the name of *judices* prevailed—a natural change, since the suppression of the formulary method of procedure singularly enhanced the judicial rôle of the presidents. The Antonines had given currency to the idea that the principal function of a governor was to enunciate the law. The *juridici* of Italy date from Marcus Aurelius, and under Hadrian and Antonine there had been these officers in the provinces.

reached more quickly.¹ Severe regulations established the responsibility of these officers. "He bound them fast," says Aurelius Victor, "by the most just laws."²

An inscription of the time of Diocletian, that of Cælius Saturninus, proves that there was always practised the essentially Roman custom of causing the public servants to fill the most diverse offices, and to leave them but a short time in each. Saturninus held twenty, from the office of advocate of the treasury to that of prætorian prefect—all of the civil order; by which we see that the rule established by Augustus, and maintained as late as the time of Severus and the Gordians, requiring military service in the cavalry, was no longer observed.³ An absolute ruler likes to take his servants from every station, even the lowest. These functionaries, not eminent by birth, consoled themselves with the pomp of titles: humble offices had become sacred magistracies, *stipendia cognitionum sacrarum aut palatii magisteria*.⁴ The separation

¹ The ordinary procedure in a civil matter, the *jure ordinario agere*, that the Republic and the Early Empire had practised, had given place gradually to the *cognitio extra ordinem*. An ordinance of 294 authorizes the presidents to appoint judges only when they themselves were absolutely prevented by other duties from fulfilling this office. The *judices pedanei* being appointed, pronounced sentence independently of the president, who had cognizance of these affairs only upon appeal of the parties. (*Code Just.*, iii. 3, 2.) To prevent these governors from acting in any instance without due deliberation, Diocletian forbade their revoking sentences once rendered in criminal cases, so that their negligence might become known to the emperor if an appeal brought the case before him. (*Ibid.*, ix. 47, 15.) Every Roman magistrate had his council, composed of men whom he called together to aid him with their advice. This duty was an onerous one; it took time and caused expense, and sometimes exposed to ill will. Diocletian forbade the presidents to compel any man's services as assessor: they were to be allured to this office *spe præmiorum atque honorificentia* (*Code*, i. 51, i.).

² *Officia, vineta legibus æquissimis* (*Cæs.*, 39).

³ L. Fabius Cilo Septimius, who was consul under Commodus and Severus (*C. I. L.*, 1,408–1,410), also filled twenty different offices; but in his case the rule of military service was observed, as it was also for the father-in-law of Gordian III., Timesitheus, who made his entrance upon public life as prefect of an auxiliary cohort. (*Antiquités de la ville de Lyon*, p. 162, edit. of 1857.)

⁴ Eumenes, *Pro rest. scholis*, 5, and *C. I. L.*, vol. vi. No. 1,704. We give the *cursus honorum* of Septimius and of Saturninus, who, with a century between, both arrived at the highest positions, the one by services rendered in all kinds of civil and military offices, the other without ever leaving the civil career. The two inscriptions, therefore, well indicate the difference in the times.

Inscription of Septimius (*C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 1,408, and Wilmanns, 1,202–1,202 b):—
1. *Decemvir slitibus*. 2. *Tribun. milit. leg. XI Claudie*. 3. *Quest. prov. Cretæ et Cyren*.
4. *Tribun. pleb.* 5. *Leg. pro præt. prov. Narbon*. 6. *Præt. urban.* 7. *Sodalis Hadrianal*.
8. *Leg. Aug. leg. XVI Flav. Firmæ*. 9. *Procos. prov. Narbon*. 10. *Præf. æarii militaris*.
11. *Cos (suff. anno 193)*. 12. *Leg. Augg. pr. pr. prov. Galat*. 13. *Prepositus vexillationibus Perinthi pergentibus*. 14. *Leg. pr. pr. provinc. Ponti et Bithyn*. 15. *Dux vexillat. per Italiam*.

between the civil and military functions, commenced long before this time, was so rigorously kept up by Diocletian, that the military service, long since prohibited to the imperial nobility,¹ was still further denied to the municipal aristocracy. He closed the legions against the decurions, their sons, and all those persons who by their fortune were eligible to municipal offices.² The army was recruited among the barbarians, and there remained no more military spirit among this people who by it had once achieved such great things.

We shall later show in its entirety the so-called "divine hierarchy," but we must first speak of an important novelty, the formation of an Asiatic court which was to crowd that dwelling which the Nervas and Trajans called "the public palace." Diocletian was an admirer of the Oriental world, its royal customs pleased him, and he copied its stately ceremonial. He replaced by vestments of silk and gold the military tunic, over which his predecessors had merely thrown a scarlet mantle; upon his forehead he wore the royal diadem which Aurelian had already assumed, and his purple slippers were studded with precious stones. To the emperor, whom all men, soldiers and citizens, might freely salute, succeeded the king-god, hidden in mysterious shadow, in the depths of a palace whose approaches were guarded by a crowd of eunuchs and officers. Whosoever obtained from the *magister officiorum* an imperial audience was led to it by a master of ceremonies and introduced by the *admissionales invitatores*. Crossing the threshold guarded by thirty mutes, he fell prostrate and adored "the sacred countenance," scarcely daring to lift his eyes to this motionless and dreadful majesty.³ Those even to whom their rank

16. *Leg. pr. pr. provinc. Pannon. sup.* 17. *Cur. Miniciæ (porticus), R. P. Nicomedensium, Interamnatum, Nartium item Graviscanorum.* 18. *Præfectus Urbi.* 19. *Cos. II (anno 204).*

Inscription of C. Cælius Saturninus (*C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 1,705):—1. *Fisci advocatus per Italiam.* 2. *Sexagenarius studiorum adjutor.* 3. *Sexagenarius a consiliis sacris.* 4. *Ducenarius a consiliis (sacris).* 5. *Magister libellorum.* 6. *Magister studiorum.* 7. *Vicarius a consiliis sacris.* 8. *Magister census.* 9. *Rationalis vicarius per Gallias.* 10. *Rationalis privatae.* 11. *Vicarius summæ rei rationum.* 12. *Præfectus annonæ Urbis.* 13. *Examinator per Italiam.* 14. *Vicarius præfectorum prætorio bis, in urbe Roma et per Mysias.* 15. *Judex sacrarum cognitionum.* 16. *Vicarius præfecturæ Urbis.* 17. *Comes domini nostri Constantini Victoris Augusti.* 18. *Allectus petitu senatus inter consulares.* 19. *Præfectus prætorio.*

¹ See p. 370.

² *Omnibus in fraudem civilium munerum* (*Code Just.*, xii. 34, 2).

³ *Amm. Marcellinus*, xv. 5, § 8: *admissionum magistrum.* Böcking, *Not. dign.*, i. 237, and ii. 305. The *Magister officiorum* commanded the countless personnel of the palace and of the manufactures of arms. His duties explain his insignia.

gave daily admittance were subjected to this servile ceremonial.¹ All became sacred, the palace of the emperor as well as his person, his words and his acts. Never in our European world had man so much encroached upon divinity.

It was not for the gratification of a puerile vanity that Diocletian placed himself outside the pale of common life, and condemned himself to an ostentatious *ennui*. The man who had said that the best monarch, the most prudent, the wisest, always is in danger of being sold by his courtiers,² was not ignorant of the advantages to be derived from a free communication between the sovereign and the subjects; but he believed that there would be fewer revolutions in the state when there should be more respect for the ruler; that imperial majesty would be more imposing in the twilight where he proposed to keep it; that a servility of words and attitudes would guarantee in the interests of public tranquillity a servility in men's minds; that, finally, obedience would be better secured by a pomp of ceremonies and the severe forms of authority. It was a calculation which might indeed be true for old dynasties, the object of public homage, and for a clergy speaking in the name of heaven; but it was false as made by those who demanded of official etiquette a force that historic circumstances did not give it. Diocletian, rising from so low to so high a condition, had experience enough to know what these outside shows were worth, what a burden this sumptuous court, imitated by the other Augustus and by the Cæsars, would impose upon the treasury; what a deleterious effect it would exercise on the already effeminate minds of men, in a time which demanded all possible effort to make them more virile. But the servility of the Asiatic races and of an Empire in its decline made him believe in the happy effects of this stately ceremonial.

Diocletian destroyed the fiction of a delegation of authority by the people to the emperor. He was unwilling to retain any of the former powers, the citizens, the senate, the army; and from the

¹ . . . *quibus aditum vestri dabant ordines dignitatis; et . . . admissis qui sacros vultus adoraturi erant* (*Pan.*, iii. 11). See Eutrop., ix. 26. The title of *dominus* is not, however, found on the coins of Diocletian (Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 14), but he allowed it to be given him: *Dominum dici passus*, says Aur. Victor (*Cæs.*, 30), *parentem egit*.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 43.

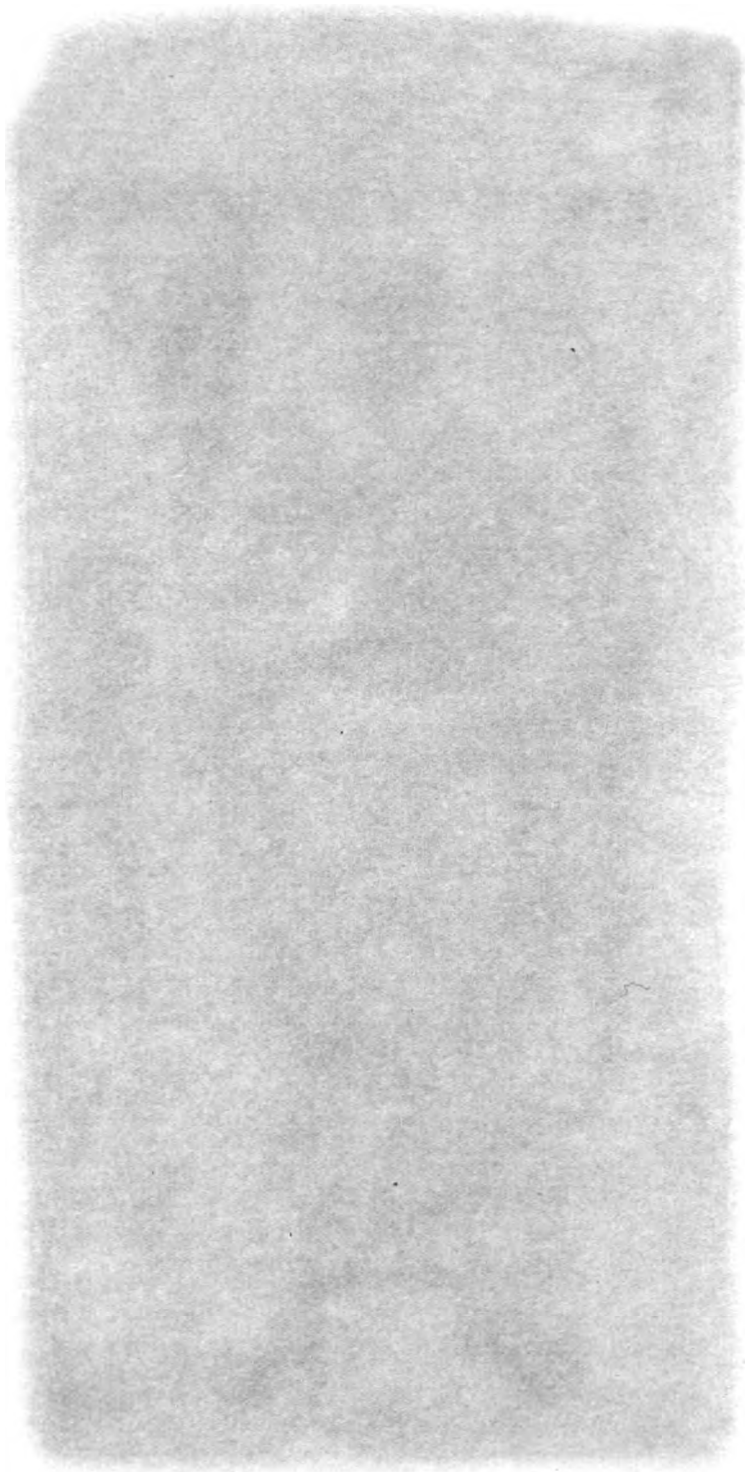
authority which his generals had given him he constructed a sort of divine right which he communicated freely to his colleague and to the successors chosen by himself alone. The sovereignty had again changed hands. From the forum and the curia it had passed into the camps; now it was held within the palace.¹ The court of Diocletian was an importation into the European world of customs to which certain modern royalties have fallen heir. It created that factitious social condition in which the mind grows fine and acute, and politeness and elegance give the most charming exterior; but in which manners too often become corrupt and characters degraded—where life is made up of flatteries, of secret treasons, and of beggary. Under Diocletian none of these evils appeared, for the reason that he imposed upon his courtiers a respect for the law as well as for himself; but after him were opened “those voracious mouths”² whereby Constantine suffered his people to be preyed upon, and the splendours of Constantinople were to ruin the finances of the Empire, as later the magnificent follies of the old Bourbon monarchy exhausted the resources of France.

In presence of these innovations the ancient things languished or died. Rome ceased to be the capital of the world; nothing went into it, and all things went out from it—all affairs of importance, gay and noisy life, barrack riots, palace tragedies. To the eye the stage remained nearly as Augustus had constructed it. If there were no longer emperors on the Palatine, there were always consuls in their curule chairs, senators under their laticlaves, an assembly of the dead, in a city which was entering upon its new rôle, that of the greatest museum in the world.

There was no place at all for Oriental kings in a city filled with memories of the senatorial Republic and the popular Empire. The liberty of speech, the habits of familiarity with their rulers that the people had kept, would have been grave infractions of the etiquette of the new court. At the time of the conference of Milan, “Rome,” says the Panegyrist, with his customary bad

¹ The author of the *Actio gratiarum Julio* says that the comitia of Rome were now in the breast of the emperor: . . . *in sacri pectoris comitio* (*Pan. vet.*, xi. 15), an awkward imitation of the words of Plautus in *Epidicus*, i. 2, which are at least witty: *jam senatum convocabo in corde consiliorum*.

² Amm. Marcellinus. xvi. 8.



THESE WERE THE VARIOUS CAUSES OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE

REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS
WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS
DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE
REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS
WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS
DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS
WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS
DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS
WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS
DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS DESTROYED BY THE
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE REASON FOR THIS
WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS
DESTROYED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.



EUMELI DEL. DOSO pinxit

Imp. Fraillery.

DAMBOURGZ chromolith.

CONSULAR DIPTYCH OF FLAVIUS FELIX

taste, "Rome looked from her hill-tops endeavouring to catch a glimpse of her emperors in the distance."¹ But she saw nothing coming. The Augusti remained occupied with the affairs of the Empire, and, paying no attention to Rome, returned to protect the frontiers.

Diocletian had received the purple in Nicomedia, at the hands of his comrades in arms; he kept it without asking from the senate a confirmation of his titles. Incessantly he made laws: we have 1,200 of his rescripts, and not one of them was prepared by the assembly which had been the great council of the Empire. Up to this time the senate had appeared to make the consular elections: it was a pure formality, but precious, nevertheless, to the vanity of a body of men who were not at all exacting. Diocletian now took the appointment of consuls into his own hands.² Thus to drop the veil which hid the nothingness of its authority was a public insult; the senate were justly incensed; there followed imprudent words, possibly conspiracies, certainly executions. Diocletian did not pay these senile ebullitions the honour to concern himself personally with them; he gave the matter in charge to Maximian, well suited to such a duty.³

¹ *e speculis suorum montium prospicere conata* (*Pan. vet.*, iii. 12).

² The coloured plate represents a consular diptych, that of Flavius Felix, "a very illustrious man, *comes* and *magister* of the two military services, patrician and *consul ordinarius*," who was consul of the West in 428. There exists only one more ancient diptych, that of Probus, consul in 406, under Honorius.

The consul standing, in his place in the theatre, holds the long consular sceptre surmounted by a globe, which bears the busts of the reigning emperors, Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. The inscription is as follows: FL(avii) FELICIS V(iri) C(larissimi) COM(itis) AC MAG(istri).

This diptych was long preserved entire in the abbey of Saint Junien de Limoges. The panel here given was brought in 1808 to the Cabinet of Medals in Paris. The other is lost, but we know it from the publications of Mabillon, *Annales ordinis Benedictini*; of Banduri, *Imperium orientale*; of Gori, *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum*, i. p. 120. Ch. Lenormant has also reproduced it in the *Trésor de numism. et de glyptique*. The consular diptychs were double tablets of ivory which the consuls distributed to the senators on taking office. Justinianus, consul of the East in 521, inscribed upon his diptych:

*Munera parva quidem pretio, sed honoribus alma,
Patribus ista meis offero consul ego.*

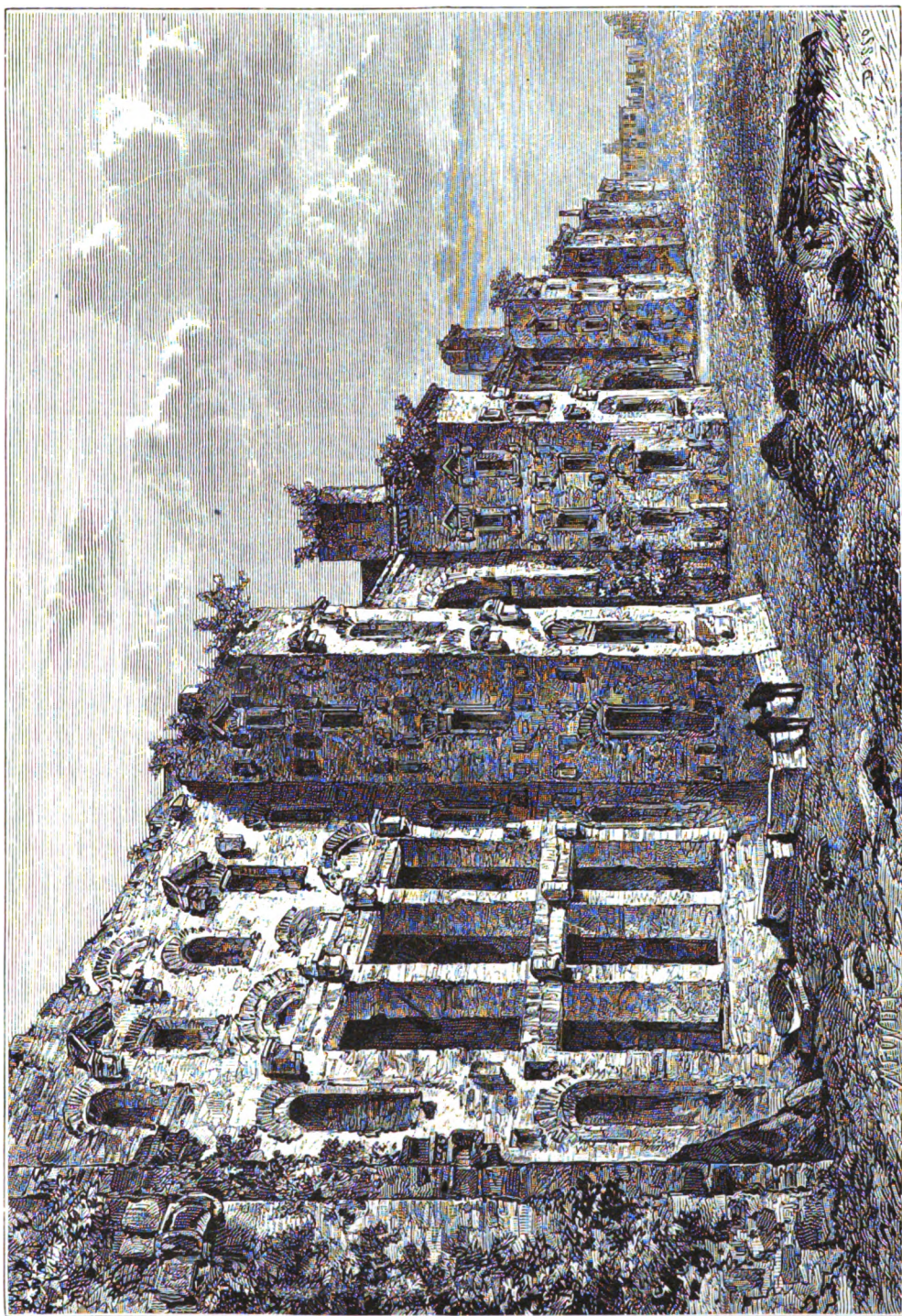
This is the use of the consular diptychs perfectly indicated. A law of the *Theodosian Code*, made in 384 under Valentinian II. and Theodosius, grants to the consuls exclusively the right of distributing these ivory diptychs: *exceptis consulibus ordinariis nulli prorsus alteri diptycha ex eboze dandi facultas sit*. See Chabouillet, *Revue des Sociétés savantes*, 5th series, vol. vi. 1873.

³ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 8: *Non deerant locupletissimi senatores qui suburnatis indicibus affectasse imperium dicerentur* (Aur. Victor, 39).

The prætorian prefect, the man once called "the king's sword," remained a person of importance, but he ceased to be dangerous. His military authority was almost suppressed by the formation of four distinct armies; by the regular and no longer accidental appointment of *magistri militum*, who left the prefect only the care of the commissariat and the pay;¹ lastly, by the suppression of the corps of *frumentarii*, which gave him absolute power over the lives and fortunes of the principal men of the provinces. In the Early Empire it was not considered wise to multiply the administrative *personnel*, and yet many functionaries were necessary for the conduct of public affairs, and particularly for the maintenance of public order, which, necessary in every civilized country, is pre-eminently so in a monarchical country. The army fulfilled this duty. From the first days of the Empire it had furnished officers to protect the interests of Rome in the free cities, for instance Byzantium, or among turbulent allies like the Batavi and the Moors; later it furnished soldiers and centurions who were retained at Rome, *frumentarii*, under the authority of the prætorian prefect. After being trained for their new trade they were sent into the provinces to see and hear, and afterwards tell what they had ascertained. By their reports the *frumentarii* often gave cause for accusations even against the governors of provinces.² Hence their odious reputation, and the joy caused by their suppression. With his new administrative system, Diocletian had no longer need of this vast system of espionage which had given the prætorian prefects so formidable

¹ Under Constantine, who made them exclusively civil functionaries, there were four prætorian prefects; the opinion of Zosimus (ii. 32) seems most correct, that there were but two under Diocletian, as there were but two Augusti. The prefect Asclepiodotus, who aided Constantius against Allectus, was probably Maximian's prætorian prefect, and still held the early military position attached to this office. As to the *magistri*, they had existed from time to time during the third century; thus Aurelian, under Valerian and Claudius, held the *militiæ magisterium*, either for command or inspection of camps and fortresses (*Hist. Aug. Aur.*, 9, 11, and 17). An officer like this was too useful for Diocletian not to have made it a permanent position. (Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 7.) The exact duties we do not know; it was doubtless a great service of inspection and command, which received from Constantine its definite form when he instituted two *magistri militum*, one for the infantry, the other for the cavalry.

² M. L. Renier has thus explained the character of the *frumentarii*, contrary to the opinion which represented them as officers employed in the commissariat. We know that centurions were employed in mines and quarries as superintendents of the works. With the Romans the army was useful for all purposes.



Ruins of the Baths of Diocletian.

a weapon.¹ He attached so much importance to having it known that all could rely upon the justice of the emperor that, in the rescript entitled: "Concerning those who, through fear of the judge, have not dared to appeal," he says: "If thou hast not appealed from the sentence pronounced against thee it is because thou hast accepted it, for in our sacred court thou hadst nothing to fear."²

As for the prætorians, their number was gradually diminished by sending malcontents into the legions, and the haughty band which had made and unmade so many emperors, descended without resistance to the condition of a guard of city watch, as this senate, which had governed the world, was reduced to being only the municipal council of Rome. And thus the two ancient powers, so long enemies, were perishing together. The strength of the urban cohorts, who were under the command of the prefect of the city, was also reduced.³

The Augusti substituted for their body-guard of prætorians two battalions levied in the Illyrian provinces. These soldiers took the names of the emperors, being called the Jovian and the Herculean, and, proud of being fellow-countrymen of their masters, they exhibited towards them absolute fidelity.⁴

The Dalmatian, who cared so little about the people whom his predecessors had courted, desired to let the Romans behold in

¹ Constantine re-established this police service, intrusting it to *agentes in rebus*.

² *Code Just.*, vii. 67, 1.

³ *Inminuto prætoriarum cohortium atque in armis vulgi numero* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 39; Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 13). After his victory over Maxentius, Constantine suppressed the prætorians, whose name thenceforward is lost to history. From the middle of the third century, the emperors, always absent from Rome, and always distrustful of the prætorians, had given themselves a private guard, composed of two corps, infantry and cavalry, who were called *domestici* and *protectores*.

⁴ Zosimus, iii. 30. In respect to what may be called the line, Diocletian doubtless began that dismemberment of the legions which Constantine systematically continued. In the time of Hyginus the legion was still composed of 6,000 men; but Diocletian, having constructed many castles and fortresses along the line of the frontiers, wished, no doubt, to have them guarded by small bodies of troops, which should have, nevertheless, their complement both of men and munitions. For this service the legion was too numerous, and it became necessary to reduce it. From his reign on, the word *schola* takes the signification of a detachment of soldiers, a sense in which we find it both in the *Code* and in Amm. Marcellinus. It would seem that Hyginus wrote his book, *de Munitionibus castrorum*, in the beginning of the third century; it is, therefore, useless to us for the period of the tetrarchy; that of Vegetius, *Epitome rei militaris*, composed between 384 and 395, does not distinguish times, so that neither does it give us the military organization of Diocletian.

their city a monument of his ostentation; and he caused to be built on the Viminal, with a disdainful magnificence, baths more extensive than those of Titus and Caracalla.¹

Rome was now but an ordinary city; Italy but a province. Up to this time she had been required to furnish only the provisions necessary for the palace and for the troops stationed in the capital or in the peninsula, *Italia annonaria*. Diocletian subjected her to the land-tax, which since the time of Augustus she had never paid. He thus effaced a privilege offensive to the rest of the Empire rather than created any considerable financial advantage, for the tax was moderate at first. The country adjacent to Rome as far as a hundred miles from the walls, *urbicaria regio*, remained exempt from the contributions to which the rest of annony Italy was subjected.²

The *consilium*, already reconstructed by Hadrian, became the *consistorium sacrum*, a sort of council of state, composed of the principal persons of the Empire, and filling in the administration, the place vacated by the senate. It deliberated in the presence of the emperor upon subjects which he laid before it;³ this council assisted him in the exercise of his judicial functions, and a part or all of the members accompanied him in his journeys and in his residences at Nicomedia, Antioch, and Sirmium. Finally, we see that he made a reform in the general maintenance of order throughout the Empire.

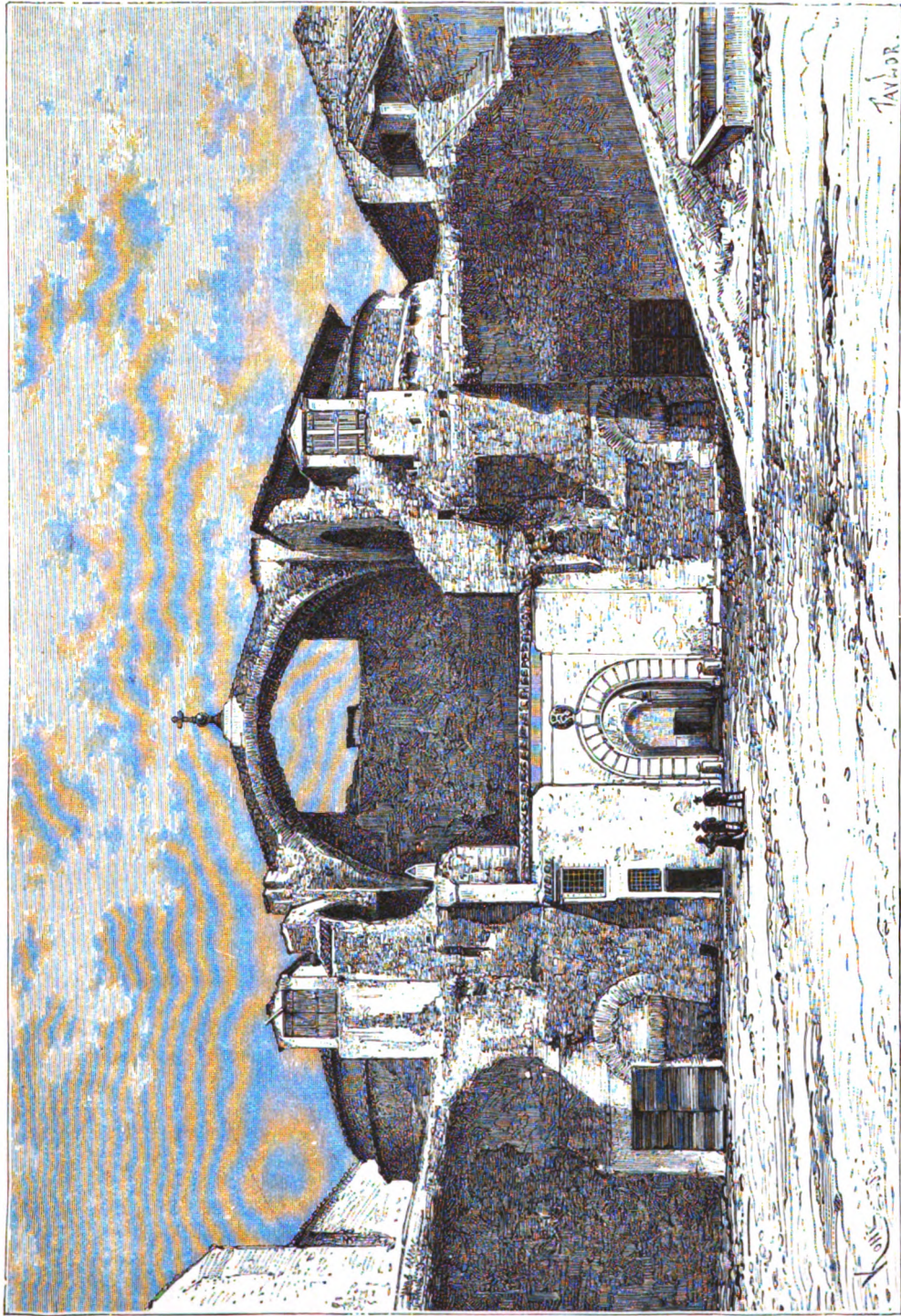
We mention, in passing, the completion of the judicial evolution which had been going on since the beginning of the Empire: the *cognitio extra ordinem*, substituted for the formulary procedure; in criminal cases the *inquisitio* or information, formerly the part of the accuser, now made officially by the magistrate; in civil cases, the twofold prosecution, first before the prætor, *in jure*, and then before the judge, *in judicio*, replaced by the single suit before the judge, a state functionary.⁴ The judicial system of the Republic,

¹ There were many other buildings erected by Diocletian at Rome, at Antioch (Malalas, xii. p. 306), at Nicomedia, etc. Cf. Orelli, Nos. 1,047, 1,052, 1,054, 1,055, 1,056, etc., and Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 7. An inscription very recently discovered shows an African city, which the rebels had destroyed, rebuilt by Diocletian and Maximian.

² Aur. Victor, 39. Cf. Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 23.

³ *Impp. Diocl. et Maxim. AA., in consistorio dixerunt* (Code, ix. 47, 12). The members of the council received as salary 60,000, 100,000, and 200,000 sesterces, as we know from the inscription of Saturninus.

⁴ The prætor had the *jurisdictio*, that is to say, the right to grant or refuse an action. The



Ruins of the Baths of Diocletian. Entrance to the Church of S. Maria dei Angeli.

which Augustus preserved, was entirely unsuited to the new imperial monarchy. Formerly the magistrate did not intervene in the case except by the *judicis datio*; henceforth, he was to concern himself with it at every stage; and the judges being, as public functionaries, the delegates of the emperor, the sovereign might revise their sentences, either directly or by the *vice sacra judicantes*, who would make in his name a second trial, of which he would accept or reverse the decisions. All civil and criminal justice thus came to be in the emperor's own hands; and thence it followed that when the venality of the last century of the Republic re-appeared in the Later Empire, justice as well as the administration was polluted by it, the two being then blended.¹

The municipal law of Cæsar had ordered for Italy a quinquennial census. To accomplish this for the entire Empire was difficult; accordingly, in the time of Ulpian, it took place only every ten years. The minute description that Ulpian has left us of it proves what scrupulous care the Romans employed in making an equitable apportionment of the taxes.² At the expiration of each decennial period a new valuation of land was made, on the declaration of the owners, subject to correction by the *censitor*. Lactantius speaks of this necessary revision in terms of alarm which have misled later writers; it has been thought that Lactantius revealed outrageous exactions, commenced by Diocletian and continued by Galerius,³ when in reality only one of the most ancient

action being allowed, he named judges who were specially appointed for each case. These judges had the *cognitio*, or first inquiry, and could be readily challenged and set aside. When they were not selected exclusively from one of the great political bodies (as they were in the last century of the Republic), citizens possessed guarantees against the interested sentences of magistrates and against arbitrary action on the part of government. The law of Diocletian, which is of the year 294, is found in the *Code of Justinian*, iii. 3, 2.

¹ In respect to this change, see above, p. 574, and Puchta, *Instit.*, vol. ii. p. 261, § 182; Walter, § 743; Bethmann-Hollweg, iii. 104, and Cuq, *Le Magister sacrarum cognitionum*, or chief of department, who made the preliminary investigation of matters submitted to the emperor. The right of appeal to the sovereign had, since the time of Augustus, modified the judicial organization of the Republic. The reorganization of the imperial council by Hadrian, who made it into a high court of judicature, had prepared the way for the reform accomplished by Diocletian. The emperor was then the source of all justice.

² *Digest*, l. 15, 4.

³ *Agri glebatim metiebantur; vites et arbores numerabantur; animalia omnis generis scribebantur; hominum capita notabantur* (*de Morte pers.*, 23). The *Theodosian Code* (ix. 42, 7) shows the regularity of the work which had been done ever since the time of Augustus and before him: . . . *quod spatium et quod sit ruris ingenium; quid aut cultum sit aut colatur; quid in vineis, olivis, aratoriis, pascuis, silvis fuerit inventum.*

customs of the imperial administration should be recognized here. Diocletian, who multiplied offices and lined all the frontiers with defensive works, must have been obliged to create means for so many expenses. Taxes certainly were increased; perhaps it was he who made general the tax of twelve and a half per cent. formerly levied on articles of luxury¹ alone; and if he abolished the five per cent. on inheritances and on enfranchisements, of which we find no trace after his time,² he increased the tax of one per cent. upon sales, which is later mentioned as a very heavy burden;³ but the re-establishment of order and industry prevented the weight of public expenses from being very much felt; Aurelius Victor had already shown us that under Diocletian they were easily borne.

A document recently discovered attributes to this emperor a curious simplification in the administration of the finances.⁴

Like Augustus he divided the lands into various categories: vineyards, olive-yards (two classes), corn-lands (three classes), and meadows, which were taxed in proportion to their supposed productiveness. To render the collection more easy, he formed a taxable unit, *jugum* or *caput*, including lands of different character and unequal extent, which taken together had the same value, 100,000 sesterces or 1,000 aurei (£600), owed the state an equal sum.⁵ Thus five *jugera* of vineyards or twenty *jugera* of arable land of the first quality made a *caput*. Forty *jugera* of second quality and sixty of third were required; 225 olive-trees in full bearing, or 450 mountain olive-trees, *in monte*, to constitute a like taxable unit. The *jugum* or *caput* was therefore not a mathematical but a taxable unit.⁶ Every financial district comprised a certain

¹ *Code Just.*, iv. 61, 7: *octavas* more solito *constitutas*, under Gratian. We have seen Diocletian much occupied during the negotiations with Persia by the question of the *portorium*. The enormous duties paid at Palmyra (above, p. 569, n. 1) show that the tax of 12½ per cent. could not have been a *maximum* established only in certain places.

² An inscription of Gruter does indeed place, under Valens, a *procurator XX hered.*, but this inscription is doubly suspicious, both by the manner in which it is composed and from the writer, Panvinio, who gives it. Orelli (i. p. 50) says of him: *dubia omnino haud raro ejus est fides*.

³ Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, iv. 19.

⁴ The *Syrisches Rechtsbuch*, published by Bruns in 1880.

⁵ *Nov. Major.*, vii. 16; *Nov. Valent.*, iii. 5, § 4; Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, ii. 37. The taxable unit had not everywhere the same name, nor, perhaps, the same extent: in Africa it was the *centuria*; in Italy, the *millena*; and it is said in the *Theodosian Code* (xi. 20, 6): *sive quo alio nomine nuncupantur*.

⁶ Mommsen, *ap. Hermes*, iii. 430, and Marquardt, ii. 219. Every proprietor gave personally

number of them, and this number determined the amount due from the whole district. According to the needs of the government the sum of the whole tax was raised or lowered (*indicebat*, whence indiction), as in France the percentages are added or taken off. When government consented to make a reduction in the case of a proprietor or of a city, the number of *capita* were diminished which were ascribed to the city or the man in the registers of the census.¹ Hence the request inspired by the classic souvenir of the labours of Hercules: "Regard us as Geryones; and the tribute, the monster; that I may live, cut off three heads."²

The sum imposed by the state upon the financial district was made known to the decurions of the city, who apportioned the tax among the *possessores*, collected it, and gave over to the agents of the treasury the sum demanded by the emperor. If there was any deficit, it was made good from the property of the decurions; that is to say, they were held responsible for the tax.³ The citizens are always so, since the deficits in the budgets can be made up only by them; but among the moderns, it is the entire mass of tax-payers who make the sum complete; under the Empire it was a particular class, and the responsibility ended by crushing it.

Notwithstanding these precautions the taxes did not always

to the imperial officer, *censitor*, in the presence of the other tax-payers who were interested in his declaration (*professio*) being truthful, the amount of his fortune, as is done in England in the income tax. *Omnia ipse, qui defert, æstimet* (*Digest*, l. 15, 4). If required, discussion followed, and a false declaration entailed confiscation. This is stated in the *Theodosian Code* (vi. 2, 2) in the case of senators, and was still more likely to exist with others. The census, originally quinquennial, later decennial, appears to have been made, after 312, at intervals of fifteen years, which gave origin to the method of reckoning by *indictions*.

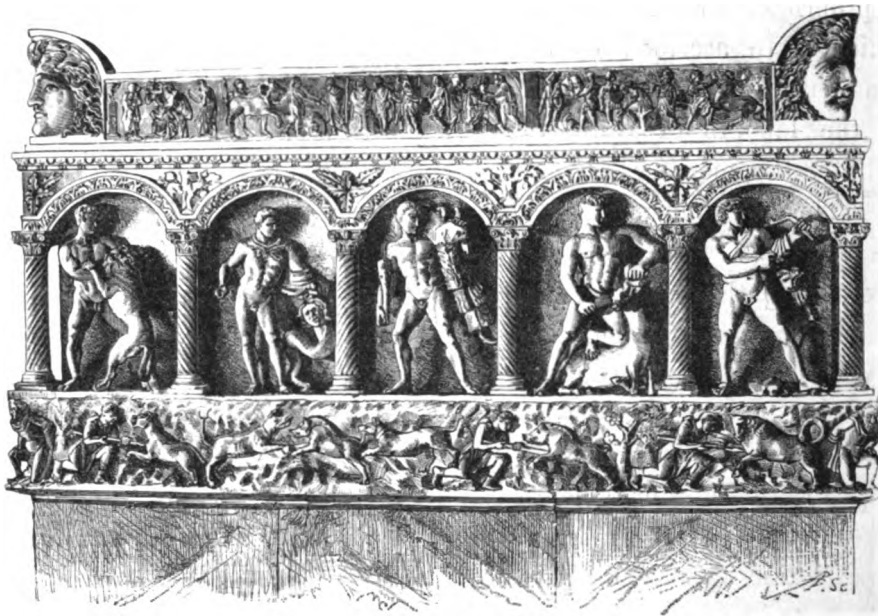
¹ Thus the territory of Autun contained 32,000 *jugera*, which Constantine reduced to 25,000. (*Pan. vet.*, viii. 11.) Julian diminished in Gaul the tax for each *caput* from 15 to 7 aurei. (*Amm. Marcellinus*, xvi. 5, 14.) The *Theodosian Code* (vi. 20, 6) speaks of *capita relevata vel adærata levius*. The basis of the *caput* served even in the matter of furnishing supplies by the *possessores*: in Thrace, twenty *capita*; in Scythia and Moesia, thirty; in Egypt, in the East, in Asia, and Pontus, thirty-three (?) collectively are required to furnish a military garment. (*Hist. Aug.*, Gordian, iii. 28, and *Theodosian Code*, vii. 6, 3.)

² *Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum;
Hic capita, ut vivam, tu mihi tolle tria.*

(Sid. Apollin., *Carm.*, xiii. 19.)

³ *decaproti et icosaproti pro omnibus defunctorum fiscalia detrimenta resarciunt* (*Digest*, l. 4, i. § 1; 3, § 10; 18, § 26). The latter law (18, §§ 1-30) should be read in all its details in order to understand the extent of the *munera civika*. The lists of the apportionment were preserved in the *tabularium* of each city by the *tabularii civitatum* (*Theodosian Code*, xi. 28, 3); several of these are in existence; for example, that of the Volceii, in the country of the Lucanians, for the year 323. (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 216.)

come in readily, for the reason that, since the Romans raised their principal public revenue from real estate, this was overwhelmed by the burdens laid upon it. Accordingly there were insolvent *possessores*, ruined *curiales*,¹ proprietors who in order the better to sell their land had kept back the payment of the arrears



The Labours of Hercules.²

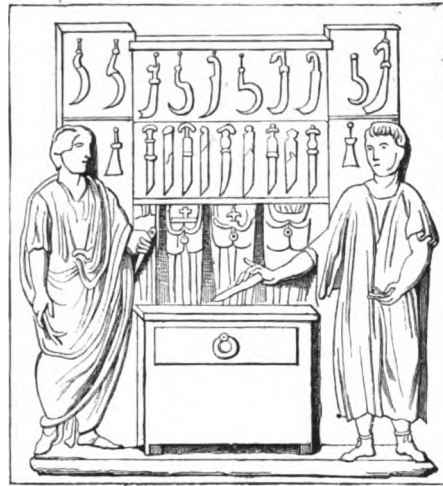
with which the property was burdened, not paying it at all—a dead loss to the treasury, since they possessed nothing else with which to answer to the treasury for their debt.³ Thus arrears accumulated, *reliqua*, for recovery of which the advocate of the treasury instituted proceedings, usually upon information given by a *delator*, whose trade was encouraged by a premium of a fourth

¹ The *curiales* were doubly responsible: first, towards the state, as members of the committee of ten or of twenty (*decemprini*, *decaproti*, *icosaproti*), or simply as *curiales* required to collect the tax (Papinian, in the *Digest*, l. i. 17, § 7); second, towards the city as magistrates, financial or administrative (Ulpian in the *Digest*, l. 2, 2, § 8). In each case their fortunes were at stake, and it so often happened that they lost it in the public service, that it was established that in such cases the city owed them support. (*Digest*, l. 2, 8.)

² Bas-relief from a sarcophagus of the Borghesi villa. Under the principal design is represented the chase of the leopard, the wild boar, and the wild bull. Upon the other side of the same sarcophagus are represented other exploits of Hercules and similar hunting scenes. In vol. v. p. 309, we have already given a sarcophagus, called a cinerary urn, on which are represented subjects of the same kind.

³ Constantine renewed in 319 (*Theodosian Code*, xi. 3, 1) the prohibition long ago made against bargains of this kind (*Digest*, l. 15. 5).

part of the sums recovered, *quadruplator*. From time to time policy dictated to the emperor the relinquishment of these arrears. This was done by Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Aurelian; and later, by Constantine.¹ There is no mention in any document of a like measure adopted by Diocletian; but the relief granted by Constantine in 310 embraces only the *reliqua* of the five years preceding;² which gives ground to suppose that his great predecessor had left none.



Small Trades: a Cutler's Shop.
 (From a Bas-relief.)



Field Labourers surrounding a Ploughshare.
 (Engraved Stone; Caylus, v. pl. 83, 6.)

Diocletian confirmed all the privileges which had been accorded in preceding reigns to the decurions³ and the authority of the municipal laws, from which the governors were not allowed to derogate;⁴ he even exempted from the capitation tax the artisans in cities, *plebs urbana*, for the small landed possessions they might hold in the country.⁵ But pre-occupied as were his predecessors with securing the performance of all public duties in the cities, he took care not to let the *possessores* withdraw from these cares,⁶ making, however, the obligation of the *munera personalia* cease for them at

¹ Hadrian remitted £8,000,000.

² *Paneg. vet.*, viii. 13.

³ *Code Theod.*, ix. 41, 11, and 47, 12; x. 31, 4, and 42, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 49, 1: xi. 29, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii. 10, 2. The words of this rescript addressed to the presidents of Lycia and Pamphylia: *sicut in orientalibus provinciis observatur*, show that the immunity granted by Diocletian had been abolished in the provinces of Galerius. (Lactantius, 23.) In 313 Constantine and Licinius re-established it throughout the entire Empire.

⁶ *Theod. Code*, x. 41, 6-10.

the age of fifty-five.¹ That he never accorded exemption from the



Library of the Later Empire. (From Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte crist.*)



Changer or Verifier of Money.
(From a Painted Glass.)

urbani exempt from capitation; the *rusticani*, who pay it. These

capitation tax to the rural population was due to the fact that this favour would have been profitable only to the great land-owners who were responsible to the treasury for their *coloni*;² the peasants therefore remained subject to the capitation, to the *annona*, and to the compulsory labour and the furnishing of extra supplies; but the ordinance *Ne rusticani, ad ullum obsequium devocentur*,³ protected them against all other dues or taxes; and when the cities made an attempt to throw off upon the country the superindictions, under pretence that they were tributes *extra ordinem*, he established distinctly that these were to be paid by the *possessores*.⁴ Finally, by another ordinance, he declared that the colonist who had fulfilled the terms of his contract should not be held responsible for the debts of his landlord.⁵ We have seen the formation of a new social condition, that of the colonist; we now see another division made among the inhabitants of the Empire: the

¹ *Theod. Code*, 49, 3. The exemption was valid only *si inopia civium non est* (*ibid.*, 2).

² *Ibid.*, XI. i. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, xi. 54. 1. An ordinance, undated, but signed with the names of Diocletian and Maximian.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 41, 10: . . . *quandoquidem ea patrimonii munera esse constat*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 10, 3, anno 286.

divisions announce the approach of the mediæval period, the time, that is to say, of inequality and rural distress.

In abolishing the capitation tax for the *plebs urbana*, Diocletian favoured the lesser industries. He attempted to assist legitimate traffic by two other measures, the one excellent, the other bad: a monetary reform which Constantine was later to complete, and the establishment of a maximum price for articles of daily use. We have seen what evils were caused by the monetary crisis of the second half of the third century. Under the idea that to give to a piece of metal whatever value they liked, it sufficed to engrave the emperor's name upon it, the Roman government had ended by putting in circulation pieces of silver and gold which contained neither silver nor gold. But when the buyer offered to a dealer, in exchange for what the latter had to sell, a piece of copper coated with tin, it was natural that the trader should require before parting with his merchandise a large amount of this copper, whatever might be the designation which the authorities had attached to the piece. Very high prices resulted therefore from the depreciation of the currency, and the whole state was disturbed by a false economic idea. Diocletian easily saw the cause of this evil; but he thought he could remedy it by an act of supreme power. "All men know," he says, in the preface to his edict, "that articles of traffic and objects of daily use have attained exorbitant prices, four or eight times their true value, or even more than that; so that, through the avarice of monopolists, the provisioning of our armies becomes impossible. We have therefore determined to fix, not the price of these articles, which would be unjust, but the maximum which in each case they will not be allowed to exceed." Many fragments of this edict remain to us; the following are some of the items:

	£	s.	d.
Rye (per bushel)	6	3	
Oats "	3	0	
Common Wine (per quart)	0	10	
" Oil "	1	3	
Pork (per lb.)	0	10	
Beef "	0	10	
Mutton and Goat (per lb.)	0	6½	
Lard, first quality "	1	1	
A Pair of Chickens	3	0	
" Ducks	2	0	
VOL. VI.	QQ		

	£	s.	d.
A Hare	7	5	
A Rabbit	2	0	
Oysters (a hundred)	5	0	
Eggs "	5	0	
Field Labourer's Wages (and food) a day	1	3	
Mason or Carpenter's Wages (and food) a day	2	6	
House Painter's " " "	3	8	
Decorative Painter's " " "	7	5	
Shepherd's " " "	1	0	
Barber's " (per person)	1	½	
Reading Master's " (per month, one pupil)	2	6	
Arithmetic " " " "	3	9	
Writing " " " "	2	6	
Grammar " " " "	10	0	
To the Rhetorician or Sophist " "	12	5	
" Lawyer for an Inquiry	10	0	
To the Lawyer for obtaining a Judgment	2	9	8
" Bath Attendant (per bather)	1	½	
Nailless Shoes of Muleteer or Peasant	6	0	
Horse's Bridle with Bit	5	0	
An Oilskin	5	0	
Hire of an Oilskin (per day)	1	½	
Pack-saddle for a Mule or Camel	17	4	
" " an Ass	12	5	
Woman's Boxwood Comb	8	½	

"As a whole these prices differ but little from city prices in our own time; the dearness of common wine is perhaps the thing most noteworthy, the more so since wine was abundant in all the provinces of the Empire; possibly it paid to the treasury a high tax, comprised in the duty on sales."¹

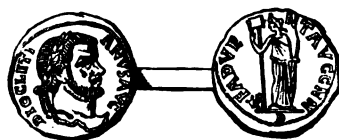
We have not the right to reproach Diocletian severely for the economic fault he committed, for fifteen centuries later the Convention in France again established by law a maximum of prices. The event showed that no human will could prevail in matters like these against the force of circumstances. The dealers, required to sell at a lower price than they had paid, concealed their commodities; the difficulty increased, street brawls followed, in which blood was shed, and it became necessary to let the law drop into disuse.²

But that which the edict could not effect by order, the monetary reform, which took place between 296 and 301, did by degrees. Diocletian coined *argentei*, of which ninety-six were made

¹ Waddington, *Édit. de Dioclétien établissant le maximum dans l'empire romain*, p. 6.

² Lactantius, 7. The edict of Pretius is of the year 301.

to the pound, their weight averaging 3·40 gr.;¹ and *aurei* 60 to the pound, weighing therefore 5·42 gr., which gave them an intrinsic value of about 14s. 2½d.;² lastly, *denarii* of copper, or *foliis*, worth $\frac{1}{200}$ th of an *aureus*, or 06·2 c.³ This last figure is unfortunately uncertain;⁴ it is therefore proper to exercise discretion in respect to the view we have just given, wherein values are stated on the scale of the worth of the copper *denarii*, 06·2 c. But if this list does not give veritable prices, it is at least interesting, as it shows relative values existing



DIOCLETIANVS AVG., Laurelled Head. Felix ADVENT(us) AVGG. NN.; Africa holding a Standard and an Elephant's Tusk. (Medium Bronze.)



IMP. C. DIOCLETIANVS P. F. AVG., Laurelled Head. On the Reverse: GENIO POPVLI ROMANI ALE; Genius of the Roman People. (Medium Bronze.)



Argentus of Diocletian, marked with the Legal Number XCVI. within a wreath.

between different commodities, and in the remuneration of services. As to the effect produced by the monetary reform, it was inevitable: as the circulation

of good money increased, prices fell back to their natural level.

We have already called attention to the legislative activity of

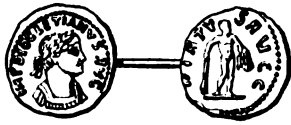
¹ They were called *milliarii* (μυριαρίσιον) because it took a thousand of them to equal in value a pound of gold, which shows us that at this time silver was to gold as 1 to 11.

² We have seen that Cæsar made 40 *aurei* from the pound of bullion; Constantine made 72, weighing each 4·55 gr. This piece, called *solidus*, was not again changed until the fall of the Byzantine empire. It is an ordinance of the year 367 which gives 72 *aurei* to the pound; that of the year 325 (*Theod. Code*, xii. 7, 1) says there shall be 7 *solidi* to the ounce of gold, or 84 to the pound (*uncia* = $\frac{1}{16}$ of the *libra*); but it was long ago proposed to read in this text *sex* instead of *septem*. A kilogram of pure gold being worth to-day £133 15s. 3d., a Roman pound of 327 grammes of gold represents about £44, which gives the *solidus* an intrinsic value of a little over 12s. Like the *aureus* the *solidus* always bore the effigy of the reigning emperor, and this usage still lasts. Procopius (*Bell. Goth.*, iii. 33) says that a piece of gold bearing any other than the emperor's head would not be received in trade, nor even have currency among the barbarians.

³ In reckoning, the *foliis*, or purse, represented 125 *milliarii*, or two purses were equivalent to the ancient *sestertium* (1,000 sesterces). Throughout the Levant, men still compute by purses, and the purse is equal to £4 12s.

⁴ Mommsen reckons the *foliis* equal to 1d., while Waddington to about ½d. By weight and chemical analysis we are able to determine exactly what quantity of pure metal is found in a coin, and what is the present value of that metal. But it is almost impossible for us to know its relative value in antiquity, that is to say, what debt could be paid, or what merchandise

Diocletian. The *Codes* have preserved 1,200 of his rescripts. Most of these are administrative ordinances, established to regulate the movements of the great machine which he had set at work. Those which concern civil legislation are often merely the repetition of earlier provisions, but to revive good measures and to restore legal force to them is a merit in itself. In these acts elevated sentiments bear sway, and that spirit of justice which marked the decisions of the Antonines. He will not allow the child to refuse



Coin of Diocletian.

support to those who gave him life, the son to be called to testify against the father, the slave against his master, brother against brother, a ward against his guardian. A father complained that his son had plotted against him. "You have the right to demand justice," the emperor said, "if the sentiments that you ought to feel for your son do not restrain you;"¹ and he declares that a son can neither be sold nor given in pledge by his father.²

He repeats that the tenant (*colonus*) is not liable for the debts of his landlord,³ and charges the judges to remind lawyers of the law,⁴ and even to supply what may be lacking in the pleas, *si quid minus fuerit dictum*.

Like Ulpian he disapproved of the use of torture, and would have the judge resort to this means of obtaining the truth only after everything else had been tried;⁵ and if he called mathematics applied to astrology a damnable art, he declared geometers useful servants of the state.⁶ His justice was alike for all; he repulsed the solicitations made to his superior authority by those who sought to free themselves from a legal obligation. "We are

purchased with such a piece. Another thing disturbs our calculations: the interest in those days was 12 per cent., sometimes, in traffic, 24 per cent., the rate at which in prosperous times the banker Jucundus of Pompeii lent money.

¹ *Code Just.*, viii. 47, 5; *ibid.*, iv. 20, 6; *ibid.*, ix. 1, 13; *ibid.*, ix. 1, 17: *Iniquum et longe a seculi nostri beatitudine esse credimus*; *ibid.*, ix. 1, 14.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 43, 1 and 2.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 11, 1, under the heading: *Ut quæ desunt advocatis partium iudex suppleat*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 41, 8: *Hac ratione universi provinciales nostri fructum ingenitæ nobis benevolentiae consequuntur*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 18, 2.

not accustomed," he wrote, "to grant one man an advantage which may be harmful to others."¹ And, on another occasion: "An imperial rescript cannot undo that which has been done according to the law."²

Under this emperor, who had spent so large a part of his life in camps, the soldier was not allowed to lift his head and his voice too high. To selfish demands made from the army, Diocletian answered: "It is not befitting the gravity of the soldier."³ Certain of the troops assuming to retain as slaves some Roman citizens who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and whom they had set free: "The captives," Diocletian wrote, "will be restored to all their former rights; for they have not been taken, but recovered; our soldiers are not their masters, but their defenders only."⁴

The preambles to his edicts are highly moral. One reproaches men with their avarice; another recalls to mind that it is the gods who have given Rome her prosperity, and that they will preserve it only so long as the Romans lead a virtuous and devout life.⁵ These are but commonplaces, in which the most profligate rulers have sometimes taken delight, but nothing comes to us against this emperor's personal morals, and we know by his laws that he proscribed profligacy.⁶

There remain many edicts issued by Diocletian to defend the person and property of his subjects, to prevent frauds in trade, to protect the unwary, the minor, the slave, even the debtor, whom he would not keep in servitude,⁷ in a word, to regulate all things throughout his vast Empire according to justice and humanity.⁸

It was to be feared that the division of the Empire might destroy the unity of legislation and of jurisprudence. To facilitate the work of the tribunals, Diocletian caused a compilation of the

¹ *Code Just.*, viii. 49, 4.

² *Ibid.*, v. 3, 9. See p. 575, n. 1, the precautions taken by him to increase the guarantees of honest justice.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 52, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 51, 12.

⁵ *Code Greg.*, v. *de Nuptiis*.

⁶ *Code Just.*, iii. 28, 19; viii. 51, 7, and the numerous fragments of Book ix. 9, 19-28.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 10, 12: *Ob æs alienum servire liberos creditoribus, jura compelli non patiuntur*.

⁸ Naudet, *les Changements dans l'administration de l'empire*, pp. 365-371.

imperial laws to be prepared by one of his jurisconsults.¹ The *Gregorian Code* is believed to have begun with an ordinance of Hadrian; it is also with this emperor, his precursor in great administrative reforms, that Diocletian caused the *Augustan History* to be commenced.² He desired to place before the eyes of his subjects the political and constitutional life of the Empire during the last two centuries, and this idea had at once the grandeur and the utility which characterize all the acts of his government, one alone excepted, whose gloomy history it remains for us to relate.

Lactantius reproaches the founder of the tetrarchy with his buildings,³ but Trajan and Hadrian erected a great number; with the ostentation of his surroundings, a splendour really useless, which he made the mistake of believing necessary; finally, with the expense required for the maintenance of four courts, and the increase of the administrative staff.⁴ But the well-being of a state is not measured by the taxes that it pays. Very small taxes are heavy in distracted countries, and heavy ones are light to a prosperous people. Now in Diocletian's lifetime his expenditures had already caused much security,⁵ and they would have occasioned more if his system had endured; for all the productive

¹ The *Gregorian Code* was followed by the *Code of Hermogenianus*; both of them have come down to us in a merely fragmentary condition. The most ancient ordinance given in the former is of the year 196; the most recent of 296 (?). But since the *Gregorian Code* served as a basis to the *Code of Justinian*, which was a collection of the imperial ordinances since the time of Hadrian, it has been thought the ordinances contained in the former commenced with that emperor. The *Codex Hermogenianus* contains, in the *Corpus juris* of Hænel, only the ordinances of Diocletian and Maximian. The *Theodosian Code*, prepared in the reign of Theodosius II., who ordered a collection of all the edicts and ordinances which had been in force since the accession of Constantine, was published in 438. Cf. Hugo, *Hist. du droit rom.*, vol. ii. p. 205.

² Of the six compilers of the *Augustan History*, three wrote in the reign of Diocletian: Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Spartianus; the other three, Flavius Vopiscus, Ælius Lampridius, and Julius Capitolinus, were also contemporaries of Diocletian, but do not appear to have published their works until some time in the reign of Constantine. These writers are entirely destitute of talent; but without them we should know almost nothing of the period extending from 117 to 284. We therefore owe gratitude to Diocletian, who stimulated this twofold work of codification and of history.

³ In § 7, *de Morte pers.*, written about the year 313. Diocletian erected palaces and basilicas, baths and porticos, but he also repaired the fortifications of the frontiers and rebuilt many ruined cities. See on this subject, *passim*. Preuss, *Kaiser Diocletian*, pp. 117-120, gives the long list of his public works.

⁴ This augmentation of taxes was, according to Aurelius Victor, easily endured: *Pensionibus inducta lex nova quæ sane illorum temporum modestia tolerabilis, in perniciem processit* (Cæs., 39).

⁵ *Cultura duplicatur ubi silvæ fuere, jam seges est* (Pan. vet., iii. 15).

forces developing themselves in the midst of peace, the Empire would have seen the return of the prosperity which characterized the age of the Antonines. It was great during the twenty years of this emperor's reign; contemporaries attest this, even Lactantius, who extols "the supreme felicity of this period," and the bishop of Cæsarea, who exclaims: "How flourishing was the Empire at that time! Its power increased daily, and it enjoyed an unbroken peace."¹

Peace! this word sums up the whole; Diocletian had been able to secure it, and it might have been preserved by his successors, if, remaining faithful to his system, they had, after the example of the four first rulers, formed, "as it were, a musical choir gathered around the leader who regulated the movement and the measure."²

¹ *Tamdiu summa felicitate regnavit, quamdiu manus suas justorum sanguine non inquinaret* (Lactan., *de Morte pers.*, 9; Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 13; see also many passages of Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 89). Burckhardt (*die Zeit Constantins*) discusses the passionate accusations of Lactantius, and leaves none of them standing; he concludes thus (p. 64): *Ueberhaupt möchte seine Regierung, Alles in Allem genommen, eine der besten und wohlwollendsten gewesen sein, welche das Reich je gehabt hat. Sobald man den Blick frei hält von dem schrecklichen Bilde der Christenverfolgung und von den Entstellungen und Uebertreibungen bei Lactantius, so nehmen die Züge des grossen Fürsten einem ganz andern Ausdruck an.*

² "Diocletian," says Julian in the *Cæsars*, "presents himself at the banquet of the gods, accompanied by the two Maximians and Constantius, my ancestor. Although they hold each other by the hand they do not come forward in line; they make, as it were, a musical chorus surrounding Diocletian; they would wish to precede him as his guards, but he prevents them because he desires to attribute to himself no honour above his colleagues. . . . After these four, who together formed so beautiful a harmony . . ."

CHAPTER C.

THE ERA OF THE MARTYRS (303-311 A.D.).

I.—THE EDICTS OF PERSECUTION (303).

THE persecution which, commencing under Diocletian, continued for six years after his time, was a terrible one. It has been attributed to the enmity of an old woman,¹ to the cruelty of Galerius, and to the enfeebled mind of an ageing emperor. It was, on the contrary, a well-planned measure of government, a campaign conducted with remarkable ability, but it was also the application of a policy doubly evil, in that it shed blood unjustly and that it did not attain its end; upon Diocletian, who believed it necessary, the responsibility for it must rest.

This Dalmatian, the son of a slave, was worthy of the old Roman stock; he was a man of authority and of cool determination, who decided only after mature reflection, and whose faith in the old cult had not been shaken by the religious novelties brought to Rome from the East. He persecuted the Christians for the reason that he believed them dangerous to the state religion, to military discipline, and to social order. At the beginning of an edict against the Manichæans, he says the same that nine centuries later the Roman Catholic Church was to say, in other words, against the Albigensian Manichæans: "The gods have determined what is just and true; the best men have, by counsel and action, demonstrated and firmly established this. It is not therefore permitted to go counter to this divine and human wisdom, and to assume that a new religion may be better than the old; it is the greatest of crimes to wish to change the institutions of our ancestors."² These are the views of the high pontiff of Rome;

¹ The mother of Galerius, a zealous pagan, whom Lactantius calls . . . *deorum montium cultrix*.

² Preamble to the edict *de Maleficiis et Manicheis* (*Gregor. Code*, xiv. 4). These were the

the emperor, the statesman, did not at first conform his conduct at all to them. He had respected the edict of Gallienus favouring the Churches, and had suffered the Christians to make their way everywhere, into the army, into the court. Eusebius names many who were living near the emperors and on terms of friendship with them, who were making proselytes even in the very family of Diocletian, whose wife and daughter seem to have been gained over to the faith; and he writes: "It is difficult to tell in what high esteem our doctrine is held, and how great is the liberty which we enjoy. The emperors gave the government of the provinces to many of the believers without requiring them to sacrifice to the gods. They permitted their officers publicly, and accompanied by their wives, their children, and their slaves, to fulfil the duties of religion even in the presence of the emperors themselves. The bishops were honoured and churches were built in all the cities."¹

Mazarin said of the French Protestants of his time: "This little flock browses upon pernicious weeds, but it does not go astray." At this epoch of his reign Diocletian had the same opinion in respect to the Christians. A singular phrase in an edict of 311 aids us to understand this involuntary respect for the Crucified. Galerius, in granting peace to the Christians, says: "Our indulgence lays you under obligation to pray to your God for our health and for the prosperity of the Empire." Galerius manifestly believed that Jesus was a god, and that, like Apollo or Jupiter, he could do men good or harm. With the doctrine of

views of enthusiastic pagans and short-sighted statesmen. The idea that the prosperity of the Empire depended upon an assiduous worship of the gods, was in the mind of the emperor and in the minds of many of his subjects. Vopiscus (in *Caro*, 9) promises Galerius and Diocletian the most brilliant triumphs, *si a nostris non deseratur promissus numinum favor*.

¹ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 6: "Dorotheus and Gorgonus, raised to high office, were loved of the emperors as if they had been their own children." Lucian, chief of the eunuchs, had relations with the bishop of Alexandria, Theonas, who wrote thus to him: *Quanto . . . ipsis Christianis, velut fidelioribus, vitam et corpus suum curandum credidit (Diocletianus), tanto decet vos sollicitiores esse . . . ut per id plurimum Christi nomen glorificetur*. In the same letter Theonas speaks of the peace *per bonum principem ecclesiis concessa*. (Routh, *Reliq. sacr.*, iii. 439.) This letter, the passage of Eusebius which has just been quoted, and the whole history of the reign of Diocletian, prevent us from admitting the opinion, supported by various Roman Catholic writers, that there was an official persecution in the first years of this reign. Official, I have said, because there may have been isolated condemnations, pronounced for assumed crimes against the common law. In respect to Christians who were friends of the emperor, see Le Blant, *Suppl. aux Actes de Ruinart*, p. 76.

the *δαίμονες*, all is explained. In that time of philosophic and religious confusion, pagans and Christians believed in demons: the evil ones were the opponents' gods; the good, those whom the individual himself adored, and all men accepted the miracles attributed to both classes. Diocletian certainly held this opinion, and continued to hold it so long as toleration did not seem to be dangerous.

To prevent revolutions, to render hopeless the intrigues of ambitious men and the insurrections of the soldiery, and to condemn to tranquillity and apprehension the enemies outside, such had been the object of his reign; and up to this time all had yielded to his prudence and his arms. But within a grave difficulty remained which was increasing every day. For forty years the Christians had enjoyed freedom of worship, and their courage had increased with their numbers. They might be heard passionately accusing the whole human race of having lived in mental darkness, save in one remote corner of the world. Nothing had as yet impaired the Roman idea of the family: the domestic worship was always performed on the hearthstone of the parental abode, or at the tombs of their ancestors, and now these beloved dead were condemned to eternal flames. At a time when the state, accepted as a divine existence, claimed the right of governing men's consciences as well as their outward acts, the Christians were in revolt against the gods, and nearly so against the constituted authorities. "Who are you?" Galerius said to them; "a turbulent Jewish sect, which has denied the God of its fathers, and then attacked the gods of the Empire; which has made laws for itself according to its own caprice, and gathers in seditious assemblies."¹ And, in truth, they formed in the midst of the sickly and disordered pagan world a state full of life and hope, for this new republic had what the old had long since ceased to possess: its popular assemblies, its elections, its leaders chosen by common consent, and in its councils that representative system whose force had never been brought to bear in the Empire. Upon whatever

¹ These are the terms of the edict of 311. Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 17; and Lactantius, 34: *Volueramus . . . juxta leges veteres et publicam disciplinam, Romanorum cuncta corrigere atque id providere, ut etiam Christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent.*

point in the provinces the emperors turned their eyes, they beheld communities of men at once enthusiastic and disciplined, docile at the voice of their pastors, sometimes rebellious against that of the magistrates, having other manners and another spirit from that possessed by their fellow-citizens, strangers in the midst of their native country, indifferent to her and to her fate. Certainly it was a peril for the pagan state, and for the social order which the state represented. In the administrative and in the official world there were many who regretted that the misfortunes of the time, the captivity of Valerian, the weakness of his son, had not permitted the extirpation from the social body of this hostile element which undermined it, and certain incidents seemed to justify this feeling on the part of those blind adherents of a perishing past.

Eusebius speaks of a great agitation of the Churches about this time. Was it perhaps a revival of the old Montanist spirit? Were some hot-headed disciples of Tertullian¹ declaring that the camp-life was incompatible with the Christian life? This we do not know. The soldiers were not volunteers; the service was obligatory, and once enlisted the soldier must remain in the camps for many long years. The tedium of barrack-life, the anxieties of conscience, brought many of them to regard it as impiety to serve idolatrous rulers and as a sacrilege to share in national festivals which the army celebrated with military pomp. It is probable that through the different corps the Christians lived separately, forming *conciliabula* which excited suspicion; that in the cities secret visits to Christian communities were detected which had the air of being intrigues leading to plots. The *Acts* of St. Victor give this last motive as the cause of that martyr's condemnation.

The bishop of Cæsarea was the contemporary of the events which he relates, and his testimony is to be received when he has no interest in altering the fact. Now his words authorize us to believe that there were in the army excesses of zeal, and for the sake of religion violations of the military law; that Christians refused to be enrolled, which was desertion; that they refused to

¹ See the *de Corona milit.* of Tertullian, and what he says in chap. xi.: *Credimusne humanum sacramentum divino superduci licere?* "Is it to be believed that the pledge to the emperor can be placed higher than the pledge to God?"

fulfil certain services commanded them, which was a disobedience; or certain obligations resting upon every soldier as such, like the carrying of particular standards, etc. The *Acts* of the martyrs confirm this interpretation.

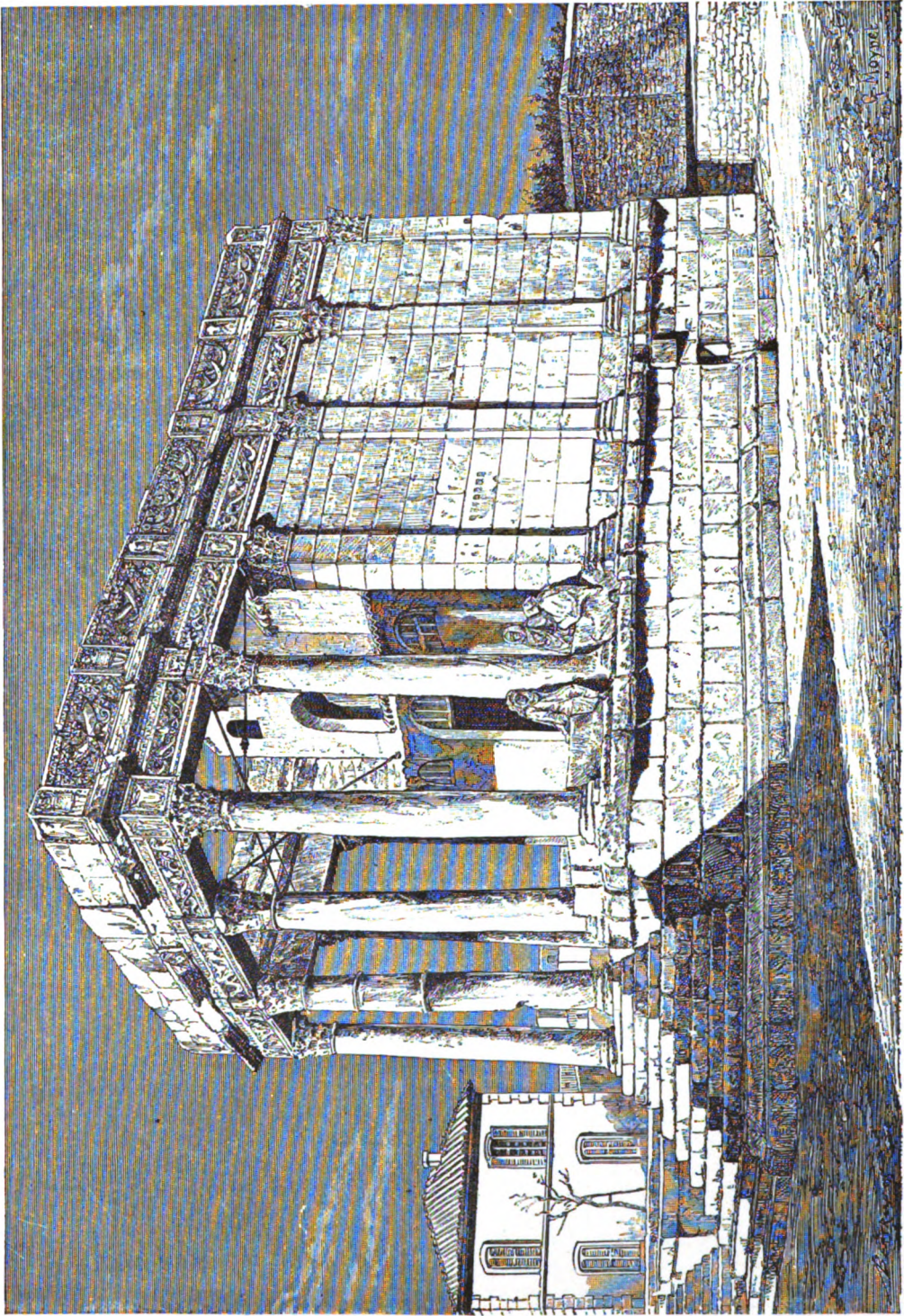
At Theveste, a citizen who, by the amount of his land-tax, was bound to furnish a soldier, led to the proconsul his son Maximilian, whom the recruiting officer had accepted as good for the service. Upon the order to place himself under the measure that his height might be marked, Maximilian replied that, being a Christian, he could not be a soldier. The magistrate paid no attention to this, but caused him to be measured; then ordered that the cord should be put around his neck to which was suspended the leaden tablet which bore the description of each soldier. "I shall break it," Maximilian exclaimed, "and never wear anything but the token of my only master Jesus Christ." The proconsul explained to him that he could, as so many others had done, freely fulfil all his religious duties; but the Montanist persisted and was put to death for the refusal of the military oath. The sentence makes no reference to the Christian faith.¹ A little later, in this same Africa where Tertullian had lauded desertion from the army and had urged to martyrdom,² at Tingis, on one occasion when the garrison were celebrating the birthday of Maximian, the centurion Marcellus threw down at the feet of the soldiers his vine-branch, his military belt, and his weapons, saying: "I will no longer serve your emperors, and I despise their gods of wood and stone." Instead of silently taking advantage of what the government at that time allowed, liberty of conscience, or even his dismissal from the army, he insulted, in the midst of a solemn ceremony, both the state religion and the emperors; this was a public provocation which could not be tolerated, and he was put to death.³ The law commanded this punishment, and Marcellus had sought it.

The government at last began to notice these acts of disorder.

¹ Extract from the official Acts: *ut a notariis excepta: . . . in sacro comitatu Christiani sunt et militant* (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 299). This took place in the year 295 or 296.

² See above, chap. xci. Tertullian says, in the *de Fuga*, 9: *Spiritus omnes pene ad martyrium exhortatur*.

³ *Acta sincera*, p. 302. The date is uncertain; it may have been 298.



Principal Façade of the Temple of Minerva at Theveste (modern Tebessa).

It had need, both for itself and for the Empire, to be sure of its troops, and it was not so with soldiers who proposed to limit their obedience. A purifying of the army was resolved on; those who declared their religious faith incompatible with their presence under the standards were discharged.

"Many," says Eusebius,¹ "left the service. A general having given his soldiers the choice of renouncing their religion or their military grade, they preferred to confess the name of Jesus and part with their worldly advantages."

This consideration for soldiers who refused to submit to the common rule was not habitual with the Romans.² Galerius was indignant at it; he saw in it the loss of discipline, in which he was right; and it would have been satisfactory to him to use against all Christians the means of intimidation employed against those in the army.

Although Diocletian had shown in Egypt that he did not hesitate in shedding blood when it was a question of chastising rebels, he hesitated to strike those who were not in open opposition to the law. He hoped that an execution now and then, in virtue of military law, would suffice to repress everywhere the extremes of religious zeal. But now civil society, in its turn, becomes unsettled, and the great administrative instrument of the Empire, the municipal system, begins to work badly and threatens to become useless. The Christian is no more willing to be a citizen than a soldier.³ He refuses the office of duumvir, even of decurion, because of the pagan observances these offices impose; he divides or distributes his property that he may no longer possess the twenty-five *jugera* which condemn him to the curia, and the Christian emperors later were compelled to take severe measures

¹ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 1 and 4. The measure was general, *datis ad propositos litteris*, says Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*, 10); and he adds: *nec amplius quidquam contra legem aut religionem Dei fecit*.

² The edict was not formally obeyed everywhere. The *Acts* of SS. Julius, Nicander, and Marcian, show soldiers put to death for having refused to burn, along with their comrades, a grain of incense upon the altar, on receiving the largess given by Galerius on occasion of the tenth anniversary of his accession. Generals accustomed to punish severely all disobedience had felt themselves, in condemning these soldiers, to be acting in accordance with the military law.

³ "Public affairs are not our affairs." *Nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica* (Tertullian, *Apol.*, 38).

against those "who serve the Church, rather than the senate;"¹ such is the penury of the *honestiores* that Diocletian permits the duties of the decurionate to be imposed upon freedmen, and even upon persons who have been branded as infamous.²

At this time also, between philosophers and Christians, and between differing sects, disputes recommence or continue, and the air is full of clamour. From Persia, that perpetual enemy of the Empire, comes a new sect, the Manichæans. Formed at the expense of the doctrines of Zoroaster and of Jesus, it agitates men's minds in the border provinces of the two Empires, and as usual the magistrates accuse it of a thousand crimes which S. Epiphane relates, turning against these sectaries the accusation of scandalous mysteries with which the Christians had long been pursued.³ In Egypt Meletius makes a schism;⁴ Hierax begins another. In Africa the language exchanged between the bishops at the Council of Cirta (305) shows the violence of some of these men of peace, and announces that of the Donatists, who a few years later covered the province with blood and ruins. Porphyry, or a Neo-Platonist of his school, composes at this time his treatise against the Christians, which doctors and bishops combat with sharp refutations.⁵ A famous rhetorician, Arnobius, attacks the Church which later he was to defend, and a great functionary of the Empire, Hierocles, viceregent of the district of Bithynia,

¹ *Curiales qui ecclesiis malunt servire quam curiis* (Code Theod., xii. 104, 115).

² *Infames persone . . . curialium vel civilium munerum vacationem non habent* (Code Theod., x. 56 and 57).

³ Before becoming an orthodox Christian, S. Augustine had been for nine years a Manichæan, which leads us to believe there could be no immorality in this cult. The ordinance of Diocletian says: . . . *de Persica adversaria nobis gente . . . multa facinora committere, populos quietos turbare* (Code Greg., xiv. 4). The chiefs of the sect shall be burned with their books; the adherents of low estate decapitated; the *honestiores* sent to the mines. The date of the rescript is uncertain.

⁴ "Separating himself from Peter, his metropolitan, and the other bishops, he published calumnies against them." (Fleury, *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 24 [about 301].)

⁵ Lactantius mentions a philosopher who, in 303, wrote at Nicomedia three books against the Christians. It has been questioned that this philosopher was Porphyry, because the author of the *Divine institutions* (v. 2) speaks of his disorderly life. But Lactantius never hesitates to calumniate his adversaries, and we know from S. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, x. 32) that Porphyry was still living at the time of the persecution. At least it is established by the words of Lactantius that a philosopher wrote at Nicomedia even against the Christians at the moment of the promulgation of the edict, which suffices for our statement. Some critics place the composition of Porphyry's book between the years 290 and 300. S. Methodius combated it in a poem of ten thousand lines. (S. Jerome, *de Viris ill.*, 83.) Eusebius also refuted it.

mingles in the fray. The latter publishes his *Philalethes*,¹ "the Friend of Truth," setting over against the miracles of Jesus those of Apollonius of Tyana, "who, however," he says, "was not made a god for that." And it is not questions of dogma which are in dispute; to such the people would not care to listen. Porphyry, with murderous accusation, shows the plague ravaging cities, and Æsculapius failing to drive it away, because he himself has fled far from the abominations of the Christian faith.² To the strifes of doctors corresponds that of the crowd. Some exclaim that the gods of Olympus are demons, and assume to themselves the power of driving them out; others dread this satanic power, and imagine that the sign of the cross will hinder sacrifices from being completed.³ No man ever saw the gods flee away or the flame upon the altar go out at a Christian's gesture; but the pagan world believed them capable of every crime, and reviled them while waiting to be allowed to drag them into the arena.

The Christians fight among themselves also. "The liberty which we enjoyed," says Eusebius, "had caused the relaxation of discipline. The war began among ourselves by violent language; bishops against bishops, people against people. When the evil had reached its height, divine justice raised its arm to punish us. The believers who followed the profession of arms were the first to be persecuted. After this warning from the Lord, instead of seeking to propitiate him, we added crimes to crimes; our pastors, despising the divine rules, disputed bitterly with each other and strove for the highest rank. Then, according to the word of Jeremiah, the Lord from Heaven overthrew the glory of Israel."⁴

¹ *Ausus est libros suos nefarios ac Dei hostes Φιλαληθῆς annotare* (Lactantius, *Div. inst.*, v. 2, and what remains to us of the treatise of Eusebius against Hierocles).

² Euseb., *Præp. Ev.*, v. 1; Lactantius, *Div. inst.*, iv. 27.

³ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 10: *cum adstiterint immolanti imposuerunt frontibus suis immortale signum, quo facto fugatis demonibus, sacra turbata sunt*. Prudentius also relates that the sacrifices of Julian were disturbed by the presence of a Christian. "On occasions of temptation the Christians add to the sign of the cross the blowing to drive away the demon." (Fleury, *les Mœurs des chrétiens*, p. 63.)

⁴ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 1. These sad quarrels continued throughout the persecution. Eusebius breaks off in his account of the martyrs in Palestine to say again: "I will not speak of the ambition of some men, of their rash and unlawful laying-on of hands, of the differences and disputes of the martyrs themselves, of the divisions by which they tore the members yet remaining to the Church." See Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 98, 100, and 103, in respect to the disorders at Rome; the canons of the Council of Elvira for those which it was necessary to repress in Spain; the acts, first scandalous, later abominable, of the African *circoncilliones*;

It was in the East that religious animosities were the most bitter, and from February, 299, to the beginning of the year 302, Diocletian resided there almost constantly.¹ When in the autumn of this latter year he returned to Nicomedia, his mind was made



Coin of Nicomedia.²

up that it would be necessary to put an end to these agitations and bring back tranquillity into civil society, as he had brought it back into the legions and into the provinces. Galerius had long been of this opinion. But what means should be adopted? During the entire winter the two rulers discussed this terrible question. Lactantius asserts

that Diocletian would have been content with prohibiting the army and the palace to the Christians, that is to say, military and administrative duties; that finally he laid the matter before the consistory, and that this council gave their opinion as the same



Didymæan Apollo, on a Coin of Miletus.³

with that of Galerius. The measures with which Diocletian would have been willing to stop would not have been more severe than those which excluded from public office and the liberal professions the Protestants of France up to the time of the Revolution and the Roman Catholics in England to our own time. But the obstinate conservatives of the day made every effort to force the Augustus into the

most sanguinary road. The contradictory feelings of the statesman and the pagan which fought within him threw this strong soul into a trouble whence he sought escape by asking advice of heaven. He decided that the question should be laid before the oracle of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus.⁴ Apollo could have no indulgence for those who ruined his priests and blasphemed his

the wretched intrigues attributed by S. Athanasius to the Eusebians; the denunciations sent in to Constantine in 325 by the bishops against several of their brethren (Rufinus, i. 2), etc., and we shall be convinced that along with great virtues the Christian communities had many weaknesses, which is very human, and that it will not do always to accept the Church of the legends as the real Church of history.

¹ So we infer from the date of many rescripts. (Mommsen, *Zeitf.*, p. 444.)

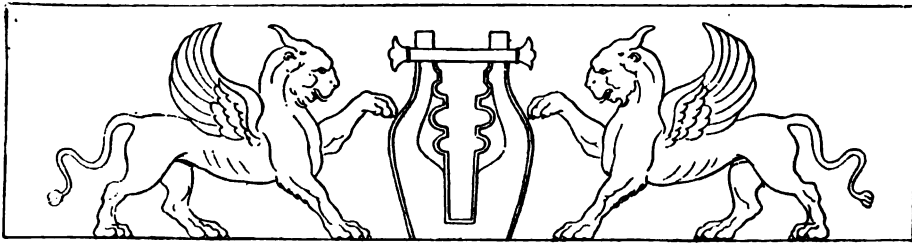
² ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝ ΔΙΟ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Love fleeing from a kneeling Psyche. (Reverse of a bronze of Maximus.)

³ ΔΙΔΥΜΕΥΟ ΜΙΑΗΚΙΩΝ. The god standing, holding a bow and a small figure of a stag. (Reverse of a bronze of Claudius.)

⁴ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 11.

name; the oracle made reply that the enemies of the gods must be destroyed. The Christians therefore appeared to be condemned both by human and divine wisdom.

If we may believe Lactantius, Galerius proposed to have those who refused to sacrifice burned alive. Diocletian hoped to attain the suppression of the Church without bloodshed. The resolution he was about to take was a very serious one, and he asked the pontiffs to designate a propitious day for its execution. They indicated the festival of the Terminalia (23rd February, 303) as the day on which the accursed sect should be brought to an end.



Bas-relief from the Temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus. (Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, pl. 140, fig. 2.)

At daybreak the prætorian prefect, accompanied by *duces*, tribunes, and soldiers, presented himself before the church in Nicomedia, forced an entrance, and seizing the sacred objects committed them to the flames. He would have set fire to the buildings, but Diocletian, who from the roof of the palace surveyed what was done, fearing that a fire might spread among the adjacent buildings, ordered the temple to be demolished. On the following day appeared the first edict of persecution: the Christian churches were to be destroyed, the religious books burned, and the sacred places and cemeteries confiscated.¹ Those who refused to sacrifice were to be branded with infamy, of whatever rank they were, declared incapable of filling any public office, and in case of condemnation for any crime subjected to the penalties denounced against the *humiliores*. All judicial proceedings would be authorized against them, while they could institute none against others;² their

¹ De Rossi, *Roma sotterr.*, ii. p. viii. and 378. Constantine, in his turn, ordered the books of Porphyry to be burned.

² To leave to the Christians no way of eluding the law, *aræ in secretariis et pro tribunali positæ, ut litigatores prius sacrificarent* (Lactantius, 15).

assemblies were prohibited; he who was already placed by his condition among the *humiliores* was made a slave of the treasury,¹ and the Christian slave could never be enfranchised. This first edict did not go so far as that issued by Valerian; it did not order the death of the Christians, but it made of them a people of pariahs. Measures nearly similar to these were adopted upon the



Mutilated Statue, found in the Ruins of the Temple of the Didymæan Apollo. (Texier, *ibid.*, fig. 3.)

revocation of the Edict of Nantes: a double iniquity which was the consequence and has remained the condemnation of state religions.

Violence calls for violence. Diocletian would have been glad to have escaped shedding blood, but it was to flow in torrents. An indignant Christian tore down the edict and destroyed it with loud reproaches against the Augustus and the Cæsar: "These are their bulletins of victory over the Goths and Sarmatians!" he cried ironically. To pluck down an imperial edict was a crime of high treason, and the man was burned on a

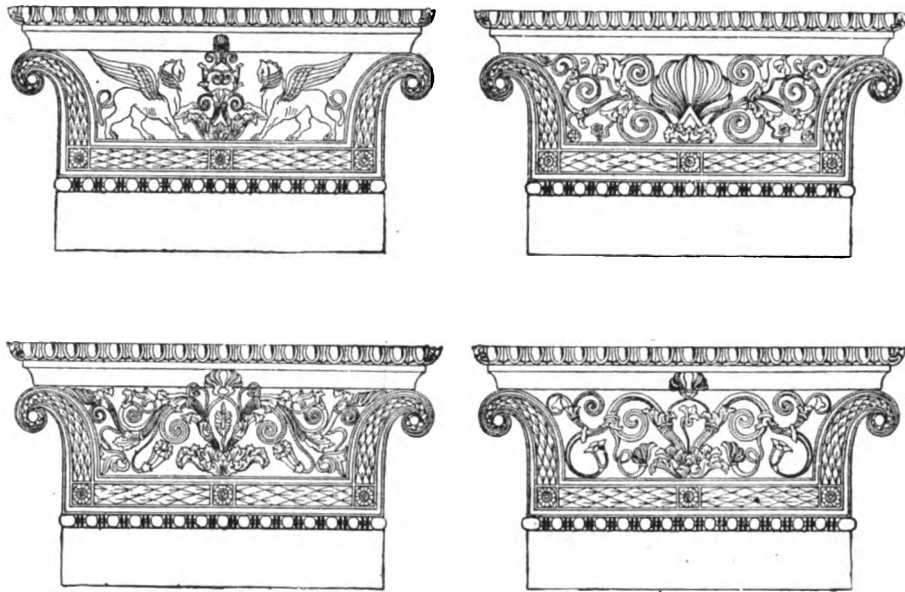
fire of charcoal.² Soon after this a fire broke out in the palace, and fifteen days later a second fire occurred near the rooms occupied by the emperor. It is difficult to impute this double fire to chance. Lactantius makes Galerius responsible for it, who then threw the blame upon the Christians in order to exasperate Diocletian, and Eusebius makes Constantine relate to the Fathers at the Council of Nicæa that he had seen a thunderbolt, the instrument of divine justice fall upon the palace and set it on fire.³

¹ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 1, and the *Actes* of S. Theodosius of Ancyra. (Bollandists, May 18th.)

² *Legitime coctus*, says Lactantius, that is, burned according to the established rules (*de Morte pers.*, 13). It is remarkable that the first edict was not promulgated in Syria till fifty days later, and in Africa after four months. With his habitual prudence, Diocletian waited to see the effects of the blow he had struck at Nicomedia.

³ *Orat. ad S. Coet.*, xxv. According to this passage, the damage done by the fire must have been very considerable.

But the Constantine of Eusebius often saw, between heaven and earth, things that no other person ever witnessed. It was more natural to accuse the Christians, and the life of the emperors appeared threatened by an extensive conspiracy. If this danger was really imaginary, they had at least reason to dread the revenge of individuals, and the Christians were now so numerous that there were to be found among them, beside resigned victims,



Fragments of the Entablature of the Temple of the Didymæan Apollo.¹ (Louvre.)

men of war who would not submit to injustice. Galerius was no longer safe in Nicomedia, and he quitted the city. Left alone in the palace, Diocletian, who also felt himself surrounded by assassins, ordered a severe search to be made, and all those who could be suspected of being adherents to the new faith to be required to sacrifice. The wife and daughter of the emperor, who seem to have been reluctant, set the example; others followed; but certain slaves, freedmen, and eunuchs refused, and this refusal appeared to convict them as authors or accomplices in the recent crime, and they were cruelly put to death. The investigation was pursued outside of the palace, and suspicion produced culprits; the

¹ See in vol. iii. p. 595, the bases of the columns of this temple, and, in vol. v. p. 71, a view of its ruins.

bishop of Nicomedia was beheaded, and many persons of humble condition were burned or thrown into the sea.

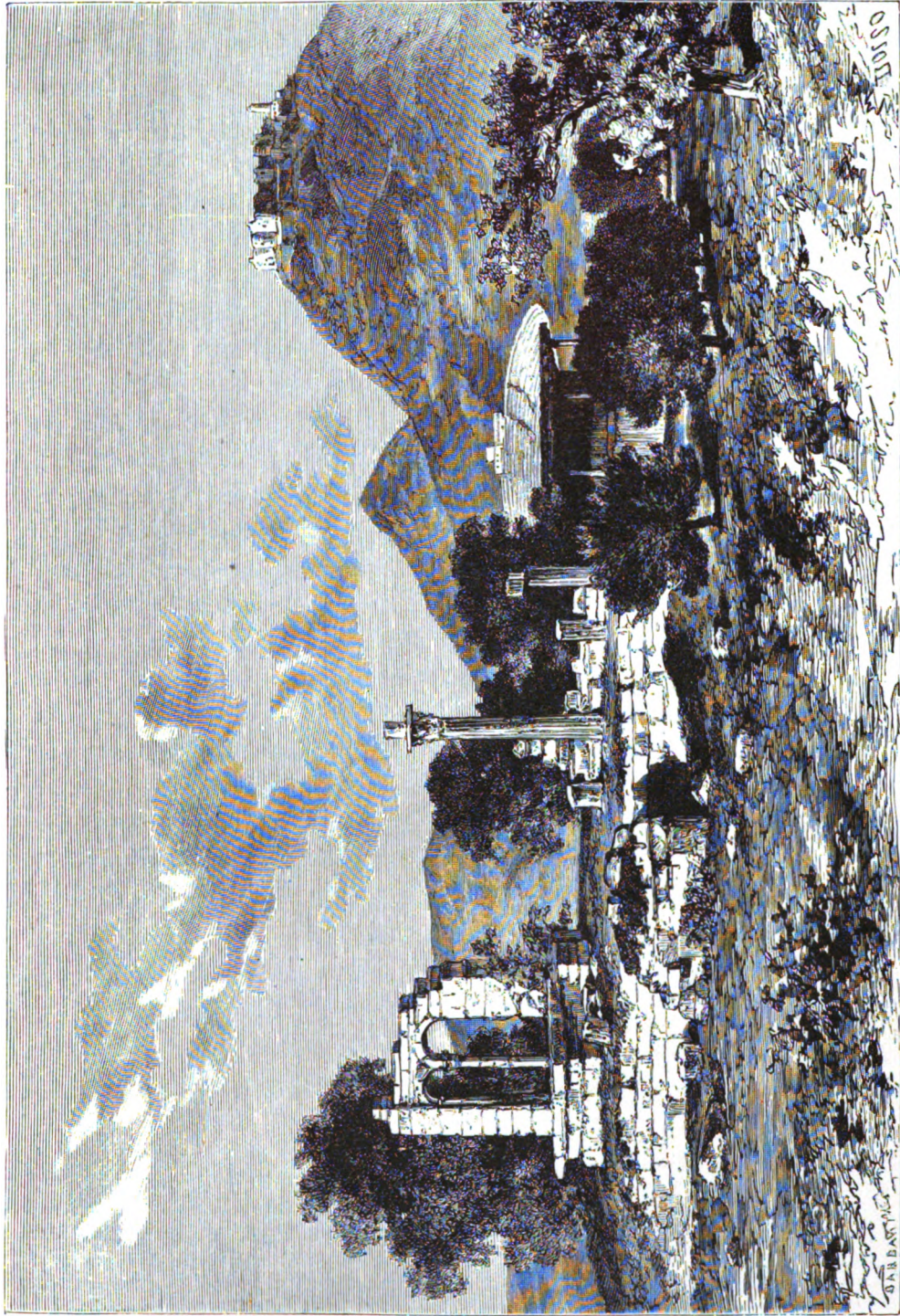
At Nicomedia, the Christians suffered as incendiaries; in the provinces, they were accused as rebels. It appears certainly that to the exasperation caused at certain points by the destruction of the churches, may be attributed two insurrections which—a thing unknown in twenty years—broke out, one at Antioch, the other in the Melitene on the upper Euphrates. Nothing is known of the latter, which might have become dangerous owing to the neighbourhood of Armenia, where Christianity, preached by S. Gregory Illuminator, was at that time making great progress.¹ As to the revolt in Syria, Libanius represents it, eighty years later, as a foolish freak of the soldiers.² But the leader of these soldiers had assumed the purple, and the magistrates of Antioch and of Seleucia with many of the inhabitants were put to death. If the Christians had not been in some way concerned in these movements, Eusebius would not have mentioned them, especially he would not have indicated them as the cause which determined Diocletian to issue a new and more severe edict.³ In the eyes of the emperor this had been an attempt to transfer the Empire to the Christians; and it was an attempt by no means absurd, since, though unsuccessful in 303, it did in fact succeed eight years later. In the last year of the persecution, the governor of Palestine, hearing a martyr speak of the heavenly Jerusalem, formed the idea that the Christians proposed to build a city and fortify themselves in it against the Romans. This governor is ridiculous, but his apprehension was not so; for he naturally believed that the persecuted, whose ardour to meet death he could not understand, would seize any method of escaping from persecution.

A century earlier they aspired to heaven only; but their strength increasing with their numbers, they began to concern themselves with the affairs of earth. Sagacious as he always was,

¹ Simeon Metaphrastes relates the story of the thirty-three Christians martyred at Melitene, but Tillemont (*Mém. eccl.*, v. 171) does not believe that these *Acts* are trustworthy. If they have historic foundation, we must still see in them, according to their own details, an execution for refusal of military service and for blows and wounds inflicted on the recruiting officers.

² *Disc.*, xiv.

³ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, ii.



Ruins of Seleucia. (Léon Delaborde, *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, pl. 72.)

Diocletian was aware of the evolution which went on unconsciously in the minds of many, but was revealed to him by the fire in the palace and the two revolts breaking out amidst the profound calm of the Empire. For twenty years this emperor, who placed the interests of order above everything else, had constrained his gods and their priests to toleration; from the moment when he believed the public peace in danger he sought to save it by energetic measures, still, if possible, without bloodshed. He bethought himself of an old law of the Empire which permitted him to punish, without leaving them the resource of an appeal, those who were regarded as *seditionum concitatores vel duces factionum*;¹ and against the insurrection, or the propaganda that he dreaded, he took the clergy as hostages. His second edict ordered the arrest of bishops, priests, and deacons, who should refuse to deliver up the Holy Scriptures. By demolishing the churches he prevented the Christians from holding their assemblies and celebrating their religious rites; by depriving these communities of their pastors, he hoped that, left without direction or discipline, these societies would dissolve or would cease to be dangerous; lastly, by the destruction of their sacred books, he expected to put a stop to teaching, and by all these methods to extinguish the faith.² In the moral condition of the world these measures must have remained powerless; the future belonged to Christianity, and against it two emperors will waste their strength.

The two edicts of the year 303 did not mention the death penalty; Diocletian had counted upon their comminatory effect.³ The Christians, at that time numbering several millions, could not be all punished, but the emperor hoped to intimidate all, to cause apostasies among the leaders, and easily bring back the frightened crowd into the temples of the gods. The *Acts* of S. Romanus,

¹ *Digest*, XLIX. i. 16.

² An edict of Constantine (Euseb., *Life of Const.*, ii. 30-34) gives liberty to Christians detained in islands, quarries, or mines; restores their property to those who, without being *curiales* by birth, had been *addicti curiæ*, which had placed their fortune at the disposal of the municipal administrations; and gives back their grades, or the *honesta missio*, to officers and soldiers who had been expelled from the army, their honours to those who had been branded with infamy, their condition of free-born to those who had been made slaves, etc. This edict completes our knowledge of the penalties pronounced against the Christians.

³ See the *Acts* of S. Hilary (Bollandists, March 16th): . . . *ut ipso tormentato, universi ejus corrigantur exemplo*. (Le Blant, *op. cit.*, p. 42.)

though mingled with legend, prove that Galerius even dared not pronounce a death sentence. He was himself at Antioch when Romanus was condemned to be burned alive, less perhaps on account of his generous persistence in confessing his faith than for words which his judge considered acts of treason; for example, these: "Christ alone is my king." The authorities dared not proceed to execution without the order of Galerius, and the Cæsar did not give the order.¹ At Carthage the same hesitation was manifested, not in torturing, but in taking life. The proconsul permits S. Saturninus to proclaim his faith openly, and makes this no ground of accusation; but he asks whether Saturninus has taken part in assemblies contrary to the imperial law, and whether he has kept books of magic.² The saint replies with this sentence which has been ever since the Church's teaching: "First of all we must obey God." The Christians refused therefore to submit to the laws of exterior order. That these laws were bad no man doubts; but the revolt against them was none the less a revolt against the established government; and still the proconsul, after having put the accused to the torture in the hope of obtaining from them a word which will permit him to set them free, sends them to the public prison, and there he leaves them.³ On the subject of these *Acta*, we shall remark further that the magistrate carefully separates the question of religion from that of public order. When the brethren cry out to him: "We are Christians!" he replies: "That is not what I ask you;" and the sole question that he puts to them is this: "Have you been at the assembly?" or "Have you in your possession forbidden books?"⁴ These gatherings having been prohibited by the sovereign power, fell under the action of the old laws against secret societies, and the *Evangelists* which propagated the faith, and the *Passiones* which

¹ Euseb., *Mart. de Palest.*, 2. The same happened in the case of Alpheus and Zaccheus: *Χριστὸν βασιλέα Ἰησοῦν* (*ibid.*, 1). Procopius, being called upon to burn incense in honour of the four rulers, replies with a line of Homer: "It is not good to have so many masters; we desire but one." The judge considers these words an insult to the emperors, a revolt against the government, and orders the punishment of treason. (Euseb., *ibid.*) Many of the judges made the attempt to transform the prosecutions against the Christians into political prosecutions.

² Ruinart, *Acta sinc.*, p. 387; *Acta SS. Saturnini, Dativi*, etc., § 12.

³ Bollandists, February 11th, §§ 7 and 16.

⁴ Ruinart, *Acta sinc.*, p. 367.

extolled it, seemed to the pagans to have the character of books of magic, which were proscribed.¹

Meanwhile the imprisonment of the priests did not produce the expected effect; a third edict ordered the setting at liberty of those who would sacrifice, and the constraining of the rest by all possible means to abandon their faith.² The government had been able legally to prohibit assemblies which it believed dangerous, and to require of its functionaries that they should sacrifice to the gods of the Empire; but it had not the right to impose this obligation upon all Christians. Drawn on by the fatal progression of a bad design, the intelligent but severe man who ruled at Nicomedia was about to make his reign, until then peaceful and renowned, the era of the martyrs.

As is the case in all times of persecution there were governors who, averse to violence, closed their eyes, or contented themselves with an apparent submission. The bishop of Carthage, Mensurius, had left only a few heretical treatises in his church; these the proconsul seized, and when he was informed where the sacred books were concealed, he refused to make search for them. All the churches also were not demolished; several of them were only closed, and some even were allowed to remain open.⁴



Marble Head found in the Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Nicomedia.³

¹ Prudentius (*Perist.*, i. 75) says that many of the *Acta* of the martyrs were at that time destroyed. We have seen Diocletian in Egypt burn books of occult science.

² Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 6.

³ This antique head, now lost, was drawn by Peyssonnel at the time of his journey in 1745. The unpublished MS. of this journey is in the library of the Institute of France, whence we have taken the above sketch.

⁴ Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 20, 37, etc.

In other places much ingenuity was used in finding ways for the Christians to satisfy the law against their own consent. "A man," says Eusebius, "being dragged to the altar and constrained to touch the abominable viands, was set free as if he had willingly sacrificed. Another had held out his hand towards the box containing incense, but had taken none from it; and the pagans cried out that he had sacrificed to the gods. The former, half dead from the blows he had received, was cast in with the renegades; the latter vainly protested that he had not done what was required of him, they stopped his mouth by force, so eager were these wretches to have it believed that they had succeeded in their attempts."¹ Elsewhere the judge said to the Christian: "Sacrifice to whom you will, even to your own God;"² and to make those present believe that a Christian had yielded, drinking the wine of libations, there was offered him water in a red glass.³ "I have seen," Lactantius further says, "governors boasting of never having pronounced a single death sentence, and proud of having conquered the Christians."⁴ It was not that persecution always offended their consciences; for their reputation of skill one apostasy was worth more than ten condemnations. The Donatus to whom Lactantius dedicated his book, *de Morte persecutorum*, was nine times put to the torture, never in a manner to be fatal, but always with such cruelty that there was reason to expect recantation. In many *Acta* we even read of money offered and honours promised in return for an abjuration.⁵

When, on occasion of the festivals which celebrated the twentieth year of his reign, Diocletian, according to custom, proclaimed an amnesty,⁶ the prison doors, opened for all ordinary convicts, remained closed upon the Christians. He had put the clergy in confinement through fear of an insurrection, and as he still retained that fear, he kept his captives. By the two first edicts

¹ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 1. However, in certain places there existed a strong antipathy: not only did men crowd the scene of execution as a spectacle, but they pillaged the goods of the prisoners and fugitives. (*Actes de S. Théodule d'Ancyre*, Bollandists, May 18th.)

² Bollandists, March 3rd and July 14th.

³ Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p. 422.

⁴ *Div. instit.*, v. 11.

⁵ Léop. Delisle, *Note sur un manuscrit de Prudence*, p. 6. Cf. Edm. le Blant, Supplement to the *Actes* of Ruinart, p. 35.

⁶ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 2. This is the *abolitio generalis* of the *Code Just.*, ix. 43.

the Christians had been degraded from civil honours, deprived of the protection of the laws, and declared criminals if they did not surrender their sacred writings or if they continued to hold their meetings.¹ The third had directed the employment of all means to obtain conversions, without however authorizing in the first phase of the persecution the extreme penalty. There were executions for offences regarded as crimes against the common law:



Fragment of a Glass Disc, representing the Commemoration of the Twentieth Year of Diocletian's Reign.²

insults to the gods, to the emperors, secret assemblies or forbidden meetings; and, as it were not possible that an angry policy like this should be everywhere conducted with moderation, privations and tortures had caused many captives to perish in prison. Many, also, under the weight of moral and physical sufferings, had yielded to weakness. The *lapsi* who sacrificed, the *traditores* who gave up the sacred books, the timid who concealed their faith,³ had been

¹ Euplius, a deacon, was beheaded at Catana, August 12th, 304, for having, contrary to the edicts, called together the Christian community; likewise Philip of Heracleia in Thrace, the martyrs of Abitina in Africa, S. Saturninus, etc.

² *Bulletin de la commission archéologique de Rome*, tenth year, No. 3, pl. xx. (July to September, 1882).

³ The canons of the Council of Elvira, held in 305, show that many believers had concealed their faith, had filled the offices of duumvir, flamen, and sacrificer, had given money for pagan festivals, for spectacles, and games; the Council even gives them permission, if they fear to be denounced by their slaves, to keep idols in their houses, on condition of paying them no worship, etc. This is not contradictory to what has been said above of the decline of the municipal system through the unwillingness of Christians to accept office. The penances imposed by the Council of Elvira are evidently addressed to certain rich men who have commuted with their consciences in order to preserve their wealth, and these capitulations occur in all ages of the world. The heresy of the Donatists began in 311, when Donatus attacked the election to the see of Carthage of Cæcilianus, who had been ordained by a bishop *traditor*.

numerous and became, after the persecution had ceased, a subject of violent dissensions in the Church. At Antioch, a great city whose inhabitants were half of them Christians, Romanus was the only person left in prison.¹

It seemed then that one more blow would suffice to beat down this Church whose pillars were tottering, and to bring back the whole Empire to the old faith. Maximian and Galerius thought so, and when in 304 the long and serious illness of Diocletian left them masters of the government, they revived in all its original vigour the last edict of Valerian. The *Acta* of S. Sabinus, of which the authenticity is doubtful,² relate that when Maximian was present at the games of the circus at Rome, all the people cried out, "Let the Christians die!" and that the emperor caused it to be proposed to the senate by the prætorian or urban prefect that a decree should be prepared condemning the Christians to sacrifice or die.³ This is improbable on the face of it, the abandoning to the senate of a legislation so important being contrary to all that the history of the time teaches us. We should therefore reject this decree mentioned in *Acta* of such doubtful authenticity were it not that Eusebius speaks of imperial letters ordering all men to be present at the sacrifices and take part in them.⁴ Maximian must therefore have written them, or Galerius caused them to be signed by the second Augustus, in a moment of excitement, and the crime of Christianizing was again inscribed in the laws. Thus war, unchained by the three wild beasts, as Lactantius says, raged with fury.

The persecution was destined to last eight years. What part, in this tragic history, belongs to Diocletian? We have seen his repugnance to extreme measures. The hatred of the Christians did not concern itself with him; it is Galerius whom they have pursued with their maledictions. We must also remember that the just horror inspired by these cruelties has deceived the world in respect to the number of victims. Palestine was full of Christians, but in the year 304 ten only perished, of whom six came of their

¹ Μόνος, says Eusebius (*Mart. de Pal.*, 2).

² Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 41. and 603.

³ *Ap. Surius*, December 31st.

⁴ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 3.

own accord to the executioner.¹ Italy and Spain had few; at least, in those countries the *Acta* are rare, and mostly of doubtful authenticity,² and we see that the Roman believers wishing to obtain relics went at that time to seek them in the East. Illyricum, too near the barbarians to possess great cities given up like Antioch and Alexandria to theological quarrels, occupied itself first of all with its terrestrial safety. It had few bishoprics, and the martyrs given to it are few in number; one only became popular, S. Irenæus of Sirmium.³ In Britain and in Gaul, Constantius Chlorus contented himself with destroying a few churches: "He did not destroy the temple built up to God in the hearts of the faithful."⁴ In Egypt and in the Oriental provinces, the martyrs executed, and still more the confessors sent to the mines after cruel tortures, were very numerous.⁵ But one thing is singular: in the chapter in which Eusebius relates the glorious deaths of the "pastors of the Church" during all the persecution, he names only nine bishops.⁶ But the imperial government knew them all; they were the heads of the Churches, and according to the system of Diocletian the head was to be struck; but we have seen that he did not wish to strike mortal blows.

It does not seem even that the administration made search after the Christians, *inquisitio*; otherwise it would have been necessary to employ one part of the Empire in exterminating the

¹ During the eight years that the persecution lasted, Eusebius, who was on the spot and has written the history of it, enumerates, in Palestine only, eighty martyrs. From this number Gibbon estimates that there may have been, throughout the entire Empire, 2,000 martyrs in the eight years, a sad and monstrous number, certainly, for one single victim would have been too much; but every estimate must be uncertain.

² Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 41, 58, 74, etc. The most celebrated of the Spanish martyrs of that time was S. Vincent, whose *Acta* are a legend filled with miracles. The famous inscriptions of Clunia are ranged by Hübner (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 233) among the apocrypha, and are in their right place.

³ Bollandists, March 25th. For the *Passio SS. IV coronatorum* (Gurius, November 8th), see Hunzicker, *Zur Christenverf.*, p. 262, and de Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, §§ 3 and 4, No. 11.

⁴ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 15. Eusebius (*Life of Const.*, i. 17) maintains even, very mistakenly, that mass was celebrated in his palace at Trèves.

⁵ Cedrenus (*Hist.*, p. 467) mentions an edict ordering the right eye of condemned Christians to be plucked out. We cannot tell whether this was an official order or a practice of certain judges. Eusebius often speaks of this punishment and of the burning of one of the tendons of the foot in the case of Christians sent to the mines by Maximin.

⁶ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 13. Sixteen had already occupied in succession the see of Alexandria; the last one only died by martyrdom in 311.

other. Moreover the search was needless, for most accounts speak of the Christians giving themselves up. This one overthrows an altars of the gods; that one burns a temple of Cybele; another goes straight up to the governor, who is offering a sacrifice, and plucks the incense from his hands; another insults him by word and act. "They were," says S. Augustine, "arrows of God shot by the saints at the faces of the oppressors."¹ Then there was seen something like an epidemic of religious suicides. Contrary to the Church's teaching, which disapproves of men by voluntary acts of imprudence or provocation rushing to meet their martyrdom, the *Acta* show a multitude of Christians eager to exchange their mortal life for the blessedness promised by the Scriptures.² And we must also say with a bishop of the time,³ among these saints of the eleventh hour were found—a thing less strange than it appears—men who speculated upon torture, hoping doubtless that it would not be carried to the fatal point: others, ruined with debts, to finish gloriously a worthless life; others, to live in prison on the charity of the Christian society; still others, incapable of a high spirituality, to gain salvation by a last effort of bodily endurance. But, on the other hand, how many admirable instances of devotion and stoical deaths! As we read some of the answers

¹ S. Augustine, in *Psalm*, xxxix. § 16; Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 4 and 5: λόγους τε και ἔργους. Cf. Bollandists, February 7th, S. Theodore of Amasia.

*Martyr
Infremuit usque tyranni oculos
Spata jactit.*

(Prudentius, *Peristeph.*, iii., S. Eulal., 126-128.)

Cf. Le Blant, *Supplément aux Actes de Ruinart*, p. 33.

² Like the three Cilician martyrs, Tarachus, Probus, and Andronicus (Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. p. 285), and a crowd of others. Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. sacra*, ii. 46) says: "They ran to meet these glorious combats, and men sought for death more eagerly than now cupidity seeks for bishoprics." On the question of voluntary martyrdom, and on the means employed, on the other hand, to urge to his death a brother disinclined to it, see p. 232.

³ See the letter of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage (*ap.* S. Augustine, vol. ix. p. 568), who was anxious that those who voluntarily provoked punishment should not be reckoned as martyrs: . . . *quidam facinorosi et fisci debitores qui, occasione persecutionis, vel carere vellent onerosa multis debitis vita, vel purgare se putarent, et quasi abluere facinora sua, vel certe adquirere pecuniam et in custodia deliciis perfrui de obsequio Christianorum.* Thus did the Peregrinus of Lucian. There is also mention in the *Acta* of S. Theodoret, *ap.* Ruinart, of debtors seeking death to escape the severity of the treasury or of their creditors. Cf. Le Blant, *Suppl. aux Actes de Ruinart*, pp. 105 *et seq.* The fate of insolvent debtors was so cruel that Constantine was obliged to moderate it, but long after him, even, Valentinian I. put to death insolvent debtors to the public treasury (Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 7). I have mentioned (p. 233, n. 5) the banquets and the intoxicating liquors by which the courage of certain irresolute martyrs was stimulated.

given at the trial, we seem to hear the songs of a virginal purity already far above the level of earth.¹

Political history does not record all the acts of courage in a battle, and of the soldiers who die for their country she preserves only the memory of their victory. Neither is it within her province to relate those triumphant deaths which have been the strength and are the honour of the Church. This duty belongs to religious history, which must determine what deeds are to be remembered, a long and difficult work, begun long since and not yet ended. We refer the reader therefore to the hagiographers for the story of those heroic and horrible scenes where human wickedness exerted itself to discover new methods of causing the flesh to cry out, and in which the victims suffered for the noblest of causes, liberty of conscience. Like the sufferers by persecution, Diocletian also was to endure his pain; this man, so sagacious, who near the close of his reign thus lost his wisdom, was to behold from the retirement of his palace at Salona the death of his gods and the triumph of Christ.²

II.—ABDICATION AND DEATH OF DIOCLETIAN (305-313).

At the close of the year 303 the two Augusti were approaching the twentieth year of their reign, and they had taken together at the altar of their gods a pledge to mark this anniversary by a deed which has been imitated but once, at which posterity is amazed, and which, in the interests of the Roman world, it would have been better not to have done. In the spring of 303 Diocletian quitted Nicomedia and travelled slowly through Thrace and the Danubian provinces towards Italy. He had at last decided to visit that Rome which he had never seen since his accession, and to celebrate at one and the same time the festival of the *Sacra Vicennalia*, and the triumph which the senate had long before

¹ For instance, that of S. Theodora of Alexandria.

² The Christians followed him in later ages with their maledictions, as was their right; and, so far as the persecution was concerned, it was justice. A historian of this emperor, Casagrandi (*Diocleziano*, p. 368, No. 1) has even put this question: *Quale è stata la mano che dalle storie di Ammiano e Zosimo strappava le pagine dedicate a Diocleziano? Chi ha distrutta la vita che di lui scrisse il suo segretario Eustenio?*

decreed to the two emperors.¹ But as he did not love an unwholesome popularity, and was not of the number who stoop to obtain or to keep power, he proposed to make but an official and brief visit to the old capital of the world. On the twentieth of November he entered the city with Maximian in a chariot drawn by four elephants, as a memorial of his Asiatic victories. Behind him were borne figures representing the king of Persia whom he had conquered, the wives and children of the latter captured in the camp at Narses, all arrayed in the purple robe embroidered with pearls; then came the trophies recalling the successes gained over the nations adjacent to the frontiers. According to the custom on these anniversaries he granted an amnesty which opened the prison doors to all, the Christians excepted, and gave largesses in all the great cities. The people of Rome had their large share in this: a *congiarium* of 310,000,000 denarii, or 1,500 denarii apiece, if they at this time numbered 200,000.² Games and combats of animals were the necessary accompaniment of these ceremonies, and they were accordingly given by Diocletian, but seem to have been lacking in magnificence. In the hunts, few animals were killed; in the amphitheatre, few gladiators. The people cried out against the niggardliness of the emperor; they murmured still more when they heard reported this saying of Diocletian's, which made parsimony the rule: "In presence of the censor there should be moderation." At bottom this captious crowd displeased the ruler, who cared much more for the needs of the Empire than for those of the populace of Rome;³ content with having flung them gold, he scorned to take pains to amuse them.

¹ A learned numismatist, M. Lépaule, in his *Note sur l'Atelier monétaire de Lyon*, 1883, announces, from three denarii in his collection, found in 1880, a fact which is nowhere mentioned, namely, the celebration of the Secular Games by Diocletian about fifty years later than those of the emperor Philip. The authority of the coins is great, but the silence of historians on this important fact is very singular, especially of Zosimus, who speaks at great length of the Secular Games, and knows nothing of those of Diocletian, although in speaking of them he mentions this emperor.

² It is more probable that this sum of 310,000,000 denarii (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 648) represents the entire amount granted by Diocletian to the great cities of the Empire, *πᾶσι τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ*, says Malalas (*Chron.*, xii. p. 300, *ad ann.* 302). The *Alexandrian Chronicle* mentions also, p. 514, for this same year a distribution in Alexandria of *panis castrensis*. The triumph of Diocletian was not, as it has been said to be, the last triumph ever witnessed in Rome. Constantius celebrated one in 357 and Honorius another, after the victory of Stilicho over Alaric.

³ *Cum libertatem populi Romani ferre non poterat* (Lactantius, 17).

This disdain of his is comprehensible when we read what Ammianus Marcellinus has to say of the frivolity of these men, wholly absorbed in their sanguinary amusements, or shaking the folds of their togas to call attention to the fringe of the border and the curious tissue of tunics, embroidered with figures of animals.¹

The senators were treated with no greater consideration. The ceremony of the installation of the consuls was approaching; it was for the senate and the city a festival in which the emperors formerly shared, but Diocletian did not attend it. On the 18th of December² he left Rome, which had not been able to detain him for an entire month, and visited Ravenna, where he took possession for the ninth time of the consular office (304). This triumph and these festivals, which had now brought to men's minds all the successes of his reign, were a matter of policy with the skilled statesman. As his mind was made up to seeking, in the retirement he had long before made ready, that which contemporaries have called the repose of the Augusti, *quies Augustorum*,³ but which was for him the putting in practice of a deep design, he had elected to retire from the world after having given this brilliant manifestation which was to immortalize his fame.



The Repose of
the Augusti, QUIES
AVGG. (Medium
Bronze.)

From Ravenna he went to Aquileia and Istria, doubtless went as far as Salona to make sure that all things were ready for his reception,⁴ and returned to Nicomedia in the middle of 304. From this city is dated one of his last rescripts, on the 28th of August of that year.

Diocletian had been seriously indisposed during this journey. But he was not yet sixty years old; he had a robust constitution, and, with his habitual tenacity of purpose, he returned to the city where he had assumed the purple, and where he proposed to lay

¹ xiv. 6.

² Lactantius, 17. It is probable that, before leaving Rome, he caused Maximian to renew in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus the engagement to abdicate at the same time with himself. (*Pan. vet.*, vii. 15.)

³ *Pan. vet.*, vi. 11, and Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 14.

⁴ Conjecture authorized by the words of Lactantius, 17: *per circuitum ripæ Istricæ Nicomediā venit*. Diocletian, in feeble health and habituated to eastern climates, was likely in January, 304, to avoid the valley of the Danube, through which certain authorities represent him as passing, a region subject to cold so excessive that the mighty river is sometimes frozen.

it off. His illness increased during the winter; all the gods, assailed with prayers for the recovery of him who had protected them, remained deaf to these supplications. On the 15th of December he had a fainting fit, the palace was in tears, and a rumour of his death spread through the city. When this report was contradicted many refused to believe that he was still alive, thinking that it was designed to conceal the truth until Galerius should arrive, lest there might be an outbreak among the soldiery. The emperor did not appear again in public until the Kalends of March. "He could scarcely be recognized," says Lactantius, "so greatly had he changed; and, if he had recovered his health, his mind had become so impaired that he never again had his reason but for more than a few moments at a time."¹ But Lactantius, his enemy, takes pleasure in showing the persecutor of the Christians deprived of his dignity as a man by the divine justice, of his imperial crown by the Cæsar whom he had himself made, and the entire edifice he had so laboriously erected falling into ruins over his head. The historian has seen in the secret apartments of the palace, Diocletian groaning, with tear-stained face; he has heard the hard words and threats of Galerius, and the humble answers of the old emperor, a rhetorical embellishment which obliging writers have taken for an historic scene.² This abdication which Galerius is supposed to have extorted from a feeble and irresolute old man, was one of the conditions of existence of the new political system which reserved power for the prime of manhood. This Diocletian himself affirmed on the day when he ordered the sons of the Cæsars to be only additional soldiers in the imperial army; and the keenest joy that this valiant mind could have anticipated for his latter days must have been to behold his great institution subsisting without him. He had succeeded

¹ Lactantius, 17: *Demens enim factus est, ita ut certis horis insaniret, certis resipisceret.*

² To render this scene less improbable, Lactantius had shown Galerius since the year 297 inflated with pride on account of his victory over Narses, and exclaiming: *Quousque Cæsar?* "How long must I remain Cæsar?" The skilful rhetorician is mindful of the rule of his art, that great effects must be prepared for long in advance. But he refutes himself when he says, later, in chap. xxvi., that Galerius was determined also to abdicate after his *Ficennalia*, showing that abdication after twenty years of rule was to be regarded as the principle of the new government. Aurelius Victor knows nothing of any enfeeblement of Diocletian: "He renounced the cares of government," says this author, "being in full vigour of body and mind, *valentior curam reipublicæ abiecit.*"

in preventing military usurpations by giving himself colleagues who acknowledged his superior authority. Moreover, to secure in the future the peaceable transmission of the supreme power, he had resolved to limit for himself its exercise to a period of twenty years, both in order to give by his own example an obligation of unselfishness to future Augusti, and to calm the impatience of new Cæsars by showing them that the hour of sovereignty would come for them also. Thus was to be made secure the system which had been the great work of his life; succession according to merit taking the place of the principle of heredity or the accident of military favour. We have two decisive proofs that such was really his intention: the care that he had taken during nine years in the construction of his palace at Salona, in a remote corner of the world far from all public life and business; and the fact that he had so carefully obtained from the ambitious Maximian the promise to abdicate at the same time with himself. Upon a coin struck on occasion of the abdication, these words are to be read: "To the victorious Fates." For the pagans, fatality was the supreme will of Jupiter, "Master of Destiny," and human wisdom was an inspiration from the god. The resolution of the two emperors was therefore attributed to Jupiter himself, *Fatis Victricibus*,¹ and in retiring they obeyed the divine will.



Victorious
Destiny, Fatis
VICTRICIBUS.
(Reverse of
a Gold Coin of
Diocletian.)

When, in the month of December, 303, Diocletian had celebrated at Rome his *Vicennalia*, he was in his twentieth year of imperial power, which was not completed until the 17th September, 304. The time that he had fixed for his abdication had then come, but he waited some months longer to allow Maximian to begin the year in which, twenty years earlier, he had been made Cæsar. By this voluntary delay he did not overpass the limit he had marked for himself, while he attained that when he could claim from his colleague the fulfilment of his promise.

The Empire at this time was in the enjoyment of a profound peace, which to the imperial ear was not disturbed by the far-off cries of martyred Christians. In the interior, no disorder; from

¹ Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 6. An inscription found at Carlsburg (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 1,090) calls Jupiter, *divinarum humanarumque rerum rector fatorumque arbiter*. Cf. Pausanias, v. 15, in respect to Jupiter *μοιραγέτης*.

without, no threat of danger. In face of this so well ordered government, and of these so well guarded frontiers, ambitious men held their peace, and the barbarians remained in an attitude of respect and fear. Nothing therefore prevented Diocletian from making the experiment, so formidable in an absolute monarchy, of the transmission of the supreme authority.



Severus II.,
SEVERUS
AUGUSTUS.
(Gold Coin.)

Three miles distant from Nicomedia, upon a low hill overlooking the city, stood a column surmounted by a statue of Jupiter. It was on this spot that Diocletian had given to Galerius the purple of the Cæsars. Hither the old emperor caused his throne to be brought, and came to sit upon it for the last time. The nobility of the Empire, the officers of the palace, and the representatives of all the legions having been assembled in their order around him, he arose and announced his resolution. His strength, he said, was decreasing, and, after so many labours, repose was needful to him; he gave back to the god whose image glittered above his head that which the god had given him, and he transmitted the Empire to younger men, to the late Cæsars, whose places would thenceforward be filled by the experienced generals Severus and Maximin Daza. The latter, a nephew of Galerius, was present. Diocletian summoned him, and taking off his own purple mantle laid it upon the young man's shoulders. On the same day, May 1st, 305, Severus was proclaimed Cæsar at Milan by Maximian, and Diocletian, now "Diocles" again, quitted Nicomedia to seek the seclusion of his palace at Salona.¹



Maximin Daza,
Laurelled,
MAXIMINUS
P. F. AVG.
(Gold Coin.)

It was a grand and beautiful scene. This emperor who, not like Charles V. in the decline of his power, but in full prosperity and as yet far short of the limit of his life, abandons the imperial power that he may so give a solemn sanction to a political system, was a man of distinguished ability. "After him," says an old

¹ . . . *et iterum Diocles factus* (Lactantius, 19). This remark of Lactantius is not more truthful, however, than many other things that he says. Diocles, on the contrary, remained Diocletian, with possession of all imperial honours. Coins struck after the abdication represent him as crowned, and have the legend: *Domino nostro Diocletiano, beatissimo seniori Augusto*. On others is the following: *Æterno Augusto, or Providentia deorum, quies augusta*. Maximian withdrew into Lucania.

historian, "the decline of the Empire began, and by degrees barbarism gained upon it."¹

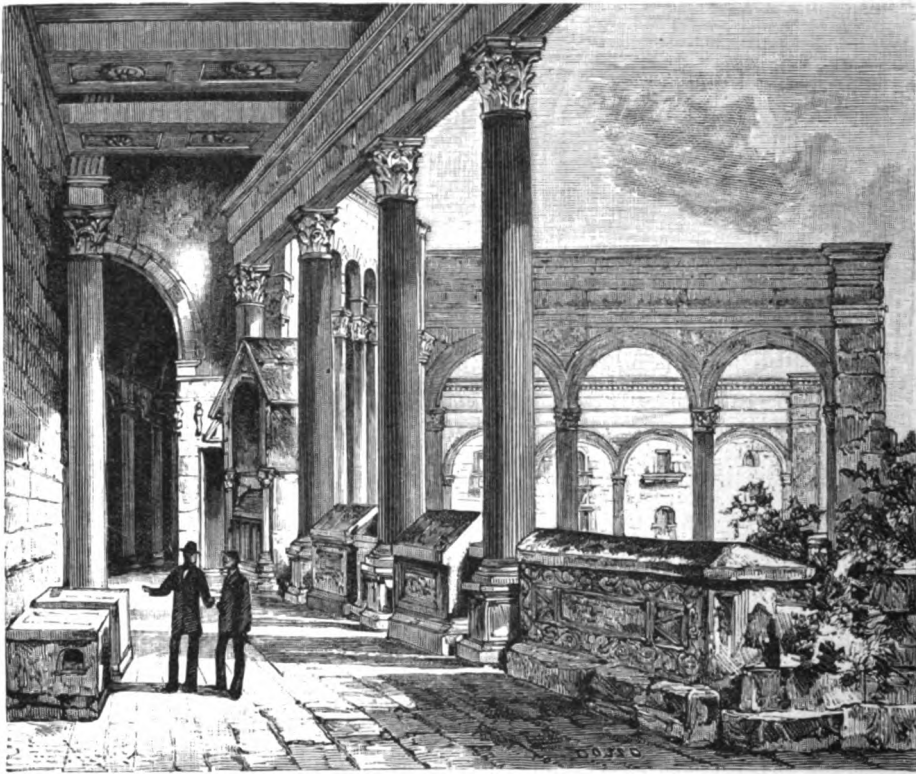
On the shore of one of those beautiful bays with which the Adriatic indents the Dalmatian coast, where the calm water is protected by islands from the angry waves of the open sea, now stands the town of Spalato,² which once was almost completely occupied by the palace of Diocletian. On one side was the sea with its changing aspects; on the other, wooded hills, vineyards, and villages; and the air was always sweet and fresh, except in the burning heats of summer. In this favoured spot Diocletian had erected the sumptuous edifice wherein he proposed to end his days near the scenes of his youth. The vast structure covered a surface of more than eight acres. Its exterior wall, defended at the four corners by huge quadrangular towers, gave admittance, under fortified gateways known as the Gates of Gold, of Iron, of Brass, and of the Sea, to four streets bordered by colonnades of red granite. The old soldier had designed his palace after the likeness of his Empire. Seen from without it was a camp and a fortress. But the interior told of its imperial occupant: baths, a forum, halls of reception and council, barracks for the guard, and two temples for his favourite divinities: Æsculapius (?) and Jupiter (?). The latter temple, octagonal without and circular within, with arches resting on the columns instead of the architrave placed directly upon capitals, was a prelude to the Byzantine architecture.³ A thick wall, rising from the sea, supported an open gallery 590 feet in length, the roof resting on fifty columns: an incomparable *loggia*, whence the view extended beyond the islands over the open sea, at that time crowded with vessels. By great

¹ Zosimus, ii. 7: . . . βαρβαρωθεῖσα [ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή].

² Spalato, corruption of *Salonæ palatium*. The stone, almost as beautiful as marble, of which the palace was built, was obtained from the quarries of Tragurium. Much porphyry also and Egyptian granite was employed in the edifice.

³ M. A. Choisy, the learned author of *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, says very well, p. 152: "It has been customary to date the Byzantine architecture from the fourth century. According to the accredited opinion, Justinian was its originator and S. Sophia its first example. In fact, no style of architecture ever comes into existence thus at a fixed date and with a masterpiece as its first work." The author mentions, as examples of the beginnings of Byzantine art in the Empire, two tanks at Constantinople, constructed in the time of Constantine, the palace of Spalato, etc., and he very justly finds its origin in Assyria: "Byzantine art," he says, "existed from the Roman epoch beside the official architecture, and waited only the decline of classic traditions to make itself conspicuous."

underground passages opening on this side, supplies were brought into the palace, and quietly distributed. In the neighbourhood was a hunting park; but where was the famous garden which Diocletian cultivated with his own hands, and from which he wrote to Maximian, who was begging him to resume the purple: "If you could see the fine vegetables I am cultivating here, you would never speak to me again of such wearisome tasks." The place is



Interior View of the Temple of Jupiter at Salona. (From the *Atlas of Cassas*.)

unknown to us; but the answer lives in history, and men weary of public life delight to quote it.

This dwelling was not that of a philosopher; but Diocletian was not inclined to philosophize. He had done a political action which implies an uncommon grandeur of soul; and the sacrifice being made, it pleased him to preserve as a private individual all the magnificence of imperial station. The temple of Jupiter, so-called, received the daylight only through the door of entrance, and it is a very small building; scholars have been disposed to



Spalato. (From the *Voyage en Dalmatie* of Cassas.)

think that it was a tomb. At the summit of power Diocletian had prepared a stately shelter for his old age; it is quite probable that, while in retirement, he constructed for his last home a sumptuous tomb.¹

The emperor passed eight years at Salona, respected by those whose fortune he had made. An inscription of the year 305 calls him "the father of the emperors." When his baths were inaugurated at Rome his name was left to the colossal edifice;² and on coins of this period he is called "the eldest of the Augusti," *Augustus senior*.³ Galerius consulted him in respect to the elevation of Licinius, and in 310 Eumenes extolled in the presence of Constantine the great emperor who was surrounded by the veneration of the new masters of the world.⁴ But he saw the ambitions that he had restrained break out anew; civil wars and murders of emperors succeed one another; Christianity obtain a legal recognition: his wife the empress Prisca, and his daughter Valeria, the widow of Galerius, despoiled of their possessions and confined in a place of exile.⁵ These blows, falling upon the emperor, the husband, and the father, were not enough for the hate of the Christians. They depicted him as steeped in insults and trembling for his life. Constantine throws down his statues, has his name effaced from the public edifices,⁶ and writes him menacing



VALERIA
AUGUSTA,
Daughter of Dio-
cletian and
Wife of Galerius.
(Gold Coin.)

¹ For a temple, the edifice is remarkably small, 42½ feet in diameter, 69 in height. The columns are but 23 feet high, but are surmounted with a heavy entablature and a second order of pillars 11½ feet in height. On the other hand, tombs were never placed so near dwellings; but Diocletian perhaps was desirous to place his own within the fortifications of his palace. Lanza places the tomb in the temple of Æsculapius.

² *C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 1,130: . . . *Seniores Augusti patres imperatorum et Caesarum*.

³ Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 14.

⁴ *Divinum illum virum . . . quem vestra tantorum principum colunt obsequia privatum, . . . multo iugo fultus imperio et vestro tegitur lætus umbraculo* (*Pan. vet.*, vii. 15).

⁵ The two empresses were decapitated, by order of Licinius, early in the year 315, and their bodies thrown into the sea. A son of Galerius, Candidianus, whom Valeria had brought up tenderly, was at the same time put to death.

⁶ *Statuæ revellebantur* (Lactantius, 42). Constantine, he says, caused to be destroyed the paintings in which the two Augusti are represented together, overthrew those of their images where the statue of Diocletian formed a group with Maximian's, and effaced the inscriptions which were common to the two. This posthumous proscription was addressed to Maximian, whom Constantine had caused to be murdered. As for the mutilation of the inscriptions peculiar to Diocletian (*L. Renier, Inscr. d'Alg.*, 108; *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. 1,439; and Wilmanns, 769A, 1,060), we must see in this an act of rage on the part of the Christian populations,

letters;¹ Maximin makes no reply when Diocletian begs, with humble messages, that his daughter be restored to him; and the last days of this mighty monarch are so sad that he poisons himself or dies by voluntary starvation. The Christians will have the eternal damnation of their persecutor begin in this present world. Since no man killed him, it must needs be that he kill himself in the midst of all the anguish of despair. Thus justice would be done.



Diocletian,
"the Eldest of the
Augusti."²

The scene is dramatic, and the legend that it embodies lives yet; but Eusebius, a contemporary and an enemy, and Eutropius, an indifferent person, have no knowledge of these sad horrors. The latter represents him as growing old in honoured tranquillity; the former only tells of a long illness which, in the end, carried him off.²

In an ordinance published a few days before the death of Diocletian, Constantine still calls him: "Our lord and father,"⁴ and, lastly, he permits the senate to decree him apotheosis, although the ex-emperor at Salona was no more than a private individual.⁵ The senators, protectors of the state religion of Rome, took pleasure in protesting against the victory of the Christians by causing their persecutor to be enrolled among the gods. But the act could not be done without consent of the reigning emperor; it was therefore by the will of Constantine that Diocletian was apotheosized;⁶ upon earth honours to his memory

avenging themselves upon their persecutor, rather than the execution of an order from government.

¹ Constantine is said to have endeavoured to compel him to attend the conference at Milan in 313, and, on the old man's refusal, to have written a letter which decided him to take his own life. The senate is said to have condemned him to death, etc. Cf. Tillemont, *Hist. des empereurs*, vol. iv. p. 54.

² *Præclaro otio senuit* (Eutrop., ix. 28; Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 17).

³ D(omino) N(ostro) DIOCLETIANO BEATISSIMO SENIORI AUG(usto). The reverse: PROVIDENTIA DEORUM QUIES AUG. (Medium bronze.)

⁴ *Theod. Code*, xiii. 10, 2; edict of the Kalends of June, 313. Diocletian, not being called *divus*, was yet living at that date. It may be inferred from Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*, 35-45) that he died before Maximin (July, 313), consequently a few days after the date of the edict.

⁵ *Contigit ei ut, quum privatus obisset, inter Divos referretur* (Eutrop., ix. 28).

⁶ Under the Christian emperors the word *divus* was retained to designate the dead emperor. The reign of Diocletian has given rise to many discussions which it would be out of place to repeat here; they will be found in various special works, of which some are excellent: Hunzicker, in the *Untersuch. zur röm. Kaisergesch.* of Max Budinger, vol. ii. pp. 115-284, 1866; Preuss, *Kaiser Diocletian*, 1869; Casagrandi, *Diocleziano*, 1876; Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian*, 1876; Coen, *L'Abdicazione di Diocl.*, 1877; Morosi, *L'Abdic. dell' imp. Diocl.*, 1880;

were not lacking: his tomb remained always covered with the imperial mantle.¹

The conqueror of Actium gave the Empire its first form, namely, absolute power concealed under a republican exterior, with liberal institutions of the cities and provinces. Diocletian undertook to abolish whatever remained of the government of the Cæsars, in order to establish in its stead a skilfully organized monarchy whose agents should be everywhere present. The union which could not be made between low and high by means of free institutions, was to be made between high and low by administrative ties which would enwrap the whole Empire, and were destined to keep a portion of it standing for ten centuries. We have seen how much ancient material was employed in the construction of the new edifice; it is always so. In public affairs the successful innovators are those who organize well, rather than those who invent, for the present, in order to stand securely, must begin by resting upon the past.

The close of the reign of Diocletian is the natural end of the History of Ancient Rome. The confusion which followed his death is but the prelude to the advent of Constantine, and with him of a new capital, a new state religion, and a new order of things—in fact, of Christian and Mediæval Europe.

Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*, 1880. For a part of the chronology of this reign there exists a learned paper of Mommsen's, *Ueber die Zeitfolge der Verordnungen Diocletians*, which we have already had occasion to quote.

¹ Amm. Marcellinus relates (xvi. 8) that a certain Danus was, under Constantius, accused of treason for having taken away from Diocletian's tomb a purple covering, *velamen purpureum*.



Temple of Rome. (Bronze Coin.)

END OF VOL. VI.

ALPHABETICAL INDEXES.

I.—COINS AND GEMS.

	Page		Page
<i>Æmilianus</i> laurelled	447	<i>Caracalla</i> crowned with laurel and wear-	
— as <i>Mars</i>	412	ing the <i>ægis</i> (cameo)	248
<i>Æsculapius</i> and <i>Telesphorus</i>	243	— laurelled (engraved stone)	110
<i>Agrippa's</i> Pantheon (souvenir of the		— <i>Germanicus</i>	251
restoration of)	138	— offering to <i>Mars</i> a <i>Victory</i>	259
<i>Albinus</i> (coin of), struck at <i>Sidon</i>	57	— trampling <i>Egypt</i> under his	
<i>Alexander</i> (medal of), on a sword-belt		feet	258
and serving for a talis-		<i>Carausius</i> (coin of)	545
man	249	— <i>Diocletian</i> , and <i>Maximian</i>	
— (talismanic medal ¹ in silver		<i>Hercules</i>	545
with the name of)	249	<i>Carus</i> (coin of)	525
— the Great, talismanic medal		— crowned with laurel	526
in gold	249	<i>Claudius Gothicus</i> laurelled	382
— <i>Severus</i> (coin commemora-		— II. (reverse of a coin of)	462
tive of the congiary given by)	309	Coin commemorative of the victory of	
<i>Allectus</i> crowned with laurel	553	<i>Caracalla</i> over the <i>Parthians</i>	258
<i>Antioch</i> (city of), personified	225	<i>Commodus</i> on horseback, striking a	
— (coin of)	52	tigress with his javelin	10
<i>Antoninianus</i> of <i>Claudius Gothicus</i>	387	— the <i>Olympian</i>	11
<i>Antoninus</i> (large bronze of)	570	— and <i>Marcia</i>	25
<i>Apollonius</i> of <i>Tyana</i>	119	<i>Concordia Augustorum</i>	239
<i>Artaxerxes</i> I.	303	— <i>militaris</i>	37
— (coin of)	304	— — (reverse of a large	
<i>As Libralis</i> of <i>Latium</i>	384	bronze)	37
<i>Augustan</i> eternity	49	<i>Constantius et Maximianus Aug.</i>	551
<i>Augusti</i> (the repose of the)	627	<i>Copper</i> coin of the third century A.D.	385
<i>Augustus</i> (silver coin giving <i>Albinus</i> the		<i>Crispina Augusta</i>	7
title of)	57		
<i>Aurelian</i> (small bronze)	502	<i>Denarius</i> commemorating the tenth salu-	
— crowned with laurel	471	tation of <i>Severus</i> as imperator	71
— (reverse of a coin) (small		<i>Diadumenianus Antoninus</i>	265
bronze)	503	<i>Didius Julianus</i> (coin of)	39
<i>Bahram</i> II. (<i>Varahraes</i>) (intaglio)	527	— — laurel-crowned	37
— — (coin of)	520	<i>Didymæan Apollo</i>	610
— or <i>Varahran</i> I. (coin of)	438	<i>Diocletian</i>	530
<i>Balbinus</i> (large bronze of)	337	— (argenteus of)	595
		— (coin of)	596
		— the eldest of the <i>Augusti</i>	636
<i>Caracalla</i> (apotheosis of)	266	— with the name of <i>Jovius</i>	539
— (argenteus minutulus of)	387	<i>Diocletianvs Avg.</i> (laurelled head)	595

	Page		Page
Divine house (the) (cameo)	60	Lælianus crowned with laurel	444
Domitius Calvinus (denarius of)	385	Laodicea (coin of the colony of)	52
— Domitianus Achilleus	562	<i>Liberalitas Augusta</i>	50
Elagabalus, on a coin of Tralles	271	Lucilla (the empress)	7
— (conical stone of)	280	Lunus (the god)	259
— in a chariot drawn by two women	276	M. Annius Florianus crowned with laurel	514
— priest of the sun-god	280	Macrianus, the Younger	441
Elephants attached to a chariot and bearing a tower	496	— (coin of)	440
Emesa (the god of)	272	Macrinus (coin of)	266
—	275	Mammæa in the likeness of Juno (coin of)	315
Ephesus (the temple of)	442	Marcia (engraved stone)	26
Etruscilla, wife of Decius	398	Marius (coin of)	445
Field labourers surrounding a plough-share (engraved stone)	591	— (the emperor) (engraved stone)	445
Fl. Max. Theodora Aug. (small bronze)	551	Maximian Hercules	530
<i>Fundator pacis</i>	75	Maximin (coin of)	362
Gal. Valeria Augusta (silver coin)	551	— Daza, laurelled	630
Gallienus (reverse of a coin of)	443	Maximinus Germanicus	320
— (reverse of a gold coin of)	416	Maximus, Cæsar and Prince of the Youth	319
— conquering the Main and the Rhine	415	Medusa, or Ægis	316
— on horseback	413	Mithra sacrificing the bull in the grotto (intaglio)	149
Gold coin of the third century A.D.	386	<i>Moneta restituta</i>	293
Golden age under Commodus	12	Narses, son of Bahram II. (coin of)	568
Gordians (the two)	327	<i>Neptuno Reduci</i>	439
Gordian III. (Cæsar)	327	Nero (denarius of)	386
Grand circus (the), on a large bronze of Caracalla	245	Nicomedia (coin of)	610
Hellespont (coin commemorating the crossing of the, by the emperor)	343	Odenathus, husband of Zenobia	433
Hercules (the Roman)	11	Odessus (coin of)	300
— killing Diomedes	472	Ormuzd	304
Herennius Etruscus, son of the emperor Decius	390	Otacilia (reverse of a coin of)	348
Hostilianus	411	Pacatianus (coin of)	436
Imp. C. Diocletianvs P. F. Avg., laurelled head	595	<i>Pacator orbis</i>	75
Invincible emperor (the)	40	Pergamus (coin of)	255
Jerusalem (coin of)	53	Persian horseman	343
Julia Aquilia Severa Augusta	282	Persians (medal commemorative of peace with the)	346
— Domna (cameo)	145	Pertinax (coin)	31
— — mother Augusta, etc., etc.	118	— laurel-crowned	31
— — mother of the camps	118	— (funeral pile of)	45
— Mammæa (gold coin)	119	Pescennius Niger (engraved stone)	51
— Mammæa Augusta	287	— — laurelled	49
— Mæsa	270	<i>Philadelphia</i>	239
— Soemias Augusta	236	Philip (coin of the Elder)	352
Julian (coin of the usurper)	535	— the son (aureus of)	340
Julianus (reverse of a coin of)	36	— , the empress Otacilia, and Philip the son	347
		Philips (the two) and Otacilia (coin of)	352
		Plautilla Augusta (gold coin of)	107
		Postumus (coin of)	439
		Priest (veiled) driving two oxen	12
		Probus (reverse of a coin of)	515
		— (the emperor)	514
		Pupienus and the public peace	337

	Page		Page
Quadi (coin commemorative of victories over the)	526	Soæmias (gold coin of)	122
Quietus	441	Souvenir of the return of Septimius Severus to Rome	100
Quintillus (bronze coin)	463	Sun (the) (medallion)	500
— brother of Claudius II.	459		
Regalianus (coin of)	447	Tacitus (the emperor) laurelled	511
Rhesæna (coin of)	77	Temple of Rome (bronze coin)	637
Rhine (the)	440	Tetricus (coin of)	435
Rome (coin commemorating the thousandth anniversary of)	340	— the Elder on horseback	497
		— the Younger	497
<i>Seculo frugifero</i>	49	Tomi (coin of)	458
Sallustia Orbiana	295	Two hands clasped, with the legend <i>Patres senatus</i>	837
Salonina (reverse of a coin of)	416	Trajan (coins of)	571
Saloninus Cæsar	438	— Decius	398
Sapor I.	423	— -- (quinarius of bronze of)	400
— (engraved stone)	343	Tranquillina	341
Scythian coin	363	Trebonius Gallus	411
Secular games (memorial of the)	102	Valeria Augusta	635
Septimius Severus, on a coin of Smyrna	56	Valerian (laurelled head of)	412
— — (coin of), struck at Petra	85	— (reverse of a coin of), struck at Antioch in Caria	422
— — (coin of), representing the bridge over the Tyne	144	— and his son Gallienus, wearing the radiate crowns	413
— — (reverse of a coin struck at Carthage)	139	<i>Victoria Germanica</i> (coin)	362
— — (the arch of)	242	Victories over the Parthians, etc. (bronze struck in memory of)	56
— — on horseback	146	— over the Parthians, etc. (gold coin commemorative of)	56
— — <i>the Pious</i>	151	Victorinus crowned with laurel (gold medallion)	444
— — and his eldest son Caracalla (intaglio)	60	— (reverse of a gold coin of)	444
— — and his two sons	74	— wearing the radiate crown	443
Serapis	97	Victorious destiny	629
Severina (the empress)	501	Vologeses IV. (coin of)	70
Severus in Britain (coin commemorative of the victories of)	144	Volusianus	411
— holding a Victory in his hand	73		
— II. (gold coin)	630	Waballath and Aurelian	478
Shapur or Sapor I. (coin of)	342	— Augustus, son of Zenobia	476
		Zenobia, queen of Palmyra	475

II.—MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

	Page		Page
Æmilianus before his accession	448	Agri Decumates (lines of defence of the)	361
Æsculapius	534	Albinus	67
Agapæ (the)	182	Alexander Severus	311
— — after a bas-relief of the Kircher museum	169	— — (bust)	299
— — symbol of the eucharistic communion	175	Altar found in 1880 on the site of the theatre of Ostia	133
		— of Tutela found at Bordeaux	446

	Page		Page
Amen'otep III. (Memnon)	94	Conical stones representing Melkarth-	
Ancyra (Angora)	479	Baal, the Phœnician Hercules	380
Annia Faustina	283	Constantius Chlorus	550
Apollo (island and sanctuary of), in the		Crispina (the empress)	6
Rhyndacus (present condition)	420	Crypt of Pope S. Cornelius	183
— (island and sanctuary of), in the		Cutler's shop	501
Rhyndacus (restoration)	420	Cybele (bust of)	464
Apostles (the)	171	Dacian (young)	355
— — (vase of the fourth century)	191	Decius (the emperor)	405
Arch of the goldsmiths at Rome (the)	201	Diadumenianus	267
Aurelian	467	Diana of the Vatican	22
Aurelian's wall (remains of)	473	— (ruins of the temple of), at Palmyra	480
Baalbec (interior of the small temple		Didymæan Apollo (bas-relief from the	
at)	87	temple of the)	611
Balbinus	328	— — (fragments of the	
Baptism	173	entablature of the temple of the)	613
Basilica of S. Laurence without the		Diocletian (bust)	537
Walls, at Rome	185	— (gate of the palace of)	533
Bishop (a)	181	— (ruins of the baths of) 531 and 535	
Bracelet (gold)	454	Dragon bearer (the)	492
Burial vaults	228	Dromedary carrying baggage	369
Callistus (Pope)	204	Elagabalus (bust of the Capitol)	273
Candelabrum from Diomede's house at		— (statue, heroic size)	235
Pompeii	392	Equestrian statue of the emperor	
— of Hadrian's villa	391	crowned with laurel	334
Captive Parthian	57	Faun of <i>Rosso Antico</i>	388
Caracalla (bust of the museum of Naples)	244	Fighting hero found near Viennæ, in	
— as an apple-seller	257	Dauphiné	502
— as a warrior	257	Flora, called the Flora Farnese	264
— in youth	240	Galen, physician and philosopher	122
— (fragment of mosaic from the		Gallienus	429
thermæ of)	263	— (triumphal arch of)	437
— (interior of a hall of the		Games of the circus	381
thermæ of)	261	Ganymede as an ape	390
— (thermæ of)	260	Genius of Sleep or of Death	161
Carpathian mountains (view of the)	357	Germans concealing themselves among	
Carts for transportation of baggage	366	rushes	319
Cataphractarius (a)	567	Geta clothed in the <i>paludamentum</i>	241
Changer or verifier of money	592	— in a <i>toga</i>	143
Chase of the wild boar	531	Gladiators on horseback	490
Christ crucified with an ass's head (<i>graf-</i>		Glass cup found at Trèves, representing	
<i>fito</i> of)	211	the great circus	542
— and the twelve apostles	157	— disc (fragment of a)	621
Christian sarcophagus representing mira-		Good Shepherd (the)	238
cles (bas-relief of a)	201	— — and the twelve	
Cimmerian Bosphorus	419	apostles	219
Clodius Albinus (bust of the Capitol)	64	Gordian, the Elder	323
— — (antique fragment of a		— — (unique inscription of)	325
statue of)	58	— the Younger	324
— — (bust in the Campana		— III.	339
museum)	61	Gordians (ruins of the tomb of the)	326
Column commemorative of the victories		Goths (men, women, and children) led	
of Probus over the Alemanni	518	into slavery	460
Commodus	24		
— (statue of Pentelic marble)	3		

	Page		Page
Head band of gold, with a medallion of		Pergamus (ruins of the basilica of)	253
Commodus	363	Persian warrior (dead)	308
Heliopolis (Baalbec) (ruins of)	86	Pertinax deified	46
Hercules, known as the Farnese	13	— (the emperor)	30
— (the labours of)	590	Pescennius Niger	38
Isis (the temple of)	92	Philip, the Elder	345
— (pylons of the temple of)	93	— the Younger	350
Ituræan archer	373	Pilum	397
Jesus between two apostles in the atti-		Plaques of gold of the second or third	
tude of adoration	159	century, found in Syria	79
Julia Cornelia Paula	282	Plautilla, wife of Caracalla	104
— Domna (the empress)	108	Pompey's pillar at Alexandria	565
— — the wife of Severus	81	Pope Sixtus and the Deacon Laurence,	
— Mammæa, mother of Alexander		on a gilded glass from the catacombs .	431
Severus	289	Probus	517
— — as Venus Pudica	307	Procession of the knights at an emperor's	
— Mæsa	120	funeral	47
— —	284	Provision and baggage waggons	342
— Pia Domna (the empress)	117	Pupienus	330
— Sœmias as Venus	121	— (heroic statue of)	335
Juno	105	Quintilii (plan of the villa of the)	19
Jupiter (interior view of the temple of)	632	— (restoration of the villa of the) .	17
Lamp of bronze (Christian)	208	— (ruins of the villa of the)	19
Legionary foot-soldier, standard bearer		Resurrection of the daughter of Jairus .	195
— with helmet	370	Roman (young), supposed to be Salo-	
Library of the later empire	502	ninus	436
Luxor (principal façade of the temple of)	95	— with the head of a sparrow-	
Lyons and its environs	65	hawk	348
Macrinus (bust of the Capitol)	269	— auxiliary horseman	461
— (statue of the Vatican)	268	— — on horseback killing an	
Manlia Scantilla	34	enemy	418
Marble head found in the ruins of the		— bridge in Syria	80
palace of Diocletian at Nicomedia .	619	— cavalier	469
M. Aur. Carinus	528	— horseman, found at Bonn	368
Maximian	547	— trooper treading a German under	
Maximin	318	his horse's feet	457
— (bust in the museum of the		— villa (ruins of hot baths in a) .	543
Louvre)	329	Sacred Egyptian barque carrying a	
Maximus	318	shrine	564
Milan (the sixteen antique columns of		S. Cyprian and S. Laurence on a gilded	
San Lorenzo at)	555	glass of the catacombs	403
Minerva (principal façade of the temple		S. George with the head of a sparrow-	
of)	605	hawk	348
Mount Amanus (the passes of)	432	S. Peter and S. Paul (the apostles)	179
Mutilated statue found in the ruins of		Salonina (the empress)	417
the temple of the Didymæan Apollo .	612	Sarcophagus of Alexander Severus and	
Nativity of Christ	163	Mammæa	313
Noah's ark	205	— of a centurion of the Third	
Palmyra (royal tomb)	82	Augustan legion	332
Parthian king (the) escaping from		— in alto-relievo, of the	
Ctesiphon	72	museum of the Lateran	231
		Scene of persecution: the accusation	214
		Seleucia (ruins of)	615
		Septimius Severus	<i>Frontispiece</i>

	Page		Page
Septimius Severus (bust)	113	Treves (Roman gate, called the Black gate, at)	554
— — (bust in the museum of the Louvre) 66 and 123		Valerian prostrate before Sapor	425
— — (bust found at Porto d'Anzio)	54	Vase (Roman) found in the neighbourhood of Amiens	557
— — (bust found at Rome)	40	— (silver) from the Hildesheim Treasure	501
— — in cuirass	42	— — of Persian workmanship	434
— — (arch of)	101	Victory (statue of)	279
Septizonium (ruins of the)	137	— (a) sacrificing the bull of the Roman triumphs	76
— (the) (restoration)	136	Vintage scenes on a sarcophagus in the Lateran museum	230
Serapis	150	Virgin (the)	176
Sextus Quintilius Maximus	16	Volusianus, son of Treb. Gallus	410
Spalato	633		
Sphinx (the Egyptian)	91	Woman (a) at prayer and the Good Shepherd	218
Straits of Hercules (the)	414	Young athlete	27
Tempest (a)	252		
Temple of the Sun at Palmyra (ruins of the)	491	Zana (ruins of)	275
— — at Rome	485	Zenobia	477
Thermæ of the Gordians (ruins of the)	351	— (ruins of the palace of)	493
Thevesta (ruins of the arch of)	140	Zenobia's palace (gate of)	490
Thysdrus (El-Djem)	322		
Tranquillina (the empress) as Ceres	340		
Treb. Gallus	409		

III.—COLOURED MAPS AND PLATES.¹

	Page
1. Map of the Roman Empire for the reigns of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Gordian III.	40
2. Map for the Gothic Invasions in the time of Decius, Claudius II., and Valerian	458
3. The Tetrarchate	548
4. Provincial Divisions of the Empire under Diocletian	572
1. Treasure from Tarsus. Gold coins of Alexander, Philip II., and Hercules, engraved during the reign of Alexander Severus	248
2. Gold plate called the Patera of Rennes. (<i>Cabinet de France</i>).	294
3. The Portland Vase (found in the sarcophagus of Alexander Severus)	312
4. Fragments of mosaic pavement (found in 1811 in the bath of a Roman villa at Bognor, Sussex)	544
5. Consular diptych of Flavius Felix	578

¹ Opposite the pages indicated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME VI.

ELEVENTH PERIOD.

THE AFRICAN AND SYRIAN PRINCES (180-235 A.D.).

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

COMMODUS, PERTINAX, DIDIUS JULIANUS, AND THE WARS OF SEVERUS (180-211 A.D.).

	Page
I. Commodus (180-192)	1
II. Pertinax and Didius Julianus (193)	29
III. Severus; wars against Albinus, Niger, and the Parthians	41

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

GOVERNMENT OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211 A.D.).

I. The court; Plautianus and Julia Domna	100
II. Legislation and administration; Papinian	123
III. Severus in Britain; his death (208-211)	142

CHAPTER XC.

THE CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

I. General condition of minds; tendency to mysticism; the Alexandrians	147
II. Transformation of the Messianic idea	153
III. The Christian dogmas	165
IV. The hierarchy and discipline	178
V. The heresies	196

CHAPTER XCI.

THE PERSECUTION UNDER SEVERUS.

	Page
I. Idea of the State among the ancients; opposition of the Christians	209
II. Rescripts of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Severus	219

CHAPTER XCII.

CARACALLA, MACRINUS, AND ELAGABALUS (211-222 A.D.).

I. Caracalla (February 2nd, 211, to April 8th, 217); the right of citizenship accorded to all the inhabitants of the Empire	239
II. Macrinus (April 12th, 217, to June 8th, 218); Elagabalus (June 8th, 218, to March 11th, 222)	264

CHAPTER XCIII.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS (MARCH 11TH, 222 TO MARCH 19TH, 235 A.D.).

I. Reaction against the preceding reign; Mammaea and Ulpian; the council of the Prince	287
II. Gentleness, piety, and weakness of Alexander Severus	293
III. The Sassanids	302
IV. Expeditions against the Persians and the Germans; death of Alexander Severus	306

TWELFTH PERIOD.

MILITARY ANARCHY (235-268 A.D.). BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE.

CHAPTER XCIV.

SEVEN EMPERORS IN FOURTEEN YEARS (235-249 A.D.).

I. Maximin (235-238); Gordian I. and Gordian II.; Pupienus and Balbinus (238)	317
II. Gordian III. (238-244)	330
III. Philip (244)	346

CHAPTER XCV.

THE EMPIRE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

	Page
I. The barbarians	353
II. The Roman army	364
III. The administration	375
IV. Decline in industry, commerce, and the arts; depopulation of the Empire	382

CHAPTER XCVI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DECIUS TO THE DEATH OF GALLIENUS (249-268 A.D.); PARTIAL INVASIONS THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE.

I. Decius (249-251), Goths, and Christians	398
II. Ravages of the barbarians in the Empire; Valerian; persecution of the Christians (251-260)	409
III. The provincial emperors (249-268); Gallienus	435

THIRTEENTH PERIOD.

THE ILLYRIAN EMPERORS: THE EMPIRE STRENGTHENED.

CHAPTER XCVII.

CLAUDIUS AND AURELIAN (268-275 A.D.).

I. Claudius II. (268-270); the first invasion repulsed	453
II. Aurelian (270-275)	463

CHAPTER XCVIII.

TACITUS, PROBUS, AND CARUS (275-284 A.D.).

I. An attempt at a senatorial restoration; Tacitus and Florianus (25th September, 275, to July, 276)	508
II. Probus (July, 276, to September or October, 282)	515
III. Carus (September, 282, to December, 283); Carinus and Numerianus (December, 283, to April, 285)	525

CHAPTER XCIX.

DIOCLETIAN: WARS AND ADMINISTRATION.

	Page
I. Diocletian and Maximian, or the Dyarchy (284-293)	530
II. The tetrarchy	549
III. Administrative reorganization and legislation	570

CHAPTER C.

THE ERA OF THE MARTYRS (303-311 A.D.).

I. The edicts of persecution (303)	600
II. Abdication and death of Diocletian (305-313)	625

ALPHABETICAL TABLES.

I. Coins and gems	639
II. Maps and engravings	641
III. Coloured maps and plates	644
Table of Contents of Sixth Volume	645

GENERAL INDEX TO THE WHOLE WORK.

	Page
Alascentus	v. 533
Abdera sacked by the Romans	ii. 99
Algara (perhaps a title rather than a proper name), king of Osrheno	ii. 857
Aborigines, or Casci	I. xci
— their king Janus	i. 2
Abrupolis, Thrace, spoiled by Persens	ii. 87
Abruzzi (Mounts), fertility	I. xxv. xeviii. ciii
Absenteeism combatted by Cesar	iii. 654
Abydos, commerce of, ii. 18, 23,	iii. 595
Abyss, or Vythos, torrent in Mount Olympus	ii. 105
Academy (the), philosophic school, ii. 232, 234, 658, v. 680	
Acarmanians and Acarnania	i. 379, 507, ii. 18, 44, 49, 97, 99, 129
Aca Larentia, nurse of Romulus	i. 5
Accensi (the), or supernumeraries	i. 121
Accius, dramatic author, ii. 268	
Aeco	iii. 179
Acerræ, Etruscan town in the Campagna, i. 55, 68, 327, 567, 622	
Achaia, Roman province, ii. 167, 191, 611, 624, 633, 803,	iii. 569. iv. 2
Achaian, league, ii. 12, 16, 34, 46, 50, 80, 97, 130	
— war with Nabis	ii. 29
Achaïans, defeated by Mummius	ii. 203
— expelled from Italy by Cato	ii. 367
Achaïos, satrap who revolted against Antiochus the Great	ii. 5, 7
Achelous (the), i. 508 n.1, iii. 565	
Acheron (the)	ii. 273
Achillas, Egyptian general	iii. 324, 325

	Page
Achilles, Roman, Dentatus, i. 215	
Achradina, a part of Syracuse	i. 639, 644
Achulla, a town in the region of Syrtis	iii. 615
Acies of the Etruscans, i. 140	
Aeilia (a law), De repetundis	ii. 318
— mother of Lucan	iv. 524
Aeilus, Glabrio	ii. 49, 62
Acisculum (the)	i. 74
Aera, low part of Jerusalem	iv. 635
Aeræa (Juno)	ii. 312
Aerocornunian (Mounts), iii. 300	
Aerocorinthus (the), occupied by the Macedonians	ii. 22, 138
— Flamininus evacuates it after Cynoscephale	ii. 40
Aeron, king of the Ceniates	i. 11
Aeta legitima	i. 124
Aeto liberated by Nero, iv. 403, 477	
Action (games)	iii. 539
Actium, iii. 536-539, iv. 50, 71, 73, 231	
Adana	ii. 800
Adherbal, son of Micipsa	ii. 454, 461, 488
— victory of Drepanum, i. 488	
Adiabene, iii. 646, iv. 492, vi. 56	
Adiatorix, Galatian chief, iii. 593	
Adigo	I. vi. lxxiv
— invasion of the Cimbrians	ii. 502
Administration in the provinces under the Republic	ii. 163-201, 610-657
— under Augustus	iv. 2-95
— under Tiberius	iv. 315
— under Domitian	iv. 701
— in third century	vi. 375
— under Diocletian, vi. 573 seq	
Adonis	i. 453, 454
Adoption, i. 93, iii. 425, v. 212, 247, vi. 56	
Adramyttium, free town of	ii. 61, 667

	Page
Adriatic (the)	I. viii. xii
— commerce of	i. 198
Adrogation	iii. 710, v. 248
Aduatua, now Tongres, iii. 149, 170	
Adultery	ii. 229
— laws of Sylla	ii. 719, iii. 756, v. 260
Advocates (legislation of Claudius as to)	iv. 406
Adys (victory of Regulus), i. 481	
Æbutia (law)	ii. 275
Æbutius, master of the horse	i. 57
Ædiles instituted (their office)	i. 167, v. 361
Ædui (the), ii. 487, iii. 130, 136, 174, 202	
Ægion	ii. 19, 196
Ælia (family) consulates, ii. 376	
— Fulvia (law)	ii. 370
— Sentia (law)	iii. 734
Ælian	ii. 217, v. 713
Ælium (jus), i. 293, ii. 275, iv. 205	
Ælianus (Plantius Sylvanus), governor of Mæsia, iv. 668	
Ælius (pons), Newcastle, v. 37	
Æmilian(gens), i. 5, ii. 376, 587, 735	
— wife of Glabrio, and of Pompey	ii. 735
— way	ii. 72
Æmilius (M. Lepidus), consul	i. 137, ii. 329
— (Mamercus)	ii. 575
Ænaria (island), now Ischia	ii. 592, 595
Ænos, garrisoned by Philip, ii. 77	
Æquians, early enemies of Rome	i. 186, 193, 214
— conquer Rome	i. 237
— attack Roman territory	i. 240, 352, 353
Æquicolæ (the)	i. 173
Ærarii (the), i. 75, 308, 401, 483, 551, 564, ii. 292, 337, 789	
Ærarium (the), i. 420, ii. 117, 177, 313, iii. 722, iv. 13, 473, 659, v. 557, vi. 9	
Ærarius	i. 308

- Æsculapius** . . . v. 714
Æs grave . . . i. 15
 — hordearium . . . i. 121
 — rude . . . i. 127
 — signatum . . . i. 127
Æsernia, Samnite city, I. lxviii.
 402, ii. 556, 559
Æsula . . . i. 402
Ætna . . . ii. 619
Ætolians, ii. 8 *seq.*, 44, 45, 62, 129
Afer (Domitius), prator in
 25, consul in 39, cele-
 brated orator . . . iii. 347, 489
Afranius, comic poet . . . ii. 264
 — Italian general during
 the Social war . . . ii. 554, 560
 — one of Pompey's lieutenants . . . iii. 48, 307
Africa, ii. 134-148, 705, 826,
 iii. 599, iv. 62, 88, 102,
 v. 321, 448
 — circumnavigation of, v. 477,
 658
 — corn . . . ii. 302, 309, v. 454
 — marbles . . . ii. 225, v. 454
 — native fauna . . . ii. 228
 — horses . . . v. 454
 — woods . . . v. 454
African emperors . . . vi. 1 *seq.*
Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily
 i. 371, 380, 443, 465, 480
Ager Peregrinus . . . i. 391
 — Publicus, i. 169, 170, 282,
 ii. 402, 426, 458
 — romanus, i. 118, 168, 184
map, 390
Aggenus Urbicus (quoted) i. 170
Agger (the) . . . i. 36, iv. 222
Agrationis jus, i. 144, 218, v. 271
Agnomen (the) . . . ii. 445
Agon Capitolinus . . . iv. 699
Agrarian laws, I. cxxv. 168 *seq.*
 — of Licinius . . . i. 300
 — of Hortensius . . . i. 305-307
 — of the Gracchii, ii. 396-445
 — of M. Philippus . . . ii. 515
 — of Saturninus . . . ii. 517
 — of Rullus . . . iii. 18
 — of Flavius . . . iii. 52
 — of Cæsar . . . iii. 55
Agricola (Caius Julius), iv. 648,
 700, 702, 708, v. 173
 — under Severus . . . vi. 110 n
Agriculture, i. 2, 140, 150, 303,
 ii. 302, 306, 315, 544, iii. 369,
 652, iv. 485, 698, v. 599, vi. 383
Agrigentum, i. 470, 473, 476,
 478, 482, ii. 144, 394, 615,
 iv. 217
Agrippa (Menenius) . . . i. 165
 — (M. Vipsanius) . . . iii. 424
 — accuses Cassius . . . iii. 444
 — drives Antony from
 Rome . . . iii. 488
 — conqueror at Mylæ, iii. 506
 — at Actium and after, iii. 535
 — suppressed the risings
 in Gaul . . . iii. 678
 — in Spain . . . iv. 59
 — in the East . . . iv. 121
 — his position at Rome
 . . . iii. 656, 678, 708, 743
- Agrippa** (M. Vipsanius) Page
 marries Julia . . . iv. 136
 — public works . . . iii. 656,
 iv. 109, 111, 112, 169
 — water supply . . . v. 529
 — Jewish king, iv. 91, 339,
 353, 394, 623
 — son of the former, iv. 615, 623
Agrippina, wife of Ger-
 manicus . . . iv. 286, 305, 311,
 341, 347, 358
 — daughter of Germani-
 cus, mother of Nero, iv. 446,
 448, 464, 468, 477, 478
Agylla, or Cære . . . I. xlv
Ahala (Servius), master of
 horse . . . i. 237
Ahenobarbus (Cn. Domi-
 tius), consul in 122 . . . ii. 443
 — father-in-law of Cato,
 consul in 87 . . . ii. 487
 — consul in 32, iii. 464, 477,
 489
 — son of the latter, consul
 in 16 . . . iv. 107
 — son of the latter and
 father of Nero . . . iv. 457
Aix, victory of Marius, ii. 489, 498
Ajax, prince of Ollæ in
 Cilicia and high priest, iii. 589
Akaba . . . v. 122
Alabanda . . . ii. 100
Alani . . . vi. 363, 512
Alauda (Lark), name of
 legion . . . iii. 296, 422
Alba Longa . . . I. clxi. 27, 57
 — Ligurian city . . . ii. 745
Alban (hills) volcanoes, I. xxxi
Albanians beaten by Pom-
 pey . . . ii. 827
 — by Canidius . . . iii. 514
 — allies of Hadrian against
 the Alani . . . v. 42
Albano (lake of) . . . I. xiii. xxiii
Albans (the), established at
 Mount Cælius . . . i. 21
Albinus (Aulus Postumius)
 . . . ii. 258
 — (Sp. Postumius) . . . ii. 464
 — (Clodius Ceionius), com-
 petitor with Severus, vi. 37, 48
Albiola, Porto Secco . . . I. xix
Album, list of senate, v. 365, 370
 — bill of announcements, v. 369
Albunea, Sibil . . . I. cxxix
Alcantara, bridge on the
 Tagus . . . iv. 801
Aleon of Saguntum . . . i. 575
Alemanni . . . vi. 360, 362, 416,
 518, 558
Aleria, capital of Corsica, i. 477
Alesia . . . iii. 194, 206
Alexander Jannæus . . . ii. 829
 — the Great (1) . . . vi. 148
 — Cæsar before his statue, iii. 6
 — his head engraved on
 the seal of Augustus, iii. 700
 — on talisman . . . vi. 249
 — reappearance of . . . vi. 281
 — king of Epirus (2) . . . i. 330
 — Severus (222-235) adop-
 ted by Elagabalus . . . vi. 281
- Alexander Severus** Page
 proclaimed Augustus . . . vi. 286
 — reaction against the pre-
 ceding reign; influence
 of his mother Julia and
 of Ulpian . . . vi. 283
 — gentleness, piety, and
 weakness of Alexander, vi. 293
 — riots in Rome between
 the citizens and the præ-
 torians . . . vi. 298
 — revolution in Persia,
 arrival of the Sassanids, vi. 302
 — expedition against Per-
 sia . . . vi. 306
 — expedition against the
 Germans . . . vi. 310
 — death of . . . vi. 311
 — sarcophagus of, and his
 mother, found in Rome
 . . . vi. 311 n
 — son of Antony and Cleo-
 patra . . . iii. 522
Alexandria, Cæsar's war, iii. 322-
 328
 — under Antony . . . iii. 522
 — under Octavius . . . iii. 544
 — laws of Augustus, iii. 602 *seq.*
 — Vespasian proclaimed
 there . . . iv. 591
 — sojourn of Hadrian . . . v. 86
 — of Severus . . . vi. 90
 — of Caracalla . . . vi. 256
 — occupied by Zenobia, vi. 494
 — by Firmus and Saturni-
 nus . . . vi. 494
 — by Aurelian . . . vi. 494
 — the Jews . . . iv. 642
 — municipal rule . . . v. 344
 — library . . . iii. 325
 — school of . . . vi. 155-158
 — in Troad, free town . . . ii. 61
Algidus (the), a volcanic
 peninsula . . . I. xci
Alimentary institutions, v. 181
Aliso, fortress at the source
 of the Lippe, iv. 114, 126, 131
Allia (the), defeat of the
 Romans . . . i. 256
**Allied and tributary coun-
 tries** under Augustus, iii. 619,
 656
Allies (cities and peoples),
 organization . . . ii. 187
 — exactions against, ii. 542 *seq.*,
 549, 574
Allobroges (the), i. 563, 581, 582,
 ii. 487, iii. 27, 63, 133
Alphabet (Latin), Claudius
 desired to complete . . . iv. 399
Alps (mountains) . . . I. i. viii.
 ii. 482-504
 — inclosed in the Empire
 . . . iii. 558
 — organization of this
 frontier . . . iv. 85, 95, 106 *seq.*
 — passage of by Hannibal
 . . . i. 578-585
 — by Hasdrubal . . . i. 667
 — by barbarians under
 Marcus Aurelius . . . v. 190
 — by Diocletian . . . vi. 549

- Alps, trophy of Augustus
on Maritime . . . iv. 52
- Alsium, Etruscan town, I. xlv
402, 490 n
- Altar of Peace, on money
struck in memory of the
victories of Corbulo . iv. 45
- of Lyons, or altar of
Rome and of Augustus, iv. 153
- Altars (domestic) . . . i. 84
- Alteration of manners, ii. 219-232
- Aluntium, municipality in
Sicily . . . ii. 620
- Amanus, mountain between
Cilicia and Syria . ii. 800,
iii. 623, iv. 827
- Amasia, town in Pontus, ii. 644
- Ambarvalia and Amburbalia
i. 111
- Ambassadors declaring war,
Ligurian custom . . . I. 1
- treatment at Rome of
foreign . . . ii. 94
- Amber, yellow, from Baltic
I. lxxvi. 441, iv. 85
- Ambiani . . . iii. 146
- Ambiori, chief of Eburones
iii. 170, 178, 205
- Ambra, war-cry . . . ii. 499
- Ambracia, town in Epirus, ii. 62,
109, 226, 266
- Ambrones (the), ii. 490, 497, 502
- Ambulances (military) . v. 546
- Ambustus (Fabius), father-
in-law of Licinius Stolo, i. 280
- Amilcar . . . i. 477, 478
- Burca, i. 489, 495, 522, 525, 528
- Amisus, town in Pontus, ii. 187,
642, 813, 834, 837, v. 328
- Amitemum, I. xci. xcix. 362, 594
- Ammon (Jupiter), ii. 639, iv. 32
- (oases of), or Syouah,
commercial route . . . iv. 90
- Ammonius Saccas, founder
of school of Alexandria, v. 726
- Amor, secret name of Rome, i. 6
- Amphiaräus . . . ii. 339
- Amphictyonic (council and
games) . . . iv. 65
- Amphictyons (of Delphi), ii. 195
- Amphipolis, Rome, and
Perseus . . . ii. 113, 115
- second town of Macedon
iii. 564
- Amphitheatres, ii. 157, 228, 452,
iii. 679, iv. 215, v. 604, 610
- Ampurias . . . ii. 486
- Amra, the noble, brave . . . I. lii
- Amycos, king of the Bebryces
ii. 684
- Amynder, king of the
Athamani . . . ii. 32, 38, 45
- Amyntas, king of Galatia, ii. 623
- Anarchy in the Empire, vi. 436
- Anagnia, city of the Hernici
I. xciv
- Ananians (the), Gaulish tribe
in Italy, overcome the
Etruscans . . . I. cxix
- Ananias, high priest at Jeru-
salem in the time of S.
Paul . . . v. 340
- Ananke, divinity . . . i. 79
- Ananus, high priest of Jeru-
salem during the siege by
Titus . . . iv. 630
- Anaxilaos, tyrant of Rhe-
gium . . . I. lxxviii
- Ancharius, prætor, killed by
Marianists . . . ii. 604
- Ancilia, or shields of Mars, i. 102
- Ancona . . . I. lvi. cxii., ii. 675,
iii. 278, iv. 796
- Ancus Martius (640-616),
fourth king of Rome, I. cxlii
28-29
- Ancyra (monument of), or
will of Augustus . . . iv. 150
- Andriscos, natural son of
Perseus . . . ii. 132, 141
- Andronicus (Livius), Latin
poet before Ennius, i. 534, 539,
667, ii. 387, iv. 237
- Andros (war of Antiochus);
success of the Roman
fleet there . . . ii. 50
- Aneroestus, king of Gesatæ
i. 512, 514
- Angeroma, secret name of
Rome . . . i. 6
- Angitia, sister of Circe . . . I. ci
- Angusticlavæ (the) . . . v. 517
- Anicetus, murderer of Agrip-
pina . . . iv. 477
- Anicius, conqueror of Illyria
ii. 107, 113, 117, 122, 281
- (Q.), of Præneste, curule
ædile . . . i. 313
- Animals sacrificed at fune-
rals . . . v. 279
- Anio, affluent of the Tiber
I. xxx. xcii. 185, 192, 558,
651, ii. 634, 686
- Novus, aqueduct . . . ii. 361
- Vetus, aqueduct . . . ii. 361
- Anna Perenna, Roman god-
dess . . . i. 165
- Annalis, or Villia (law),
fixing the age for office, ii. 365
- Annals of the pontiffs, or
Annales Maximi . . . i. 61, 103
- Annius, Roman prætor i. 322
- (C.), prætor sent against
Sertorius . . . ii. 705, 750
- (Q.), accomplice of
Catiline . . . iii. 24
- Florianus (emperor), vi. 514
- Annona, distribution of
corn to the people in time
of famine . . . i. 191
- regular distribution at
half-price . . . ii. 423, 424
- laws of Saturninus, ii. 518
- of Drusus . . . ii. 529
- Sylla suppresses them, ii. 713
- Lepidus restores them, ii. 781
- Cato increases them, iii. 38
- Clodius makes them
gratuitous . . . iii. 66
- rule of Cæsar . . . iii. 367
- of Augustus, iii. 737, 741,
v. 523, 524
- (præfect of), i. 237, ii. 782,
iii. 716
- Annona, see Distribution
- Annua (lex), or prætorian
edict . . . ii. 275
- Antæus (the giant) . . . ii. 750
- Antobrogii . . . iii. 143
- Anteijs (P.), victim of
Nero . . . iv. 530
- Antemnae . . . i. 119 n
- Antemnati conquered by
Romulus . . . I. ii
- Antenor, Trojan chief, I. cx. 62
- Anthedon, massacre of Jews
iv. 626
- Antiatas . . . i. 191, 329
- Antibes . . . ii. 164, 486
- ancient stone . . . iii. 88
- Anti-Cato (the) . . . iii. 358
- Antigarrids (the), golden cups
of the kings of Macedon, ii. 121
- Antigonias, defeat of Philip
at . . . ii. 31
- Antigonus, Jewish prince of
the family of the Maccæ-
bees . . . ii. 829
- Gonatas, king of Mace-
donia, at war with Pyr-
rhus . . . i. 382
- Antinopolis . . . v. 93
- Antinous, favourite of Ha-
drian . . . v. 91, 93
- Antioch . . . ii. 188
- declared a free town by
Pompey . . . ii. 837
- by Cæsar . . . iii. 332
- almost as large as Alex-
andria . . . iii. 598
- massacre of the Jews, iv. 625
- earthquake . . . iv. 828
- Hadrian at . . . v. 6, 75
- Marcus Aurelius at . v. 204
- chastised by Septimius
Severus . . . vi. 78
- afterwards favoured . vi. 79
- taken by Sapor . . . vi. 424
- Aurelian at . . . vi. 482
- bishops of . . . iv. 819, 828,
vi. 483
- riches of . . . iii. 598
- effeminate manners . iii. 6,
v. 568, 617
- dancing girls . . . v. 606
- Olympic games . . . vi. 8
- in Pisidia . . . v. 592
- Antiochus II., Theos, his
favourite, deified . . . ii. 211
- III., his success in the
East . . . ii. 5
- alliance with Philip of
Macedon . . . ii. 29
- his preparations against
Rome . . . ii. 37, 42
- defeat at Thermopylæ, ii. 45
- at Magnesia . . . ii. 50
- his death . . . ii. 82
- IV., Epiphanes, king
of Syria . . . ii. 87, 93
- arrested by Popilius, ii. 125
- V., Eupator . . . ii. 159
- VIII., Gryphus, king
of Syria . . . ii. 640
- XIII., king of Syria,
robbed by Verres, ii. 620, 827

- Antiochus I. of Commagene
 sends succour to Pompéy . . . iii. 297
 — gives up Samosate to the Parthians . . . iii. 514
 — IV., king of Commagene, sends auxiliaries to Titus . . . iv. 667
 — his kingdom reduced to a province by Vespasian, iv. 667
 — chief of revolted Sicilian slaves . . . ii. 393
 Antipater (Cælius), historian . . . ii. 380
 Antiphilos, strategus of Thebes . . . ii. 34-40
 Anti-Senate (of Sulpicius) ii. 586
 Antissa in the isle of Lemnos destroyed . . . ii. 126
 Antistia, wife of Tiberius Gracchus . . . ii. 399
 Antistius, prætor in hither Spain . . . iii. 7
 — legate of Augustus against the Asturians iv. 59
 Antium, the Pontine marshes, . . . I. xxv
 — port of the Volsci I. xevi
 — worship of Fortune . . . i. 79
 — Coriolanus retires there . . . i. 191
 — war with Rome . . . i. 265
 — military colony . . . ii. 294
 — villa of Lucretius, ii. 330, 625
 — of Nero . . . iv. 506
 — subterranean structures . . . v. 592
 Antonia, wife of Drusus . . . iii. 684, iv. 348
 — sister of Britannicus, iv. 451
 — (the tower), at Jerusalem . . . ii. 178
 Antonianus Rufus, epitaph of wife . . . v. 635
 — bishop of Numidia vi. 382
 Antonines . . . iv. 734
 Antonine's column . . . v. 196
 Antoniniad, poem of Oppianus . . . vi. 120
 Antoninianus (argenteus), money . . . vi. 387
 Antoninus Pius . . . v. 144, 170
 — his family . . . v. 143
 — his character, v. 142, 145, 147
 — his journey to the East . . . v. 145
 — defensive wars . . . v. 153
 — wall in Britain . . . v. 154
 — administration . . . v. 150
 — punishment of adultery . . . v. 150
 — laws of slaves . . . v. 294 *seq*
 — Judaism . . . v. 157
 — toleration of Christians . . . v. 155
 — Faustianians . . . v. 168-210
 — public works . . . v. 151
 — gifts to rhetors, v. 151, 404
 — at his death he leaves in the treasury 30 millions, v. 301
 — adopts Marcus Aurelius . . . v. 168
 Antoninus Diadumenianus, son of Macrinus . . . vi. 265
 — (Arrius), forefather of Antonine . . . v. 146
 Antonius (C.), brother of the triumvir, governor under Cæsar in Illyria . . . iii. 286, 289
 — Hybrida, former lieutenant of Sylla in Greece is accused by Cæsar . . . iii. 5
 — expelled from the senate . . . iii. 18
 — colleague of Cicero in consulate, he attacks Catiline . . . iii. 33
 — governor of Macedonia, he is exiled for his exactions . . . iii. 33, 34 n
 — (Marcus), orator, consul in 99, ii. 2-4, 318, 520, 526, 656, 678, 795
 Antony, see Marc Antony
 Antyllus, killed by the partisans of C. Gracchus ii. 436
 Antyllus, son of Antony . . . iii. 499, 543
 Anubis, Egyptian divinity, . . . ii. 268, v. 221
 Anxur . . . i. 241, 244, 252, 326
 Aosta (valley of) . . . ii. 484
 Aotus (the) . . . i. 637, ii. 31, 99
 Apamea (Pliny), ii. 177, 835, iv. 807
 Apelaurus (Mount) . . . ii. 19
 Apellicon of Teos, philosopher, library with manuscripts of Aristotle, brought back by Sylla . . . ii. 633, 660
 Apennines (the) . . . I. xi. xxvii
 xxxvi. l. xc. cxxxviii. 401, ii. 555, iii. 392
 Apex (the) . . . I. cxlii. 98, 103
 Aphrodite . . . i. 85, ii. 717
 Apicius, ii. 224, iv. 357, v. 582-603
 Apion (Ptolemy), king of Cyrenaica . . . ii. 481
 Apis tombs . . . v. 84
 Apollinarian games . . . i. 554
 Apollo, I. xlvi. cxi. 554, 555, ii. 241, 254, 271, 659
 — Diocletian consults the oracle of . . . vi. 532
 — amulet . . . ii. 686
 Apollodorus, engineer . . . iv. 204
 — builds the bridge on the Danube . . . iv. 759
 — column of Trajan. . . iv. 775
 — arch . . . iv. 793
 — the forum of Trajan, iv. 795
 — a light artillery, v. 22, 660
 — legend concerning his death . . . v. 117
 Apollonia of Cyrenaica, iii. 614
 — of Epirus or Illyria, i. 507, 637, ii. 30, 33, 49, 97, 624, iii. 396, 565
 — of the Rhyndacus . . . vi. 415
 Apollonius Rhodius, epic poet . . . ii. 208
 — of Tyana, iv. 514, 642, v. 119, 686, vi. 118, 297, 609
 Appeal (the), intercession, right of intercession of magistrates . . . v. 360
 — provocatio . . . i. 223
 — right of, for citizens, i. 415
 Appia-Aqua, aqueduct . . . ii. 361
 Appian Way, I. xxxii. 151, 309 n. 2, 311, 401, 404, 545, 651
 Appius, consul in 471, i. 163, 176
 — accused by the tribunes, he kills himself . . . i. 178
 — elected consul in 451 and decemvir . . . i. 213
 — seizes Virginia by one of his clients . . . i. 215
 — established equality in civil rights . . . i. 223
 — kills himself in prison, i. 228
 — Claudius Cæcus, orator, jurisconsult, poet . . . i. 308
 — censor in 312 . . . i. 314, 353
 — his share in the Samnite war . . . i. 358
 — his reply to Cineas, i. 377
 — Appian way . . . i. 404, 545
 — Claudius Caudex, consul . . . i. 264
 — defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusians . . . i. 468
 — Claudius Pulcher, consul in 249, defeated at Drepanum . . . i. 487
 — Claudius, takes as son-in-law the Campanian Pacuvius Calavius, who gives his daughter to the Roman censor Livius . . . i. 668
 — Claudius Pulcher, consul in 212, siege of Capua, i. 651
 — Claudius Pulcher, consul in 143, fails in contest with Scipio for the censorship, 149 . . . ii. 379
 — obtains it in 136, his campaign in the Alps . . . ii. 483
 — father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 399, 402, 413
 — Claudius Pulcher, consul in 79, governor of Macedonia . . . ii. 806
 — Claudius Pulcher, consul in 54, governor of Cilicia in 53, in which Cicero succeeds him . . . ii. 625
 — his impertinences towards Cicero, *vide* Clodius . . . ii. 637
 Apronian decree of the senate . . . iv. 794, v. 406
 Apronianus, governor of Asia . . . vi. 111
 Apuans, the Ligurian tribe, I. 1
 Apuleia, wife of Lepidus, ii. 737, 747
 Apuleius, native of Madaura in Africa, his works, v. 650, 696, 717
 — the golden ass . . . v. 733
 Apulia, vast lagoon. . . I. xxv
 — burnt plain . . . I. ci
 — winter pasture . . . I. ciii
 — Gaulish incursions, i. 261, 264

- Apulia, war of Pyrrhus, i. 375, 400
 — Social war . . . ii. 550
 Aqua Ferentina . . . i. 41
 Aquæ (Baden-Baden). . . iv. 745
 — Sextiæ (Aix), ii. 487, 498, 141
 Aquarii (the). . . v. 529
 Aqueducts. . . I. xx
 — of Appius Claudius, i. 311, 312
 — of Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem . . . ii. 177 n. 5
 — of Chelva in Spain, ii. 764
 — of Carthage . . . i. 438
 — works of Augustus, iv. 57, 221
 — of Claudius. . . iv. 408
 — of Vespasian . . . iv. 652
 — of Trajan . . . iv. 796
 — of Hadrian . . . v. 62, 67
 — slaves proposed as guards for the . . . ii. 312
 — revenues produced by, ii. 170
 — (subterranean), Aqua Appia, Aqua Marcia, Aqua Vetus . . . ii. 361
 Aquileia . . . I. xxv. 521, ii. 73
 — colony. . . iii. 560
 — a hundred thousand inhabitants. . . v. 195
 — taken by Maximin, vi. 332
 — port for arming a division of the Adriatic fleet, v. 554
 Aquilian law (Damni iniuriæ actio) . . . v. 299
 Aquilius (Manius), consul in 129, organizes the Asiatic province, accused of exactions . . . ii. 429
 — trial, ii. 318, 513, 653, 655
 Aquillia (via). . . i. 405
 Aquilonia, defeat of the Samnites . . . i. 360, 363
 Aquincum (Buda), Roman post . . . v. 29
 Aquinum (Aquino), colony, i. 401
 Aquitaine, campaign of Crassus . . . iii. 150
 — pacified by Agrippa, iii. 558
 — furnishes light infantry to the Roman army . . . iii. 557
 — its limits extended to the Loire . . . iv. 51
 Arab kingdom of Odenathus . . . vi. 435
 Arabia, commerce . . . iv. 12, 73, v. 464, 569
 — merchant route . . . iv. 86
 — caravans by Petra . . . v. 78
 — by Palmyra. . . vi. 433
 — importations to Rome . . . iv. 76
 — perfumes. . . iv. 86
 — conquered by Cornelius Palma . . . iv. 776
 — its organization . . . v. 82
 — Petra, Roman merchants in . . . iv. 76
 — Felix . . . iv. 102
 Arabs, repressed under Severus . . . vi. 77
 — in the Roman army, vi. 68
 Arabs (Nabatean), their kingdom . . . iii. 649
 — burn the fleet of Cleopatra . . . iv. 67
 — expedition of Gallus, iv. 102
 Arcesilas, sceptical philosopher . . . ii. 216
 Archagathos, first doctor at Rome . . . i. 547
 Archelaus, lieutenant of Mithridates . . . ii. 656, 670
 — son of Herod, brother of Herod Antipas . . . iv. 100
 — son of high priest of Comana, Antony makes king of Cappadocia, iii. 622
 — Tiberius pleads for, iv. 273
 Arches (triumphal), iv. 220, v. 439
 Arcestratus, his "Gastronomia" translated by Ennius . . . ii. 206
 Archiatri, palatini, popularis, vide Doctors
 Archimedes defends Syracuse . . . i. 643
 — his tomb . . . ii. 210
 Archimime, at funerals, v. 277
 Architecture, Etruscan, I. lxxxii, lxxxvii
 — Roman, utilitarian character, I. xx. 99, iv. 204, 227
 Arcuthias, son of Mithridates . . . ii. 656, 659
 Ardea, capital of Rutuli, I. xcii
 — besieged by Tarquin . . . i. 46
 — help Rome against the Gauls . . . i. 258
 — ancient paintings . . . i. 138
 Ardennes, the god Arduin, iii. 105
 Ardeshir, king of Persia, vi. 303, 343
 Arena at Nîmes commenced by Hadrian (?), finished by Antonine . . . v. 46, 153
 Arenas, vide Amphitheatres
 Aretas, Arabian chief, seizes on Colesyria . . . ii. 640, 830
 Arevaci (the), of Numantia, ii. 151
 Argentarii, the bankers, i. 548, ii. 430
 Argentarius (mons) . . . ii. 746
 Argentei, money struck by Diocletian . . . vi. 647
 Ariarathes IV., king of Cappadocia . . . ii. 42, 58
 — IX., a royal fancy, iii. 622
 Aricia, legend of Herdonius, i. 41
 — defeat of Etruscans . . . i. 183
 — struggle with Ardea, i. 231
 — receives civic rights and suffrage . . . i. 326
 — temple of Diana, I. cxxvi, cxxxiv
 Ariminum, mercantile port, . . . iv. 78
 Ariobazanes I., king of Cappadocia, ii. 527, 554, 581, 647
 — Pompey increases kingdom . . . ii. 836
 — III., debtors . . . ii. 632, 647, 649, 651, 672
 Ariobazanes III. sends aid to Pompey . . . iii. 297
 — restored to his kingdom . . . iii. 333
 — killed by Cassius. . . iii. 470
 — the Mede, C. Cæsar gives him Armenia . . . iv. 140
 Ariovistus defeats the Ædui . . . iii. 130
 — war with Cæsar . . . iii. 138
 Aristæus, Achaian, bought by Rome . . . ii. 40, 80, 130
 Aristides, rhetor, statue at Alexandria . . . v. 69
 — high priest of province of Asia . . . v. 67 n. 5
 — mystic . . . v. 702
 — praises Roman rule, v. 417
 Aristion defends Athens against Sylla . . . ii. 656, 660
 Aristo, Tyrian, emissary of Hannibal at Carthage . . . ii. 45
 Aristobulus, Jewish king . . . ii. 828, 830
 Aristocles, rhetor of Pergamus . . . v. 68
 Aristocracy in ancient Italian society, I. lxxi, lxxxii, cxxiii, cxxiv, cxxviii
 — revolution in 510, i. 152, 155
 — new, ii. 291, 297, 314, 325, 329, 370, 430, 514, 522, 532
 — restored under Sylla . . . ii. 707, 720
 — a monied, formed by Augustus, iii. 727 seq., iv. 249
 — Tiberius and Domitian oppress . . . iv. 718, 724
 — failure of ancient, iv. 587, 718
 — renewed from provinces . . . iv. 648, 737
 — new noblesse . . . v. 375, 506
 — aristocratic character of Roman towns . . . v. 369
 — excluded from active functions . . . vi. 375, 381
 Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumæ . . . i. 37
 Ariston (Titius), private virtues . . . v. 627
 Aristonicus, son of Eumenes . . . ii. 161
 Aristotle . . . ii. 212, 217, 233, 391
 — Sylla brings manuscripts of . . . ii. 633 n. 5, 660
 Aristoxenus, materialist, ii. 211
 Arles, seat of annual assembly of the Seven Provinces, iv. 238
 Armenia under Tigranes, ii. 642, 643, 649, 805
 — campaigns of Lucullus . . . ii. 807, 814
 — occupation by Pompey's troops . . . ii. 825
 — king Artavasdes I. offers to assist Crassus, iii. 234
 — Antony, campaigns in . . . iii. 516-528
 — gives his son Alexander the title of king of . . . iii. 522
 — strategic importance, iii. 646, iv. 98, 121

- Armenia, expedition of Tiberius, crowns Tigranes, iv. 98
 — of Caius Caesar . iv. 121
 — of Germanicus . iv. 302
 — of Vitellius . iv. 363
 — abandoned to the Parthians by Caligula . iv. 389
 — recovered by Claudius . iv. 430
 — conquered by Corbulo . iv. 491
 — Trajan . iv. 824
 — Hadrian abandons . v. 7
 — again under Roman influence . v. 172
 — dependent on Sapor, vi. 417
 — under Diocletian . vi. 614
 Christianity in . vi. 614
 Armoria . iii. 153
 Armourers . iv. 82 n. 4
 Army under Servius . i. 120
 — pay . i. 243
 — reform of Camillus . i. 265
 — penalties . i. 290
 — proletariat excluded, i. 301
 — organization in third century B.C. . i. 419, 433
 — Marius modifies system of recruiting . ii. 472
 — the arms and order of battle . i. 495
 — ceases to be a civil duty . ii. 495
 — armies belong not to Republic, but to the generals . iii. 664
 — Augustus creates the standing army . ii. 720, iv. 71, 253-257
 — the praetorian guard . ii. 173, 495
 — military rules of Claudius . iv. 409
 — of Domitian . iv. 699
 — of Hadrian . v. 15-20
 — the army in the second century A.D. . v. 536, vi. 28
 — under Severus . vi. 135 *seq.*
 — in third century, vi. 364-375
 Arno . i. xx. xxxv
 — Etruscan canal, from I. lxxiv. xcv
 Arnobius, rhetor, converted . vi. 599
 Arpi, i. 617, 629, 632, 635, 686
 Arpinum, birthplace of Cicero . ii. 447
 — possessions in Gaul . ii. 169
 — obtains right of suffrage . ii. 287
 — country of Marius, ii. 445, 472, 516, 697
 Arras . iii. 146, v. 425, vi. 449
 Arretium, Samnite war, i. 347, 354
 — second Punic war, i. 592-3, ii. 686
 Arria, wife of Pætus, iv. 436, 480
 — daughter of same name marries Thrasea, iv. 480, v. 629
 — female philosopher, vi. 115
 Arrian of Nicomedia, lieutenant of Hadrian . v. 112
 — circumnavigates Euxine, v. 40
 — his Enchiridion . v. 658
 Arruntius (L.), consul A.D. 6; his accusers punished . iv. 354
 — cannot enter on his government in Spain which he administers by legates . iv. 361
 Arsa (C. Terentilius), tribune . i. 202
 Arsaces VI., king of Parthia, conqueror and legislator . iii. 233
 — XI., king of Parthia sends ambassador to Sylla . ii. 581
 Arsacids, kings of Parthia, their power . iii. 232, 647
 — princes at Rome . iv. 366
 — Hellenised, overcome by Sassanids . vi. 302
 Arsia (the forest of) . i. 52
 Arsinoë, sister of Cleopatra, iii. 325, 363
 — one of the five great towns of Cyrenaica . ii. 481, iii. 164
 Art, foreign importation to Rome, i. 138, 140, ii. 209, 282
 — encouraged by Augustus . iii. 524
 — Carthaginian . i. 452
 — Christian, grafted on ancient art . v. 745, vi. 389
 — Etruscan, I. xlv. lviii. lxx. lxxx. lxxxiv. lxxxvii. 138
 — Greek . i. 546, ii. 209, 210
 — Roman . i. 545
 — in time of Augustus, iv. 196, 204
 — under Vespasian . iv. 658
 — under Domitian . iv. 695
 — under the Antonines, v. 98, 660
 — at Rome . v. 661
 — at Pompeii . iv. 661
 — golden house of Nero, iv. 512
 — in the Roman villas, v. 620, 624
 — grandeur . vi. 135
 — decays in third century A.D. . vi. 382, 385, 388
 Artabanus III., Parthian king, weakness of his Empire . iii. 648, iv. 304
 — tries to conquer Armenia . iv. 366
 — IV., treaty with Marcus . vi. 266
 — conquered and killed by Ardeshir . vi. 303
 Artavasdes I., king of Armenia, ally of Crassus, iii. 234
 — of Antony . iii. 521
 — falls away . iii. 518
 — taken in treachery . iii. 521
 — murdered after Actium by order of Cleopatra, iii. 542
 Artavasdes, king of Media Atropatene . iii. 646
 Artaxata, besieged by Lucullus . ii. 820
 — burned by Corbulo . iv. 492
 — taken by Priscus under Marcus Aurelius . v. 176
 Artaxerxes, or Ardeshir, first Sassanid king . vi. 302
 — war with Alexander Severus . vi. 306
 — menaces Armenia . vi. 343
 Artemis, temple on the Aventine, *vide* Diana, i. 133
 Arthitauros, Illyrian chief, ally of Rome, killed by Perseus . i. 87
 Aruns, son of Tarquin, i. 37, 52, 50, 180, 183
 Aruspices . I. lxxx. lxxxi
 — under Tarquin the elder, i. 30
 — in common life . i. 96, 100
 — for rulers . ii. 174
 — lose credit, ii. 237, 267, 370
 Arvales (the brothers), i. 97, 99, 103, 136, 293, iii. 748
 — always patricians like the Salii . i. 297 n. 2
 Arverni, first war against Rome . ii. 487
 — second, iii. 123, 137, 180, 202
 — temple of Mercury . vi. 21
 As, monetary unit . i. xx
 — weight . i. 121
 — money . i. 208
 — reduction of weight, i. 497, 630
 Asander, king of Pontus, murderer of Pharnaces, son of Mithridates . iii. 334
 Ascalis, king of Marusians . ii. 750
 Asclepiades of Bithynia, famous doctor at Rome, iv. 198
 Asconius, expedition against the Scordisci . ii. 164
 Asculani (the), in Social war . ii. 552, 572
 Asculum, in Apulia, i. 378, 381, 405, 452, ii. 550, 561, 563, 570, 575, 724
 Ascuria, marsh in Macedonia . ii. 102
 Asellio, prætor . ii. 585
 — (Sempronius), historian . ii. 379
 Asia, Roman provinces, ii. 167, 196, 644, 672
 — worship of conical stones . vi. 389
 Asia Minor, reorganized by Pompey . ii. 816
 — under Augustus, iii. 583, 599, 687
 — Gallic colonies . iii. 89
 — commerce . iv. 71, 74
 — the barbarians in, vi. 424, 427
 Asiaticus, freedman, crucified . iv. 464, 644
 — L. Scipio . ii. 55 *seq.*
 — native of Vienne in Gaul and twice consul . v. 428

- Asiaticus, candidate for
Empire after murder of
Caligula . . . iv. 395, 397
— death . . . iv. 437
Asinius Pollio . . . iii. 442, 488
Assemblies (municipal), iv. 46,
v. 349, 351
— (provincial), ii. 194, 201,
iv. 43, 48, 238, 240, v. 59,
473, 474
— (public) among Italians
I. cxxvii. 73, 329
Assidui . . . i. 121, 401
Assignment of land, i. 168, 278,
ii. 414
Assistance of the weak and
poor . . . v. 183, 638
— see Clients, Charities
Alimentary Associations
v. 392
Astarte, Syrian goddess, i. 436,
441, 479, v. 702
Astrology and astrologers, ii. 225
— treatise on, by Nigidius
iv. 196
— increased popularity
about second century, v. 222,
712
Astures remain independent
ii. 155, 181
— conquered by Augustus
iii. 554, iv. 59
Asturia, town and river,
Latin defeat on banks of
i. 325
— Augustus and . . . iv. 145
Asturica (Astorga), military
post . . . iv. 58
Asturiones, name of prize
horses . . . iv. 83
Asylum of Romulus . . . i. 11, 76
Atacinus (Varro), epic poet,
born at Narbonne . . . iii. 556
Ategua, Spanish stronghold
taken by Caesar . . . iii. 375 n
Atoius, tribune, imprecations
against Crassus, iii. 228
Atolla, town of Campania
I. lxxviii. 327, 617, 657, ii. 169
Atellanæ, original comedies
of Campania, i. 533-541, ii. 264,
iv. 296
Aternia, law to regulate
fines, penal system highly
developed, i. 204-208, ii. 317,
v. 335, 344
Aternius, consul divides the
Aventine lands . . . i. 207
Aternus (the) . . . ii. 550
Athamanes sack Thebes, ii. 30
— allies of Rome, ii. 32-38, 46,
50, 75, 97, iii. 565
Athenæus, brother of Attalus
ii. 334
Athenio, rising of slaves
ii. 384, 510-513
Athens, ally of Rome against
Philip . . . i. 637
— its decline . . . ii. 18
— besieged by Philip . . . ii. 28
— Rome surrenders Páros
and Delos to it . . . ii. 39
- Athons, federal town . . . ii. 187
— Roman exactions . . . ii. 377,
624, 633
— surrenders to Mithri-
dates . . . ii. 656
— besieged and taken by
Sylla . . . ii. 657, 664
— Antony winters in . . . iii. 498
— games given by Antony
iii. 524
— Octavia at . . . iii. 513
— Antony and Cleopatra
iii. 531
— Hadrian at . . . v. 59, 70
— Hadrian archon at . . . v. 59
— Marcus Aurelius at . . . v. 205
— the Areopagus and pub-
lic assembly under the
Empire . . . v. 341, 352
— as a centre of philo-
sophy . . . iii. 565, v. 447
— its schools . . . iii. 566
— young Romans fre-
quent, Brutus takes
lessons from Theom-
nestus and Cratippus, iii. 464
— Cicero at . . . ii. 787
— Hadrian builds a new
v. 59, 67
— Panhellenion . . . v. 64
— Olympieion . . . v. 65
— statues of Brutus and
Cassius, beside those of
Harmodius and Aristo-
giton . . . iii. 465
— invasion of barbarians
vi. 449
Athletes (combats of), ii. 280,
iii. 742
Atia, mother of Octavius, iii. 422
Atilia (law), right of Roman
prætor to appoint a guard-
ian to those who had none
ii. 176, 223
Atilian (plebiscite), con-
cerning the legionary
tribunes . . . i. 293
Atilius, consul killed at the
battle of Lake Telamon, i. 513
Atina, Volscian town colon-
ized . . . i. 354, 401
Atinian (law), constituting
tribunes as senators . . . ii. 415
Atinius, tribune of people
after murder of Tiberius
Græchus . . . ii. 414
Atlantic, commerce of Car-
thage in . . . ii. 449
— tides astonish Romans, ii. 152
Atlas, revolt of Tacfarinas
iv. 306
— Suetonius Paulinus
crosses . . . iv. 433
— military posts . . . v. 39
Atra, stronghold in Mesopo-
tamia (now El-Hadrh),
Trajan before . . . iv. 831
— sends archers to Septi-
mius Severus . . . vi. 48
— besieged in vain by
Severus . . . vi. 72
— sedition at . . . vi. 73
- Atra besieged by Ardeshir,
son of Sassan . . . vi. 303
— taken and destroyed by
Sapor . . . vi. 343
Atratinus (the) . . . i. 156
Atratinus (Sempronius),
agrarian law of . . . i. 171
Atrax, stronghold in The-
saly, withstands Flami-
ninus . . . ii. 33
Atreates . . . iii. 146, 147
Atroctus (price of books
from), bookseller at Rome
iv. 77
Atria, ancient Adria I. lxxvi
— pirates . . . i. 330
Atrium (the), of Etruscan
origin . . . I. lxxxi
— Libertatis, library
founded by Asinius Pollio
iii. 409, iv. 186, 210
Atropatene (Media) . . . ii. 816
Atta (Quinctius), poet,
author of Togatæ como-
dies, died at Rome 78 B.C.
ii. 264
Attalids (the) . . . ii. 160, 161
Attalus I., king of Perga-
mos . . . i. 556, 637, ii. 4, 20
— threatened by Philip of
Macedon . . . ii. 24
— Sulpicius sells him
Ægina for 30 talents, ii. 604
— II. king of Pergamos
ii. 125, 159
— quarrels with Bithynia
ii. 160
— offers £3,000 for a
picture . . . ii. 281
— III., cruel and mad,
Rome seizes his inheri-
tance . . . ii. 161
— prince of the race
of Pylæmenes; Pompey
leaves him a share of
Paphlagonia . . . ii. 834
Attica, cradle of the civili-
zation of the world . . . i. 438
— ravaged by the Acarna-
nians . . . ii. 18
— devastations of Philip, i. 28
— condemned to furnish
100,000 bushels of corn, i. 330
— Roman exactions . . . i. 625
— Hadrian at . . . v. 59
Atticus, friend of Cicero and
of all parties . . . iii. 441
— refuses public offices, iv. 7
— in Epirus . . . iii. 683
— employs slaves as copy-
ists . . . ii. 310 n
— (Herodes), celebrated
rhetor and priest . . . v. 63
— treasure found by his
father . . . iv. 739
— had been pupil of Pole-
mon . . . v. 67
— aqueduct built by him
in part . . . v. 71
— his liberality at Athens, v. 376
— appointed consul in the
year 145 . . . v. 507

- | | Page | | Page | | Page |
|---|----------------|---|---------------|---|-----------------|
| Auctoritas Patrum, right of the senate or the patrician curiæ to authorize the presentation of a law, i. | 154, 166 | Augustus, battle of Actium (2nd September, 31), iii. | 536 seq | Augustus, organization of frontiers . . . | iv. 95, 133 |
| — according to the laws of Publius Philo, the senate must give previous approbation to law . . . | i. 291, 292 | — return of Octavius to Italy . . . | iii. 541 | — private life . . . | iii. 711 |
| Aufidius Pontius kills his daughter . . . | ii. 263 | — Octavius at Alexandria, iii. | 543 | — loss of friends . . . | iv. 112, 135 |
| Aufidius writes in Greek, ii. | 374 | — interview with Cleopatra . . . | iii. 545 | — (last years of), and the succession to the Empire, the imperial family in the year 8 A.D. . . . | iv. 135 |
| Aufidius (the) . . . | i. 608, 668 | — condition of provinces . . . | iii. 548-562 | — though not formally establishing heredity, prepares it by his adoptions . . . | iv. 136 |
| Augurs (art of), among Etruscans, I. lxxi. lxxxii. cxlii. cxliii . . . | i. 6 | — name of, given . . . | iii. 699 | — favour of Land C. Caesar . . . | iv. 138 |
| — Sabellians . . . | i. 6 | Augustus's administration at Rome and in Italy, classification of persons, senators . . . | iii. 693 | — condemnation of Julia (2 B.C.) . . . | iv. 139 |
| — at Rome, i. 15, 30, 34, 43, 101, 115, 384, ii. 267, 290, 370, 719 . . . | ii. 290 | — sons of senators . . . | iii. 728 | — death of L. and C. Caesar (3 and 4 B.C.) . . . | iv. 140 |
| — are of political use . . . | ii. 290 | — knights . . . | iii. 730 | — adopts Agrippa Postumus and Tiberius (13 A.D.) . . . | iv. 141 |
| — are accused in 216, of pious frauds, by a tribune . . . | i. 594 | — burghers . . . | iii. 731 | — his death (14 A.D.), iv. 146 . . . | iv. 146 |
| — the law Ogulnia (300), increases number from four to nine, of whom five must be plebeians, i. 293 . . . | iv. 108 | — people . . . | iii. 732 | — his funeral and apotheosis . . . | iv. 147-153 |
| Augusta Vindellicorum . . . | iv. 108 | — hierarchy of magistracy . . . | iii. 734 | — letters and arts, monuments, architecture, etc. . . . | iv. 168-232 |
| — Prætor (Aosta) . . . | iv. 57 | — decurions and augustales, honestiores and humiliores . . . | iii. 735, 736 | — his work and its political results, senate, people, society . . . | iv. 229-268 |
| — Taurinorum (Turin) . . . | iv. 54 | — public distributions, iii. 737 . . . | iii. 741 | — genealogical table of his family . . . | iv. 134 |
| — Vagienorum (Saluces), iv. 54 . . . | iv. 54 | — games . . . | iii. 741 | — (will of) . . . | iv. 154-168 |
| Augustal worship, iv. 24, 27, 266, v. 372 . . . | iv. 54 | — beautifying of Rome, iii. 742 . . . | iii. 744 | Aulerci-Eburovices (the), iii. 155 . . . | iii. 155 |
| Augustals (the), priests of the altar of Rome and of the Augusti . . . | iv. 19, v. 365 | — police . . . | iii. 744 | Auletes (Ptolemy) . . . | iii. 57 |
| Augustan history . . . | vi. 598 | — encouragements to work . . . | iii. 745 | Aulularia, comedy of Plautus . . . | ii. 349 |
| Augustiniani . . . | iv. 503 | — religious reform . . . | iii. 746 | Aurelian distinguished as general against barbarians . . . | vi. 400 |
| Augustus (the second triumvirate), Octavius arrives at Rome after the death of Caesar . . . | iii. 422 | — efforts to improve society . . . | iii. 755, 760 | — his accession . . . | vi. 453 |
| — repulsed by Antony, iii. 426 . . . | iii. 432 | — law de Maritandis ordinibus completed by the law Papia Poppæa . . . | iii. 757 | — his origin . . . | vi. 465 |
| — collects an army . . . | iii. 432 | — carmen sæculare (17 B.C.) . . . | iii. 759 | — his manner . . . | vi. 466 |
| — Cicero nominates him prætor . . . | iii. 436 | — divides Italy into eleven regions and disarms the population . . . | iii. 761 | — treats with barbarians, vi. 467 . . . | vi. 468 |
| — battle of Modena (27th April, 43) . . . | iii. 440 | — he rebuilds Perusia, iii. 765 . . . | iii. 766 | — yields Dacia . . . | vi. 468 |
| — he marches on Rome and is named consul, iii. 444 . . . | iii. 445 | — Italian votes . . . | iii. 766 | — invasion of Allemanni and Jutes . . . | vi. 470 |
| — he treats with Lepidus and Antony . . . | iii. 445 | Augustus's administration of provinces, divides provinces with the senate (27 B.C.) . . . | iv. 2 | — wall of . . . | vi. 473 |
| — second triumvirate, iii. 446 . . . | iii. 446 | — payment of governors and long duration of functions . . . | iv. 7 | — various wars . . . | vi. 474-488 |
| — proscriptions . . . | iii. 446 | — their dependence on the emperor . . . | iv. 8, 9 | — laws . . . | vi. 501 |
| — battle of Philippi, iii. 471-478 . . . | iii. 478-492 | — money reform . . . | iv. 10-14 | — his death . . . | vi. 504 |
| — Octavius takes possession of Gaul . . . | iii. 478-492 | — roads . . . | iv. 15 | — sedition during reign of . . . | vi. 504 |
| — treaty of Brundisium, iii. 492 . . . | iii. 495 | — posts . . . | iv. 16 | — character . . . | vi. 506 |
| — treaty of Misenum, iii. 495 . . . | iii. 499 | — religious organization . . . | iv. 18-24 | Aurelian way . . . | i. 405, ii. 72 |
| — interview of Tarentum . . . | iii. 499 | — Druids . . . | iv. 28 | Aureus of Caesar, standard of value . . . | iii. 395 |
| — battle of Naulochus and flight of Sextus Pompeius (36) . . . | iii. 506 | — belief in Manes, Genii, Divi . . . | iv. 34, 38 | — under Nero . . . | iv. 519 |
| — deposition of Lepidus, iii. 510 . . . | iii. 511 | — organization of various provinces by Augustus, Gaul (27 B.C.), iv. 44, 50 seq . . . | iv. 53 | — falsification in third century . . . | vi. 386 |
| — duumvirate of Octavius and Antony (36-30), iii. 511 . . . | iii. 512 | — assembly of Lyons, iv. 44, 53 . . . | iv. 59-63 | Aurum coronarium, golden crown of victory offered to proconsuls . . . | ii. 227 |
| — his moderation . . . | iii. 512 | — Spain and Mauretania (26-24 B.C.) . . . | iv. 64 | — become the coronary gold of emperors . . . | ii. 333 |
| — vigilance of his administration . . . | iii. 513 | — Sicily and Greece (22-21 B.C.) . . . | iv. 64 | — vicesimarium reserved for unforeseen necessities . . . | i. 661, ii. 313 |
| — rupture with Antony, iii. 526 . . . | iii. 526 | — East . . . | iv. 63, 64 | Aurunci (the) . . . | I. xciii. xcvii |
| | | — Egypt . . . | iv. 68, 71 | — wars with Rome, i. 274-318, 321, 324, 327, 342 . . . | I. 1 |
| | | — general measures . . . | iv. 69 | Ausar, or Serchio . . . | I. 1 |
| | | — commerce, general prosperity . . . | iv. 72, 91 | | |

- Ausones (the)** . . . I. xciii. 328
Autaritus, Gaulish chief, i. 525
Authority (paternal), diminished by the Antonines, v. 185, 237, 244
Autronius, accomplice of Catiline . . . iii. 22
Auxiliaries . . . i. 423, 426, 433, ii. 184 n. 1, 187 n. 7, iii. 730 n. 6, iv. 256, v. 545
Auxilium, voting power of tribunes . . . i. 165
Avaricum (Bourges), iii. 183, 186
Aventine, Cacus killed by Hercules at, i. 3, 6, 7, 29, 37, 79
 — retreat of the people to . . . i. 165, 204, 207
 — temple of Juno . . . i. 248, ii. 383, 439
Avernus (the lake) . . . I. xiv. cxi
 — formation of Port Julii by the junction of the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus . . . iii. 499
Avienus (C.), legionary tribune dismissed by Caesar on account of his heavy baggage . . . iii. 345
Axia, or Castel d'Asso, I. lxxxvii
Axieros, Axiokersa, Axio-keras, Cabeiri of Samothrace . . . I. xlvi
Axios (the) . . . v. 443
Axum (obelisk of), memorial of victories of Ptolemy Evergetes . . . iii. 649
Axumites, Abyssinian people near Babel Mandeb, large commerce . . . iii. 649
Baalbec, v. 76, 78, 478, vi. 85, 263
Baal-Hammon . . . i. 444
Babylonia (tissues from), iv. 86
Bacchæ of Euripides . . . iii. 236
Bacchanals at Rome, first religious persecution, ii. 249, 253
Bacchides, comedy of Plautus . . . ii. 239
Bacchus (mysteries) . . . ii. 246
 — country of Bessi, sacred to . . . iv. 114
Bactriana (embassy from), to Augustus . . . iv. 98
Baden-Baden founded by Trajan . . . iv. 745
Badajoz, formerly Pax Augusta . . . iv. 61
Bacula . . . i. 682, 683
Bætica . . . i. 569, 676, 685, iii. 553, iv. 60
 — commerce . . . ii. 69 n., 157
 — Sertorius in, ii. 749, iv. 57-60
 — gold mines . . . iv. 83
Bætis or Guadalquivir, i. 677, 682, ii. 45, iii. 372, iv. 549
Bagradas . . . iii. 289, 353
Baiæ . . . I. xxvii. iv. 477
Balbilla . . . v. 464
Balbinus, emperor, vi. 327-338
Balbus (L. Corn.) . . . iii. 389
Balbus, triumph of . . . iv. 489
Balearic Isles (Carthage conquers) . . . i. 448, 451
 — (Rome conquers) . . . ii. 156
Balista . . . iii. 200
Baltea gold mines . . . ii. 484
Barbarians (struggle with Gallic) . . . ii. 490, 492, 597
 — in time of Augustus, iii. 550
 — invade frontiers of Rhine and Danube . . . iv. 106
 — further incursions . . . iv. 114
 — wars with Vespasian, iv. 604-613
 — on Danube . . . iv. 704
 — advances in Illyricum . . . v. 434
 — barbarian women married to Romans . . . vi. 372
 — barbarians begin to ravage the Empire, vi. 394, 409
 — further inroads, vi. 412, 417
 — in Asia . . . vi. 418, 422
 — fresh arrival of barbarians (267) . . . vi. 449, 456
 — under Tacitus . . . vi. 513
 — under Probus, vi. 518 seq., 538
Barbaric world, middle of third century . . . vi. 353 seq., 372, 373, 395
 — overwhelms the Empire . . . vi. 412
Barbatus (Horatius) . . . i. 20
Barca, Cyrenaic town, ii. 481, 614, 680
 — Amilear, see Hamilear
Barcas (the) i. 529, 571, 680
Barigazzo, hot spring . . . I. xiv
Basilica . . . iv. 218
Basilus (Minucius), murderer of Caesar . . . iii. 402
Basques (the) . . . ii. 449
Bassano, ancient Lacus Vadimonius . . . i. 348, 367
Bassianus, see Elagabalus
 — priest of the sun, father-in-law of Severus . . . vi. 116
Bassus (Cæcilius), partisan of Pompey . . . iii. 371
Bastarnæ, carried captive by Philip . . . ii. 83, 86, 94
 — Probus establishes 100,000 of them in Thrace . . . vi. 521, 561
Batavia under Augustus . . . iv. 6
Batavians, Vespasian's war with . . . iv. 604-613
 — Hadrian . . . v. 47
Baths . . . v. 591
Bato, Dalmatian chief, his reply to Tiberius . . . iv. 126
Batuatus, vide Lentulus and gladiators . . . ii. 772
Babryces . . . i. 579
Bejah . . . ii. 467 n
Belgæ join the Cimbri, ii. 492
 — campaign of Caesar, iii. 83, 144, 630
 — of Vespasian . . . iv. 606
Belgica . . . iii. 205
Belis, god of the Volcæ . . . ii. 493
Bellianus, prætor . . . ii. 794
Bellona, goddess . . . I. cxxxiv
 — temple at Rome, i. 108, ii. 93
 — ceremonies . . . i. 630
Bellovaci, iii. 145, 182, 202, 205, 258
Bellovesus establishes the Insubrians between the Po and the Adda . . . I. exix
 — defeats the Ligures . . . iii. 87
Bellutus Scicinius . . . i. 164
Beneventum . . . I. ci
 — Samnite defeat . . . i. 377
 — Pyrrhus at . . . i. 381
 — colony . . . i. 379
 — defeat of Hanno, i. 632 seq
 — after the wars of Marius and Sylla . . . ii. 170, 702
Benevolent institutions, v. 388
Berbers, ancient Libyans . . . i. 447, v. 461
Berenice, Jewish queen, iv. 672
 — (Bengaza), Cyrenaic town . . . ii. 481, iii. 614
Bernard (S.), roads over pass . . . iv. 57
Berytus in Syria, iv. 109, vi. 81
Besançon (Vesontio), iii. 138, 140
Bessæ, people of Thrace . . . iii. 465, iv. 107, 114
Bestia (L. Calpurnius), tribune in 121, consul in 111, bought by Jugurtha . . . ii. 462, 463
 — accomplice of Catiline, iii. 27
Betting . . . v. 569
Beuvray (the mountains of) . . . iii. 136
Béziers . . . iii. 126
Bibracte . . . iii. 136, 202
Bibulus (ædile) . . . iii. 13
 — consul . . . iii. 54, 56, 57, 60
 — admiral of Pompey, iii. 303
Biferno, Italian river . . . I. xxiii
Bilbilis, probably the Salo, ii. 769
Bisaltes, people of Thrace, ii. 113
Biscay . . . iv. 57, 58
Bisellium, seat of honour, v. 368
Bithynia (Prusias, king of) . . . ii. 29, 50, 60
 — Nicomedes II., king of . . . ii. 554, 647, 806, 821, 837
 — Nicomedes III. . . ii. 649
 — ceded to the senate by Nicomedes III. . . ii. 805
 — Roman province, iii. 589, v. 72
 — sacked by Goths . . . vi. 421
Bituitus, king of Arverni . . . ii. 487, iii. 124, 129
Bituriges (the), iii. 124, 187, 203
Blandina, martyr . . . v. 228
Black buskin, worn by sons of senators . . . iii. 728
Blemmyes . . . iii. 649, vi. 563
Blosius of Cumæ, master of Tiberius Gracchus . . . ii. 402
Boadicea . . . iv. 498
Boarium . . . i. 512
Boecchar, lieutenant of Syphax . . . i. 689
Bocchus, king of Mauretania . . . ii. 473, 477, 479, 564, iii. 343, 361

- Boetia, war with Antiochus Page
 ii. 49
 — with Perseus ii. 86, 99
 — after Pydna ii. 129
 — difference with Athens, ii. 233
 — Piso's exactions in ii. 619
 — war with Mithridates ii. 657, 668
 — amphictyonic council, iv. 64
 Boetian (the), comedy of
 Plautus ii. 262
 Boii (the), of Italy, I. xxxviii.
 367, 510, 513, 579, 580, 581
 — their emigration from
 Italy ii. 70
 — of Gaul iii. 137
 Boiorix, king of Cimbri, ii. 505
 Bola, Roman colony i. 252
 Bologna (Bononia), drain-
 age of marshes I. xxv
 — Etruscan tombs I. lxiii
 — Greek memorials, I. cix. 399
 Bolsena, lake of I. xxiii. 666
 Bomilear, war of Jugurtha
 ii. 464
 Bona Dea (mysteries of), iii. 42
 Bona (Hippo Regius) ii. 467
 Bonjem (wells of), station
 for caravans iv. 103
 Bonus Eventus, divinity, I. cxxx
 Books at Rome iv. 77
 Bordeaux, commerce, iv. 79, v. 426
 Borvo, Gaulish divinity, iii. 106
 Bosphorus (Cimmerian), ii. 643
 seq., 805, 832, iii. 643-644,
 iv. 66, 109, v. 477
 — of Thrace ii. 824
 Bostra v. 81
 Bovinium, i. 344, 347, 356, ii. 574
 Bovillae, i. 165, 184, 290, iv. 147
 Bracciano (lake of) I. xiv
 Brachyllas assassinated, ii. 40, 84
 Bronnus, title of Gaulish
 chief i. 254, 258
 Brenner pass, invasion of
 Cimbri ii. 502
 Brenta (the), commerce of
 Padua I. li. 353
 Bribery of judges iii. 44
 — Caesar's laws concerning
 vi. 58
 — by consuls iii. 240
 Bridal ceremonies v. 254
 Britain, Claudius's expedi-
 tion to iv. 420
 — conquest iv. 422
 — Caractacus iv. 423
 — under Nero iv. 497
 — under Vespasian iv. 669
 — under Domitian iv. 708
 — Agricola in iv. 708
 — Hadrian in (122) v. 47
 — Picts overrun under
 Marcus Aurelius v. 172, 420
 — Britain Latinized v. 421
 — under Commodus vi. 9, 20
 — Severus in vi. 142
 — Pertinax vi. 30
 — Probus vi. 519, 523
 — Carausius vi. 545
 — wars of Caesar, iii. 124, 153,
 162, 166
 Britain (30 B.C.) iii. 630
 — time of Augustus iv. 81
 — in time of Hadrian v. 47
 — of Commodus vi. 20
 Britannicus, son of Claudius
 iv. 448 seq., 466
 Brundisium i. 637, 650,
 ii. 49, 677
 — Antony lays siege to, iii. 492
 — Crassus embarks at, iii. 231,
 282, 296
 Bruttii i. 364, 617
 Bruttium, i. 646, 659, 675, 687,
 ii. 2, iii. 506
 Brutus (Decimus Junius), iii. 153,
 292, 403, 421, 441
 — (Junius) i. 44 seq
 — tribune i. 167
 — succeeds Cæpio in com-
 mand in Spain, and first
 sees the Atlantic ii. 152
 — (Marcus Junius), iii. 399, 400
 — after Caesar's death, iii. 421,
 431
 — in Athens iii. 464
 — Pompeians flock to him
 in Greece iii. 465
 — at Xanthus iii. 469
 — conquers Rhodes, Puta-
 ra, Laodicea and Tarsus, iii. 470
 — in Macedonia iii. 471
 — battle of Philippi, iii. 471 seq
 — death iii. 476
 Bubuleus (Junius), i. 347, 381
 Buildings at Rome iv. 210
 Burial (customs of) v. 272 seq
 — societies v. 392
 Burrus, tutor and minister
 of Nero iv. 458, 466, 499
 Bygois, nymph who taught
 the augur's art to
 Etruscans I. lxxi
 Byrebiastas, iii. 391, 636, iv. 712
 Byzantium ii. 18
 — siege of vi. 53
 — beautified by Severus, vi. 55
 — Valerian at vi. 421
 — Gallienus vi. 443
 Cabeiri I. xlvi
 Cadurci iii. 202
 Cæcilia Metella ii. 700
 Cæcilius, poet from Gaul, ii. 263
 Cæcina, general (69 A.D.), iv. 593
 Cæles Vibenna i. 118
 Cælius, friend of Cicero, iii. 335
 Cæpio commands in Spain, ii. 152
 — consul, plunders the
 treasure of the Volæ, ii. 493
 Cære (truce with) i. 273
 Cærites (rights of) i. 327
 Cæsar (Caius Julius) iii. 1
 — pontiff iii. 3
 — personal characteristics
 contrasted with Napoleon
 iii. 3, 4
 — early history iii. 5, 6
 — rivalry with Pompey iii. 9
 — magnificent gifts to the
 city iii. 14
 — judges the murderers
 de Sicariis iii. 15
 Cæsar (Caius Julius), high
 pontiff iii. 16
 — prætor iii. 17
 — Cicero tries to compro-
 mise him iii. 32
 — policy with respect to
 Pompey iii. 39
 — declared suspended from
 his functions by senate, iii. 40
 — licentious life iii. 43
 — sets out for Spain iii. 44
 — relieves the taxation of
 Spain (61 B.C.) iii. 50
 — returns to Rome iii. 51
 — position as popular
 leader iii. 53
 — the triumvirate with
 Pompey and Crassus, iii. 53
 — consul (59 B.C.) iii. 54
 — his laws de Provinciis
 ordinandis and de Pecuniis
 repetundis iii. 58
 — made governor of Illyria
 and Cisalpine Gaul iii. 62
 — commands four legions
 and third province iii. 62
 — arrangements before set-
 ting out iii. 64, 65, 66
 — his account of Gaul, iii. 97 seq
 — sets out for Gallia Nar-
 bonensis (Mar. 58 B.C.), iii. 132
 — defeats Ædui iii. 134
 — returns to Italy for five
 legions iii. 135
 — war with Ariovistus
 iii. 138 seq
 — victory at Aisne iii. 144
 — battle with Atrebatæ
 and Nervii iii. 147
 — generous treatment, iii. 148 n
 — third campaign iii. 150
 — plan of the campaign
 arranged by iii. 153
 — conquers the Veneti, iii. 155
 — his treatment of his
 army iii. 157
 — fourth campaign iii. 158
 — defeats the Germans on
 the Rhine iii. 160
 — builds a bridge across
 the Rhine iii. 161
 — determines to visit
 Britain iii. 162, 163
 — returns to Gaul iii. 164
 — in Illyria, subdues the
 Treviri, prepares to in-
 vade Britain iii. 165
 — results iii. 167, 168
 — relieves Q. Cicero iii. 174
 — winters in Gaul iii. 178
 — continued war iii. 179
 — seventh campaign iii. 180
 — defends Narbonensis, iii. 183
 — war with Vercingetorix
 iii. 184
 — besieges Gergovia iii. 188
 — goes north iii. 191
 — siege of Alesia iii. 195
 — siege works iii. 195
 — final conquest of Gaul, iii. 201
 — submission of Vercinge-
 torix iii. 201, 202

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>Caesar (Caius Julius), eighth
 campaign iii. 202
 -- war with Carnutes, iii. 204
 -- with Bellovaci iii. 205
 -- siege of Uxellodunum
 (51 B.C.) iii. 208
 -- results of Gallic war, iii. 209
 -- character of iii. 211, 212
 -- jealousy of Roman nobles
 iii. 222, 223
 -- at Lucca iii. 224
 -- estranged from Pompey
 iii. 227
 -- proconsulship continued
 iii. 228
 -- relations with Cicero, iii. 241
 -- rupture with Pompey, iii. 244
 -- hatred of the nobles and
 causes iii. 246, 250
 -- exception to consular
 law in favour of iii. 251
 -- insulted by Marcellus, iii. 253
 -- action of the nobles
 against iii. 254, 256
 -- crosses the Alps (50 B.C.)
 iii. 259
 -- two legions recalled, iii. 261
 -- laws in favour of iii. 261
 -- struggles regarding con-
 sulship iii. 262 <i>seq</i>
 -- position (49 and 50 B.C.), iii.
 268, 270
 -- causes of his supremacy
 iii. 271 <i>seq.</i> notes
 -- crosses Rubicon iii. 274
 -- efforts at conciliation, iii. 277
 -- struggle with Pompey
 iii. 278 <i>seq</i>
 -- returns to Rome iii. 285
 -- seizes the treasure in the
 temple of Saturn iii. 286
 -- threatened rising in
 Gaul iii. 286
 -- besieges Marseilles, iii. 287
 -- enters Spain iii. 288
 -- his works in Spain, iii. 292
 -- treatment of Marseilles,
 founds Frejus iii. 293
 -- proclaimed dictator, iii. 294
 -- preparations against
 Pompey iii. 298
 -- embarks with seven
 legions (49 B.C.) iii. 299
 -- plan of warfare at
 Mount Petra, Napoleon's
 criticism of iii. 304
 -- sufferings of his army
 at Dyrrachium iii. 305
 -- marches into Thessaly, iii. 306
 -- battle of Pharsalia, iii. 309, 312
 -- at Alexandria iii. 322 <i>seq</i>
 -- defeats the Egyptians, iii. 327
 -- goes to the East iii. 331
 -- in Asia Minor iii. 332-334
 -- returns to Rome (47
 B.C.) iii. 335
 -- second time dictator, iii. 336
 -- doings at Rome iii. 338
 -- in Africa iii. 341
 -- war against Pompeian
 generals iii. 342 <i>seq</i>
 -- battle of Thapsus, iii. 351</p> | <p>Caesar (Caius Julius) at
 Rome (46 B.C.) iii. 361
 -- honours bestowed on
 iii. 361 <i>seq</i>
 -- festivities iii. 364
 -- proclaims an amnesty, iii. 367
 -- reforms and regulations
 iii. 366-369
 -- fixes the calendar iii. 370
 -- war in Spain iii. 372
 -- last battle at Munda, iii. 375
 -- deified iii. 376
 -- return to Rome, triumph
 iii. 379
 -- clemency of iii. 380
 -- perpetual dictatorship
 iii. 381
 -- friendship for Cicero, iii. 383
 -- creates patricians iii. 384
 -- buildings at Rome, iii. 387
 -- municipal laws, iii. 387, 388
 -- title of king iii. 390
 -- thoughts of an Eastern
 campaign iii. 391 <i>seq</i>
 -- laws iii. 392
 -- library iii. 395
 -- monetary and other
 reforms iii. 395
 -- conspirators iii. 397-402
 -- warnings iii. 405
 -- his assassination (44 B.C.)
 iii. 402
 -- estimate of his policy, iii. 406
 -- funeral iii. 417
 -- excitement over his
 corpse iii. 418
 -- comet iii. 419
 -- mourned for by con-
 quered nations iii. 420
 -- his acts confirmed by
 senate iii. 421
 -- apotheosis confirmed by
 triumvirs iii. 463
 Cæsarion, son of Cæsar and
 Cleopatra iii. 545 n
 Cæso opposes Terentilius
 Arsa i. 202
 Caius Antonius iii. 286, 297
 Caius adopted as successor
 by Augustus iv. 105
 -- sent into the East iv. 121
 Calabria during Hannibal's
 wars i. 675
 Caligula (Caius Cæsar), son
 of Germanicus, born A.D.
 12, senate appoint him
 emperor iv. 370
 -- happy commencement of
 his reign iv. 371
 -- his excesses destroy his
 health iv. 372
 -- cruelties iv. 373-375
 -- profanity iv. 376-378
 -- extravagances iv. 381
 -- his military expedition
 iv. 382
 -- to Britain iv. 383
 -- auction at Lyons iv. 385
 -- vices and follies, iv. 386-390
 -- murdered (A.D. 41) iv. 391
 Calistus (cemetery of S.), vi. 182
 Calendars i. 142</p> | <p>Callicrates ii. 130, 131
 Calpurnius Piso proposes to
 establish permanent tri-
 bunal ii. 318
 -- suppresses Servile war
 ii. 395
 Canarina, Sicilian city, i. 478,
 488
 Camilli, children attending
 priests i. 109
 Camillus at siege of Veii, i. 247
 -- exiled i. 252
 -- dictator i. 258
 -- history of, probably in-
 correct i. 261
 -- second founder of Rome
 i. 264
 -- victories of i. 265
 -- again conquers the
 Gauls i. 268
 -- builds temple of Con-
 cord i. 282
 -- died of plague i. 287
 Camps (choice of) i. 426 <i>seq</i>
 Campania, I. xevii. 322, 359, 364,
 ii. 2
 Camulogenus, chief opposed
 to Cæsar iii. 192
 Canal to Terracina made
 by Augustus iv. 78
 Cannæ (battle of) i. 608 <i>seq</i>
 Canopus, street in Alex-
 andria v. 86
 Candace, queen of Ethiopia
 iv. 102
 Cantabri, barbarians in Spain
 iii. 554
 Capena i. 25, 318, 321
 Capitol, temple of i. 131
 -- Gauls attack i. 257
 -- Manlius saves i. 258
 -- fortification improved, i. 278
 -- burnt ii. 678
 -- rebuilt by Sylla and
 Catulus ii. 740, iii. 39
 -- burnt iv. 599
 -- burnt under Titus iv. 676
 -- restoration of Domitian
 iv. 694
 -- literary contest of the
 v. 654
 Capitoline hill i. 1
 Capitolinus (Q.), consul i. 193
 Cappadocia ii. 647, 649
 -- under Augustus iii. 621,
 iv. 493
 -- Hadrian in v. 73, 173
 Capsa, African town ii. 474
 Capua deserts to Hannibal, i. 617
 -- siege of i. 625, 635, 648
 -- yields i. 656
 -- Pompey retires to before
 Cæsar iii. 276
 Caracalla, son of Severus, vi. 143,
 145
 -- Christian nurse vi. 211
 -- youth vi. 239
 -- his brother Geta vi. 241
 -- murders vi. 243
 -- terrible character vi. 244
 -- increases the pay of
 soldiers vi. 248</p> |
|--|--|--|

- | | Page | | Page | | Page |
|--|------------------------|--|------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Caracalla imitates Alexander | vi. 250 | Carthage assisted by M. Aurelius | v. 183 | Catti, barbarian tribe | iv. 113 |
| — expedition to Gaul | vi. 250 | — persecution of Christians | vi. 225 | Catullus | iii. 222 |
| — against Alemanni | vi. 251 | Carthage, in Spain, i. 680, 685 | | Catulus | ii. 733, iii. 39 |
| — at Pergamus | vi. 255 | Carthalo | i. 488 | Caudium | i. 339 |
| — winters at Nicomedia, vi. 255 | | Carus (M. Aurelius), emperor (282), his sons | vi. 525 | Caudine Forks | i. 340 |
| — Alexandria | vi. 256 | — war with Persia | vi. 526 | Cecilia Metella, tomb | iv. 215 |
| — massacre | vi. 257 | — death | vi. 527 | Celtiberians | ii. 66 |
| — in Asia, his death (A.D. 217) | vi. 258 | Casilinum, siege by Hannibal | i. 622, 625 | Celts | ii. 490, see Gaul |
| — his works at Rome | vi. 259 | Caspian Sea, route of commerce with Asia | iii. 643 | Celsus, doctor of Augustan age | iv. 170, 196 |
| — thermæ | vi. 260 | Cassius (Spurius) | i. 168, 171 | Cenomani, Gallic tribe | i. 510 |
| — divine honours | vi. 265 | — treaty with thirty Latin towns | i. 189 | Censors appointed | i. 233 |
| Caractacus, British chief, iv. 421 | | — consul (89) engaged against Mithridates | ii. 653 | — tenure of office | i. 312 |
| — captive to Rome | iv. 423 | — <i>seq.</i> , iii. 236, 321 | | Censorship suppressed by Sylla | ii. 713 |
| Caravan route through Saham | iv. 90, 103 | — general, in Thessaly, iii. 308, 321 | | Centuries | i. 119, ii. 425 <i>seq.</i> |
| Carbo (Papirius) | ii. 413, 490, 675, 681 | — in Asia | iii. 442 | Census under Augustus | iv. 10 |
| Carinus and Numerianus (283), emperors together | vi. 528 | — at Philippi | iii. 475 | Cerialis, Roman general against Batavi | iv. 609 <i>seq.</i> |
| — opposed to Diocletian | vi. 535 | — Longinus, chief of conspirators against Caesar | iii. 399 | Ceres, goddess of the lower world | i. 81 |
| Caristæ, festival of the dead | i. 90 | — interview with Antony and Brutus at Lanuvium | iii. 421 | Ceylon, communication with | v. 477 |
| Carnac (monuments at) | iii. 114 | — (Avidius), general under M. Aurelius | v. 173 | Chæreus, murderer of Caligula, heads a republican movement | iv. 392, 395 |
| Carneades, Greek philosopher at Rome | ii. 234 | — his Eastern campaign, v. 176 | | Chalcis destroyed | ii. 135 |
| — his influence on the thought of Rome | ii. 235 | — revolt | v. 197, 201 | Charicles, physician to Tiberius | iv. 364 |
| Carnutes, Gallic tribe | iii. 204 | — death | v. 203 | Charities, v. 402 <i>seq.</i> , 520, 639 | |
| Carnivora | ii. 452 | Castor and Pollux | i. 55 | Chersonesus, Greek tombs at | ii. 64 |
| Carthage | I. cvi | Catacombs and Christian symbols | v. 739, 745, 747 n | Child life at Rome, v. 236, 240 | |
| — first treaty with | i. 132 | Catiline | ii. 696, 734, iii. 9 | China (Seres) | iii. 550, 551 n |
| — attack on Sicily | i. 198 | — plot to murder consuls, iii. 11 | | — possible trade with, v. 478 | |
| — sends embassy with congratulations after Samnite war | i. 321 | — acquitted | iii. 12 | Chiuri | I. lxxxiii |
| — increasing strength of | i. 371, 380, 435 | — conspiracy spread widely | iii. 21, 22, 23 | — best Etruscan pottery found at | I. lxxxix |
| — commercial policy | i. 443 | — discovered, he leaves Rome | iii. 25, 26 | Chosroes | vi. 422 |
| — use of mercenaries | i. 450 | — fate of the conspirators | iii. 32 | Christ, birth | iv. 121 |
| — constitution | i. 453, 458 | — death of, near Pistoia, iii. 34 | | — death | iv. 368 |
| — treaties with Rome | i. 461 | — estimate of the conspiracy | iii. 34 | — trial | v. 339 |
| — Regulus attacks | i. 479 <i>seq.</i> | Cato, commanding in Spain, ii. 69 | | Christianity and imperialism | iii. 549 |
| — terms of peace between, and Rome (241) | i. 495 | — incites Rome against Carthage | ii. 140 | — reaches Rome | iv. 420 |
| — loss of Sicily and naval supremacy | i. 498 | — resists the decay of manners | ii. 341 | — at Rome, iv. 505, 507, 510 | v. 736 |
| — conquest after first Punic war | i. 521, 529 | — early history | ii. 342 <i>seq.</i> | — its teaching | v. 737 |
| — mercenaries threaten | i. 522 | — in Sicily | ii. 343 | — catacombs and symbolism | v. 739 |
| — sends reinforcements to Hannibal | i. 621 | — quarrel with Scipio | ii. 344 | — number of converts | v. 741 |
| — assists Hannibal to reconquer Sicily | i. 643 | — prætor of Sardinia | ii. 345 | — missionaries | v. 743 |
| — Hannibal returns to, after Zama | i. 693 | — reforms | ii. 346, 350 | — preparation in previous practice or belief | v. 744 |
| — terms of peace with Scipio | i. 694 | — continued struggle with Scipio | ii. 350-359 | — Christian empress, Marcia | vi. 25 |
| — condition after Zama, ii. 139 | | — becomes censor | ii. 359 | — tolerated under Commodus | vi. 27 |
| — parties in | ii. 141 | — further reforms | ii. 360-368 | — Christian Church at beginning of third century | vi. 147-153, 158 |
| — treatment by Rome | ii. 142 | — his demoralization | ii. 371 | — the doctrine of immortality | vi. 162 |
| — siege | ii. 143 | — failure of his efforts | ii. 374 | — the Gospels | vi. 167 |
| — destruction of | ii. 144 | — ii. 734, iii. 338, 340 | | — spread of, in third century | vi. 393 |
| — contributions of, to civilization | ii. 147 | — death of | iii. 352 <i>seq.</i> | — decline of purity of morals | vi. 403 |
| — in possession of Rome, ii. 164, 202 | | — (Porcius) | ii. 484 | — during Diocletian's persecution | vi. 622 |
| — revival of | iii. 616 | — the younger, iii. 31, 36, 59, 65 | | Christians accused of burning Rome | iv. 506 |
| — trade with Rome | iv. 89 | — sent to Cyprus | iii. 69, 219, 240, 244 | | |

- Christians in court of Nero Page
 -- persecution under Nero iv. 508
 -- iv. 511, 512
 -- causes of iv. 512, 513
 -- depart during siege of Jerusalem iv. 627
 -- persecution under Domitian iv. 725
 -- letter of Pliny relating to iv. 815-819
 -- treatment of, by Trajan iv. 820
 -- by Hadrian, v. 118, 120, 121
 -- under Antoninus Pius v. 155 *seq*
 -- persecution under M. Aurelius v. 184, 213
 -- religion, spread of v. 220
 -- misrepresentations v. 222
 -- persecutions at Lyons v. 226
 -- treatment under Alexander Severus vi. 312
 -- persecuted by Decius vi. 401, 407
 -- by Valerian vi. 427
 -- conciliated by Aurelian vi. 484
 -- persecution of Diocletian vi. 600
 -- refuse military service vi. 604
 -- heroism vi. 625
 -- art v. 745, 747 and notes
 Church (the Christian), vi. 147
 -- opposed to secular learning vi. 148
 -- Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen vi. 153
 -- dogmas of the vi. 165-177
 -- the canon of the Scripture vi. 167
 -- eucharist vi. 169
 -- baptism vi. 170
 -- confession vi. 174
 -- extreme unction vi. 175
 -- marriage vi. 175
 -- the Virgin vi. 177
 -- intercession of saints, vi. 177
 -- Christian hierarchy, vi. 179
 -- revenue vi. 181
 -- elections vi. 186
 -- tradition vi. 187
 -- councils vi. 188
 -- authority of bishop of Rome not recognized, vi. 189, 190
 -- title of Pope general, vi. 190
 -- union vi. 193
 -- priests vi. 193
 -- miracles vi. 195, 200
 -- heresies vi. 197-208
 -- and State, vi. 209, 212-217
 -- view of heathen learning vi. 214
 -- celibacy in the vi. 218
 -- rescripts of Trajan, M. Aurelius, and Severus vi. 219 *seq*
- Church (the Christian), per-
 secutions in Egypt and Carthage vi. 225-238
 -- evils in vi. 406
 -- persecution of Diocletian vi. 600-623
 -- Christian heretics at Antioch vi. 483, 608, 609
 Cicero serving during Social war ii. 571
 -- governor of Cilicia ii. 625, 696 *seq.*, 734
 -- goes to Athens ii. 787
 -- attack on Verres in defence of Sicily ii. 787-789
 -- upholds liberty iii. 3
 -- speeches on proposed law of Rullus iii. 20
 -- discovers Catiline's conspiracy iii. 24, 25
 -- special honours granted to him iii. 28
 -- results of his consulship iii. 35
 -- accused of taking a bribe iii. 36
 -- defends Murena against Cato iii. 38, 60, 65
 -- exile iii. 66, 68
 -- robbed by Clodius iii. 213
 -- recall demanded iii. 214
 -- returns to Rome, iii. 215, 241
 -- pro Milone iii. 248
 -- at Ravenna iii. 251
 -- returns from Cilicia iii. 258, 276, 290, 338
 -- conduct after Cæsar's murder, iii. 414, 416, 422, 431
 -- Philipppies iii. 431, 434
 -- his share in public affairs iii. 437, 441
 -- his death by proscription iii. 451, 452
 -- his character estimated iii. 455
 -- (Quintus) iii. 171, 237
 -- (younger) iii. 465
 Cilicia ii. 795, 835, iii. 589
 Cimbri ii. 483
 -- in Gaul ii. 490
 -- manners and customs ii. 491, 492
 -- turn back from Spain to attack Italy ii. 497, 502
 -- opposed by Catulus ii. 503
 -- defeated by Marius at Vercellæ ii. 506
 -- under Augustus iii. 630
 Cimmerian Bosphorus ii. 643
 -- corn from ii. 644, iv. 109
 Cincinnatus, i. 194 *seq.*, 203, 236
 Cinna, ii. 600, 601, 604, 607, 674
 -- conspires against Augustus iv. 142
 Circe (Monte Circello) I. viii. xcv
 Ciriæ i. 190, 252
 -- revolt of i. 265
 Circus v. 606, 610
 Circuses at Rome iv. 219
 -- under Domitian iv. 693
 Cirta ii. 458, 474, iii. 616
- Cities of ancient Italy, I. cxxvii
 Citizens pleno jure i. 397
 -- sine suffragio i. 397
 Citizenship ii. 536-545
 -- given to Italians, ii. 576, 600
 -- granted by Carbo ii. 675
 -- now acquired v. 234
 City includes and rules family i. 144
 -- the v. 318-348
 -- the interior of the, its assemblies and magistrates v. 348
 -- its religious services, v. 365
 -- aristocratic character of Roman v. 369
 -- liberality of citizens v. 380, 381
 -- cities, clients of Roman patrons v. 385, 386
 -- colleges v. 388
 -- schools and professors, v. 402
 -- public instruction v. 404
 -- medical matters, v. 404-408
 -- charitable institutions v. 408, 409, 412
 Civilis, leader in the war of the Batavi iv. 604, 608, 610
 Civil courts under Augustus iii. 722
 Civil rights v. 235
 Civil war (first year of) (83)
 -- ii. 674
 -- generals engaged in ii. 677
 -- progress of war in Italy ii. 678 *seq*
 -- second year of (82), mercenaries engaged to fight ii. 680
 -- Sylla triumphant ii. 689
 -- results of the war on the public mind ii. 706
 Civita Vecchia built by Trajan iv. 796
 Clælia i. 55
 Cleander (freedman) takes the place of Perennis at Commodus's court vi. 22
 -- is put to death owing to a riot vi. 23
 Claudia (gens) i. 308
 -- Tiberius, member of, iv. 270
 -- Quinta i. 557
 Claudius (M.) i. 215
 -- (P.), censor during first Punic war i. 487
 -- Glicia i. 488
 -- emperor (41 A.D.) iv. 391
 -- brother of Germanicus, emperor iv. 394
 -- genealogy iv. 399 n
 -- founds Claudian college at Alexandria iv. 399 n
 -- unhappy existence, literary pursuits iv. 399
 -- ruled by four freedmen iv. 401, 402
 -- reforms iv. 402-405
 -- want of dignity iv. 403
 -- civil legislation, iv. 405-408
 -- public works iv. 408
 -- conquers Britain iv. 422

- Claudius (P.), provincial wars . . . iv. 417-433
 — attempts to assassinate him . . . iv. 435
 — revolutionary attempts against . . . iv. 436
 — his marriages . . . iv. 437
 — Messalina . . . iv. 435 *seq*
 — his children, Octavia and Britannicus . . . iv. 443
 — marries Agrippina . . . iv. 446
 — poisoned by Agrippina . . . iv. 450
 — apotheosized . . . iv. 452
 — (M. Aur.), the Dacian, elected emperor . . . vi. 455
 — opposes Gothic invasion . . . vi. 459
 — victory over Goths . . . vi. 462
 Clement (S.) . . . vi. 178
 Cleonymus, Spartan king . . . i. 353
 Cleopatra, queen of Egypt . . . iii. 314
 — meets Caesar . . . iii. 324
 — declared queen . . . iii. 327, 466
 — meets Antony at Tarsus . . . iii. 485
 — renewed connection with Antony . . . iii. 515, 522
 — her children . . . iii. 522
 — at Samos . . . iii. 531
 — at Actium . . . iii. 536 *seq*
 — returns to Egypt . . . iii. 542
 — correspondence with Octavius . . . iii. 543
 — death of Antony . . . iii. 544
 — interview with Octavius . . . iii. 545
 — her death . . . iii. 545, 601
 Clients . . . i. 70, 72, 75
 — position changed by Servius Tullus . . . i. 124, ii. 449, v. 383, 384
 — (cities as) . . . v. 385
 Clientship corresponded to mediæval feudalism, I. exxiii
 — laws concerning . . . i. 218
 Cloaca Maxima built by Tarquin the Proud . . . i. 132
 Clodius, prætor, opposed to gladiators . . . ii. 774, iii. 40
 — trial of . . . iii. 43, 66
 — laws of . . . iii. 66, 212, 218, 220, 243
 Clusium . . . i. 178, 254
 Clypea . . . i. 480, 482
 Cœemptio vel cohabitatio, form of ordinary marriage . . . i. 145, v. 253
 Cognatio . . . v. 271
 Coinage regulated by Servius . . . i. 127
 — re-established . . . i. 153
 — under patrician consuls . . . i. 208
 — right of . . . i. 392, 394
 — debased . . . i. 497, ii. 608
 — increased . . . i. 548
 — again regulated . . . ii. 609
 — right of, in oriental provinces . . . v. 468, 474
 Coinage debased in third century . . . vi. 386
 Coliseum built by Vespasian . . . iv. 652
 — dedication . . . iv. 674
 — of Thydrus . . . v. 448
 Collatinus . . . i. 46
 Colleges . . . v. 388, 396
 — military . . . v. 401
 Cologne (Colonia Agrippina) founded . . . iv. 426, 448
 Coloni (the) . . . v. 311 *seq*
 Colonies . . . i. 302, 304, 340, 362, 367, 374
 — principle of, i. 387, 398, 401
 — contrasted with, of Carthage . . . i. 447, 520
 — in Italy . . . ii. 546
 — under Caesar . . . iii. 367
 — under Augustus . . . iii. 762
 Columella of Gades . . . iv. 489
 Comes domesticorum, new title . . . vi. 412
 Comet appearing on death of Caesar . . . iii. 419 and n
 Comites . . . i. 72
 Comitia . . . i. 416
 — reorganized . . . ii. 370
 — under Augustus . . . iii. 709 n
 Comitium . . . i. 72
 Commerce, i. 133, 509, 551, ii. 2
 — forbidden to nobles . . . ii. 329
 — contempt for money gained in . . . ii. 337
 — in slaves . . . ii. 388
 — in time of Augustus . . . iv. 72, 76
 — in corn . . . iv. 408-412
 — account of bas-relief describing merchant ships . . . iv. 412 n
 — increase in . . . v. 475
 — results of, on civilization . . . v. 481, 568
 — decline in . . . vi. 363, 388 *seq*
 Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, v. 207
 — succeeds his father (180 A.D.) . . . v. 210, vi. 1
 — early character . . . vi. 2
 — generals under, his military expedition . . . vi. 6
 — vicious life . . . vi. 7
 — empress Crispina and empress Lucilla . . . vi. 7
 — public works undertaken . . . vi. 8
 — disorders at home and abroad . . . vi. 9
 — as gladiator . . . vi. 10
 — attempted assassination . . . vi. 15
 — plots . . . vi. 16
 — Maternus . . . vi. 21
 — Cleander favourite, vi. 22, 24
 — bread riots . . . vi. 23
 — Marcia . . . vi. 25
 — death of . . . vi. 27
 — indulgence towards Christinus . . . vi. 27
 — increase of power of the army in this reign . . . vi. 28
 Concubinage . . . v. 263
 Concubines, legal position of, under Antonines . . . vi. 25
 Confarreatio, solemn marriage . . . i. 145
 — restricted to full citizens . . . v. 254
 Consilium plebis . . . i. 174
 — of Augustus and Hadrian . . . v. 104, 105
 — sacrum, established under Diocletian . . . vi. 584
 Constantine accompanies Diocletian . . . vi. 552
 Constantius appointed to assist Diocletian and Maximian . . . vi. 549
 — surnamed Chlorus . . . vi. 551
 — in Britain . . . vi. 553
 Consularis, new officer appointed over provinces by Augustus . . . iii. 717
 Consuls first established . . . i. 50
 — plebeian consuls appointed . . . i. 281
 — duties . . . i. 287, 413
 — ex-consuls employed in provinces . . . ii. 171
 — succeed kings . . . i. 152
 — their office and power . . . i. 153 *seq*
 — rights of sacrifice . . . i. 233
 — position of, under new constitution . . . i. 234
 — appointed to control the sea . . . ii. 798
 Consulship confined to a few families . . . ii. 325
 Contio, free assembly in which legislative measures were discussed . . . i. 292
 Contract (methods of) . . . i. 149
 Corbulo, war in Armenia (60 A.D.) . . . iv. 492
 — death . . . iv. 540
 — victories in Germany . . . iv. 424
 Corinth . . . ii. 15
 — gulf of . . . ii. 63
 — taken and burnt by Rome . . . ii. 135
 Coriolanus . . . i. 190 *seq*
 — withdraws to Antium, i. 191
 Corn (importation of) . . . iv. 485
 Cornelia, mother of Gracchi . . . ii. 398, 422, 440
 — Pompey's wife, iii. 313, 318
 Cornelian law (abrogation of) . . . iii. 16
 Cornelius . . . i. 318
 — Palma, general of Trajan, his Eastern expeditions . . . iv. 775
 Corsica, Carthaginian settlement . . . i. 467, 505
 — honey of . . . i. 506
 — revolt of (about 181) . . . ii. 73
 Cortinella, mountain . . . i. 327
 Cortona . . . i. 347
 Cossacks . . . v. 22
 Counts (cemites), origin of name . . . v. 7

- Crassus** ii. 778
 — rivalry with Pompey, ii. 786, iii. 40
 — triumvirate, iii. 53, 150, 156
 — proconsul iii. 228
 — against Parthians iii. 229, 230
 — his journey iii. 232
 — conduct of war in Parthia iii. 234
 — his son iii. 235, 236
 — and his escort massacred (53 B.C.) iii. 236
Crassus, conspirator against
 Nerva iv. 740
 death iv. 761
Cremera (fortress on the) i. 197
Cremona, battle of (69 A.D.) iv. 594
Creto ii. 63
 — refuge of pirates ii. 797, iii. 579
Crimea (Roman colony in) v. 23
Crimen perduellionis iv. 336
Criminal justice i. 418
 — jurisdiction under Augustus iii. 725
 — jurisprudence v. 337
Critolaus, Greek philosopher at Rome ii. 234
Crixus ii. 773
Crocodiles at games iii. 741
Crotona I. cxv
Crucifixion of deserters i. 695
 — of rebels ii. 781
Cucumella of Vulei I. lxxxiii
Cultivation of foreign plants v. 581, 582
Cumæ i. 183, 240, 621
Curia v. 353
 — chairman of v. 356
Curio against Juba, king of Numidia iii. 289
Curator (duties of) v. 364
Custos urbis i. 73
Cybele brought from Phrygia i. 556
Cyclopean walls I. xlix
Cynics at Rome v. 671
Cynoscephalæ (battle of), ii. 36
Cyrene, ally of Rome in Africa ii. 451, 481
Cyrenaica ii. 481
 — and Roman Africa under Augustus iii. 609, 613, 650
 — trade iv. 90
Cyprian (S.), persecution at Carthage vi. 428, 430
Cyprus iii. 69, 219

Dacians under Augustus, iii. 636
 — under Domitian, iv. 710-714
 — under Trajan iv. 751 *seq*
 — finally subdued iv. 762
 — under Hadrian v. 27, 436
Dalmatia subdued ii. 163
Danube (barbarians overflow the valley of the), ii. 490,
 iii. 63, 391, 558
 fleet on iii. 719
 — frontier attacked, iv. 106, 114-116, 303, 704

Danube, Trajan iv. 751
 — Iron Gates iv. 755
 — frontier, Hadrian and, v. 21
Dead Sea visited by Hadrian, v. 83
Death and funerals (customs concerning) v. 272 *seq*
Debts resulting from wars called for new legislation i. 278, 290, 294
 — laws of Licinius to relieve i. 305
 — abolition of, proposed, i. 306
Debtors (law of) i. 161, 294
 — exclusion from curia of ii. 582, 713
 — set free by Augustus iv. 9
Decabalus, Dacian opposed to Trajan iv. 759, 761
Decemvirs and civil equality (451-449) i. 201-221
 — names and duties of first i. 213
Decius Mus, military tribune i. 319
 — receives military honours for victories over the Samnites i. 320
 — consul i. 322, 358
Decius (emperor) vi. 352
 — birth in Illyria (A.D. 201) vi. 398
 — war with Goths, vi. 399, 400
 — killed by Goths vi. 401
 — persecution of Christians vi. 401, 407, 408
Decline in industry, commerce and arts in third century vi. 382
Decuriae i. 68
Dedication (form of) to infernal gods i. 324, 378
Dedititii i. 395
Deiotarus iii. 333, 334
Delphi (Tarquin inquires at), i. 44
 — consulted after Cannæ i. 614, ii. 40
 — Perseus, king of Macedonia, at ii. 87
 — Roman road to ii. 88
 — Paulus Æmilius visits ii. 113, 135
Demetrius obtains Pharos and Illyria i. 508, 636
 — son of Philip V. ii. 79, 83
Democracy, growth of, i. 315,
 560, 563
Dentatus (Sicinius), i. 204, 211,
 215
 — (Curius) i. 382
Depopulation after Samnite wars i. 361
 — of the country ii. 417
Deportatio (sentence of), iv. 145 n
Desert (great cities of Eastern) v. 78
Diana, goddess i. 78
 — sanctuary on the Aventine i. 79, 125
 — (temple of) at Ephesus, v. 70
Dictatorship created i. 162
 — office and powers of dictator i. 162, 163

Dies nefasti i. 173
Diocletian, emperor (284 A.D.) vi. 529
 — son of Dalmatian slave, vi. 530
 — character of vi. 531
 — appreciation of literature; superstition vi. 532
 — travels vi. 533
 — insurrections under, vi. 536
 — barbarians' wars with vi. 538-544
 — invests Maximian as assistant emperor vi. 539
 — in Syria vi. 546
 — in Persia vi. 546, 567
 — in Thrace vi. 547
 — barbarians in Germany call him to the Danube, vi. 548
 — crosses the Alps, appoints with Maximian two lieutenants, with title of Cæsars vi. 549
 — division of power, vi. 553
 — defence of the Empire, vi. 556
 — in Egypt vi. 563, 564
 — victory vi. 568
 — terms of treaty vi. 569
 — peace in Asia vi. 570
 — administrative organization and legislation vi. 570 *seq*
 — imperial power vi. 572
 — provinces vi. 573
 — state ceremonial vi. 576
 — changes in Rome vi. 578-580, 584
 — consilium sacrum vi. 584
 — census vi. 587
 — finance vi. 588
 — taxation vi. 588
 — industry and trade vi. 593
 — prices of food vi. 593
 — sumptuary laws vi. 594
 — laws vi. 596
 — Augustan History vi. 598
 — peace in the Empire, vi. 599
 — persecution of Christians vi. 600
 — in the East (302 A.D.) vi. 610
 — in obedience to an oracle persecutes the Christians vi. 611
 — retaliation vi. 612
 — sacred books destroyed by vi. 619
 — returns to Rome (303) vi. 625, 626
 — goes to Nicomedia vi. 627
 — illness vi. 628
 — resigns the purple vi. 630
 — his palace at Spalato, vi. 631
 — his life there vi. 634, 635
 — his death vi. 636
Diogenes the Stoic at Rome ii. 234
Dion Cassius, quoted vi. 300
 Chrysostom, iv. 722, v. 673, 686
Dioscorides, engraver of gems under Augustus, iv. 200
Discipline in military life, i. 429

- | | Page | | Page |
|---|----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Distribution of corn . . . | ii. 423, 443, 446, 517, 529, 737 | Domna, see Julia | |
| — by Lepidus . . . | ii. 781 | Donation first granted to troops on accession of Claudius . . . | iv. 390, v. 6 |
| — by C. Cotta . . . | ii. 782, 784 n | Donativa . . . | ii. 124 |
| — ceases . . . | ii. 798 | Dorians in Italy . . . | I. cxii |
| — under Cato . . . | iii. 38, 67 | Dorylaeus, general of Mithridates . . . | ii. 668 |
| — by Caesar, iii. 286, 294, 364 | | Dowry . . . | ii. 298, v. 252 |
| — by Augustus, iii. 737, iv. 75 | | Drepanum (battle of), in Sicily . . . | i. 486 |
| — by Tiberius . . . | iv. 296 | Dress under the Empire . . . | v. 586 |
| — by Nerva . . . | iv. 740 | — artificial hair, &c., fabrics in use . . . | v. 587, 589 |
| — supervised by ædiles, v. 361, 520 | | Druids . . . | iii. 105, 121, 558, iv. 28, 324 |
| — under Severus . . . | vi. 136 | — under Claudius . . . | iv. 420 |
| — under Aurelian . . . | vi. 498 | — under Nero . . . | iv. 498 |
| Dis Pater, god of lower world . . . | i. 81 | — under Antonines . . . | v. 427 |
| Divitiacus, Gallic chief, appeals to Rome for support . . . | iii. 131, 165 | Drusus (Livius), tribune, his policy . . . | ii. 527 |
| Divorce, i. 146, ii. 277, v. 265, 270 | | — his reform . . . | ii. 529, 532 |
| Dodona (sanctuary of) . . . | ii. 11 | — attacks the senate . . . | ii. 532 |
| Dogs used to hunt men . . . | i. 506 | — death . . . | ii. 534, 550 |
| Dolabella, war with Senones . . . | i. 367 | — stepson of Augustus, iv. 105, 107, 112 seq., 119, 303 | |
| — prætor of Cilicia . . . | ii. 611 | — death by poison, iv. 330, 358 | |
| — iii. 289, 336, 396, 431, 466 | | Duillius (naval victory of), i. 475 | |
| Dolls . . . | v. 259 | — column of . . . | i. 477 |
| Dolmens in Gaul . . . | iii. 112 | Duumvirate of Octavius and Antony (36-30) . . . | iii. 311 |
| Domestic life in early days . . . | i. 141-147 | Duumviri perduellionis . . . | i. 73 |
| — under the Empire, v. 632 seq | | Duumvirs, v. 357, 358, 359, 360 | |
| — among the poor . . . | v. 634 | Dumnorix . . . | iii. 165 |
| — servants . . . | v. 598 | Dwelling houses . . . | v. 589, 595 |
| Domitian during Vespasian's reign (A.D. 81-96) . . . | iv. 645 | — compared with modern . . . | v. 596-598, 603 |
| — emperor and wise administration in early years . . . | iv. 692 | Dyrrachium, Epirote harbour, ii. 670, iii. 284, 299, 304, 305 | |
| — compared with Nero, iv. 692, 693 | | — Brutus at . . . | iii. 465 |
| — his restoration of the city and his palace . . . | iv. 694 | Earthquake, i. 287, iv. 70, 486-488, 680, vi. 395 | |
| — administration of justice . . . | iv. 695 | Eastern frontier under Augustus . . . | iii. 643 |
| — severity to vestals . . . | iv. 696 | — commerce . . . | v. 81 |
| — laws against immorality . . . | iv. 697 | Eburones, Gallic tribe . . . | iii. 202 |
| — the army . . . | iv. 699 | Ecnomus (battle of) . . . | i. 479 |
| — encouragement of letters . . . | iv. 699 | Economy in domestic life, i. 143 | |
| — notable men of his time . . . | iv. 699 | Edictum prætorium . . . | i. 286 |
| — wars . . . | iv. 702, 712, 714 | Education, time of Nero (A.D. 68) . . . | iv. 461, v. 664, v. 241 |
| — cruelties during last years . . . | iv. 716 | Egypt, condition of (about 200 B.C.) . . . | ii. 6 |
| — superstition . . . | iv. 720 | — subsidies for Macedonian war . . . | ii. 47 |
| — informers . . . | iv. 721 | — under Epiphanes . . . | ii. 82 |
| — miserable life of . . . | iv. 724 | — under Roman guardianship . . . | ii. 164 |
| — public works . . . | iv. 725 | — attached to Rome . . . | ii. 451 |
| — persecution of Christians doubtful . . . | iv. 725-729 | — wealth of . . . | iii. 14 |
| — evil omens . . . | iv. 730 | — under Ptolemy Auletes . . . | iii. 218 |
| — murder of . . . | iv. 731 | — Caesar's war in . . . | iii. 322 seq |
| — estimate of his character . . . | iv. 732 | — as province under Augustus . . . | iii. 599 |
| Domitius Ahenobarbus . . . | iii. 223 | — population . . . | iii. 602 |
| — candidate for consulship . . . | iii. 227 | — its revenues belonged to the emperors' fiscus . . . | iii. 603 |
| — conquered by Caesar and pardoned . . . | iii. 282 | | |
| — consul . . . | iii. 523 | | |
| — Calvinus . . . | iii. 325, 475, 492 | | |
| | | Egypt, condition of inhabitants . . . | iii. 604 |
| | | — decay of learning and religion . . . | iii. 605, 606 |
| | | — Augustus's policy in . . . | iv. 68, 71 |
| | | — ancient trade with India and China . . . | iv. 87 |
| | | — Trajan's works in . . . | iv. 800 |
| | | — Hadrian visits . . . | v. 84 |
| | | — condition of . . . | v. 86, 92 |
| | | — statue of Memnon, v. 94, 95, 464 | |
| | | — under the Antonines . . . | v. 464 |
| | | — Severus in . . . | v. 90 |
| | | — persecution of Christians . . . | v. 225 |
| | | — decay of . . . | v. 562 |
| | | Elagabalus (Varius Avitus Bassianus) . . . | vi. 271 |
| | | — emperor, official name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus . . . | vi. 272 |
| | | — his vicious nature, vi. 276 seq | |
| | | — battle of Antioch . . . | vi. 274 |
| | | — profanity . . . | vi. 278 |
| | | — his grandmother Mæsa . . . | vi. 278 |
| | | — his luxury . . . | vi. 283 |
| | | — his wives . . . | vi. 284 |
| | | — adoption of Alexander . . . | vi. 284 |
| | | — murder (A.D. 222) . . . | vi. 286 |
| | | Election to the assembly . . . | v. 350 |
| | | Elephants . . . | i. 375, 376, 378 |
| | | — Lucanian oxen . . . | i. 382, 436, 473, 483, 484, 693 |
| | | — in Caesar's show . . . | vi. 364, 365 |
| | | Eloquence cultivated . . . | ii. 274 |
| | | — boys trained to . . . | iv. 273 |
| | | — new forms under the Empire . . . | v. 655 |
| | | Emesa (god of) black stone compared with that of Mecca . . . | vi. 276 v. 280 |
| | | Emperor, his office and power . . . | v. 500 seq |
| | | — his family . . . | v. 502 |
| | | — his styles . . . | v. 503 |
| | | — three together . . . | vi. 328, 337 |
| | | Empire of Rome, its foundation and extent, &c. . . | iii. 584 |
| | | — subject races . . . | iii. 550 |
| | | — its beneficent work . . . | iii. 552 |
| | | — foundation of . . . | iii. 686 |
| | | — privileges attached to . . . | iii. 699, 700, 702 |
| | | — new offices under the . . . | iii. 715, 716 |
| | | — threatened dissolution under Nero (A.D. 68) . . . | iv. 553 |
| | | — struggle for, after Nero's death . . . | iv. 563 |
| | | — degradation of the . . . | iv. 587 |
| | | — financial position under Vespasian . . . | iv. 659 |
| | | — hereditary succession, soldiers' election . . . | iv. 733, v. 211 |

- Empire of Rome to be regarded as an aggregation of republican communities . . . v. 347
 — rights of . . . v. 362
 — respect for laws of the . . . v. 402, 500
 — general results on civilization . . . v. 748
 — four great revolutions . . . v. 748-750
 — degradation . . . vi. 11
 — sold at auction . . . vi. 34 *seq*
 — under Severus becomes the spoil of the army . . . vi. 45
 — disunion under the . . . vi. 52
 — degradation under rule of Syrian princes . . . vi. 312
 — decline begins . . . vi. 317
 — in middle of third century . . . vi. 353
 — the barbarians on the frontiers . . . vi. 363
 — ceases from great public works . . . vi. 380
 — evidences of continued decline . . . 383-396
 — of East and West first distinguished (258 A.D.) . . . vi. 412
 — anarchy in the . . . vi. 436
 — fresh inroads of barbarians and continued gradual decline . . . vi. 451
 — reunited under Aurelian . . . vi. 497
 — no head for six months . . . vi. 508
 — later, begins under Diocletian . . . vi. 530
 — forty years of security under Diocletian . . . vi. 534
 — organized defence . . . vi. 556
 — close of the reign of Diocletian . . . vi. 629
 Endowments for children by Nerva . . . iv. 740
 — by Trajan . . . iv. 789
 Entremont (strange monument at) . . . ii. 486
 Enna, sacred city . . . i. 478
 Ennius, poet . . . ii. 353
 Ephesus . . . ii. 50
 — Manlius at . . . ii. 59
 — under Augustus, iii. 594, iv. 86
 — temple of . . . v. 70, 183
 — burnt by Goths . . . vi. 442
 Epictetus . . . iv. 722, v. 657, 672
 Epicurus . . . ii. 214
 Epirus (Alexander the Molossian, king of) attacks Italy . . . i. 329, iii. 564
 Epitaphs . . . v. 635, 636
 Eporedia, military post to protect North Italy from barbarians . . . ii. 484
 Equality of classes during Samnite war . . . i. 413
 Equestrian order receive judicial authority . . . ii. 426
 — results . . . ii. 430
 — reversed . . . ii. 585, 587, 712
 — rights restored . . . ii. 787
 Equites degraded . . . i. 483
 Ercte (Mount) . . . i. 489
 Eryx (town of) . . . i. 489 *seq*
 Escutcheons used by patricians . . . i. 69
 Eskualdunacs, name given to themselves by Iberian tribes in Gaul . . . iii. 82
 Essenes . . . iv. 626 n
 Ethiopian invasion of Egypt . . . iv. 102
 Etruria, discovery of remains in . . . I. xxvi
 — early influence on Rome . . . I. xxxvii
 — position among Italian peoples . . . I. lii. *seq*
 — origin mysterious . . . I. lviii
 — peculiarities of writing . . . I. lxii. 59
 — supposed origin . . . I. lxiv
 — mixed with Pelasgians . . . I. lxvii
 — arts of . . . I. lxx. *seq*
 — navigation . . . I. lxxvi
 — coins of . . . I. lxxvii
 — union with Carthage . . . I. lxxvii
 — rivalry with Greece . . . I. lxxviii
 — enemies of . . . I. lxxix
 — becomes province of Rome . . . I. lxxx
 — religion of . . . I. lxxxi. cxxxv
 — metal work . . . I. lxxxvii. *seq*
 — augury in . . . I. cxxxviii
 — superstitious character of Etruscans . . . I. cxxxviii
 — conquered by Tarquin, i. 33
 — influence on Rome under the kings . . . i. 134
 — attacks Rome under Porsenna . . . i. 179 *seq*
 — flute player from . . . i. 342
 — defeat at Lake Vadimon . . . i. 349
 — coalition with Senones . . . i. 364
 — final defeat of . . . i. 368
 — faithful to Rome in second Punic war . . . i. 625
 — assists Scipio . . . i. 687
 — in Social war takes the side of the allies . . . i. 554
 — in Civil war joins Sylla . . . i. 680
 — perished by proscription of Sylla . . . i. 702
 — Lepidus in . . . i. 743, 745
 Eucratidas, king of Parthia . . . iii. 232
 Eumenes, king of Pergamus . . . ii. 80, 88
 — attempted assassination of . . . ii. 89, 107, 125
 — secretary of Constantius . . . vi. 559
 Eunus, slave in Sicily, heads an insurrection . . . ii. 393
 Euphrates, iii. 231, 234, 237, 646
 — fleet on . . . iii. 719
 — disturbances on, iv. 121, v. 84
 Eusebius . . . vi. 613, 620
 Euxine, fleet posted by Augustus in . . . iii. 719
 — circumnavigated under Hadrian . . . v. 40
 Exile as punishment . . . ii. 634
 Extortion of pro-consuls . . . ii. 328, 330, 334, 339
 Fabia (gens) . . . i. 68, 172 *seq*
 — destruction of . . . i. 197
 Fabii, companions of Remus, i. 6
 Fabius, consul . . . i. 172
 — Ambustus . . . i. 243, 254, 257
 — Rullianus . . . i. 335, 344
 — Gurgus . . . i. 361
 — Maximus chosen dictator, i. 598, 603, 604, 613, 626, 629, 687, 692
 — brother of Scipio Æmilianus . . . ii. 487
 — surnamed Allobrogicus . . . ii. 489
 Fabri, or engineering corps in the army . . . v. 542
 Fabricius . . . i. 378
 — victories in Italy . . . i. 381
 Fæsulæ . . . ii. 739, 740
 Fairs at Rome . . . iv. 77
 Falarica, a javelin . . . i. 573
 Falernum . . . i. 324
 Families (large) rewarded by Cæsar . . . iii. 368, 369
 Family (the), basis of Roman rights . . . I. cxxiii. 68
 — (the), at Rome under Empire, v. 233, 236, 246, 270, 310, 316, 375, 632, 633
 Famine . . . ii. 782
 Farces . . . i. 538
 Farming, respect for . . . i. 141
 Father (each) supreme pontiff in his own house . . . i. 102
 — absolute authority of, i. 143, 217
 — under the Empire . . . v. 233
 Father's power . . . v. 237, 245
 Fasces . . . i. 153, 336
 Faunus, sylvan god . . . i. 81
 Faustina, empress of Marcus Aurelius . . . v. 200, 209
 Faustulus, foster father of Romulus and Remus . . . i. 5, 6
 Federal towns . . . i. 395
 Feralia, festival of the dead, i. 90
 Ferentinum . . . I. xciv
 Festivals . . . i. 533, v. 283
 Fætiales (college of), i. 108, 256, 339, 356
 Fetish stone of Antibes . . . iii. 88
 Fezzan, great caravan station . . . iv. 103
 Fidenæ, between Rome and Etruria . . . i. 241
 Field of Mars . . . i. 420
 Filial respect, Roman characteristic . . . i. 191
 Fimbria . . . ii. 804, 807
 Finances in second cent. . . v. 557
 Fines as punishments . . . v. 359
 Fire at Rome (A.D. 64), iv. 505, 676

- Fire at Rome under Com-
 modus vi. 23
 — the sacred, carried be-
 fore the kings of Persia,
 and at Rome in the days
 of Commodus. vi. 7
 Fiscus, origin of term . . i. 137
 — or private chest of
 Augustus iii. 699, 758
 Fishponds v. 581
 Flamen, Flaminica . . . i. 145
 Flaminian Way i. 404
 — Augustus repairs . . iii. 762
 Flaminius i. 593, 598
 — Titus Quinctius, consul
 ii. 31
 — victories in Macedon, ii. 33, 35
 — returns to Rome . . . ii. 38
 — engaged against Antio-
 chus ii. 46, 79
 Flats (early habit of living
 in) i. 204
 Flavius i. 293
 — Scaevinus iv. 523
 — associated with Appius
 i. 313
 — vows temple to Concord
 i. 313
 Flute players from Etruria
 i. 140
 Food (prices of), under Dio-
 cletian vi. 593
 Fors Fortuna (temple of) i. 361
 — Augustus restores . . iii. 749
 Fortifications (walls) . . v. 30-37
 Fortuna, goddess i. 79
 — sanctuaries at Præneste
 and Antium i. 79
 Fortunæ Islands and
 Canaries iv. 89
 Forum i. 132, 175
 — Gallorum iii. 439
 — built by Cæsar . . . iv. 209
 Fosse Mariana, canal made
 by Marius ii. 495
 France (the dioceses of), cor-
 respond to the Roman
 cities v. 358
 Franks, vi. 360, 362, 414, 522, 538
 Freedmen, i. 308, ii. 313, v. 233
 — time of Claudius, iv. 400,
 402
 — time of Nero, iv. 474, v. 304,
 532
 Freedom (judicial), now at-
 tained and lost . . . v. 234, 236
 Fregellæ, destruction of, ii. 420
 Frejus founded by Cæsar, iii. 293
 — Antony at iii. 442
 — Augustus's fleet at . . iii. 719
 Fronto, teacher of Marcus
 Aurelius v. 170, 202, 633
 Frumentationes, distribu-
 tions of corn . . . ii. 124, iv. 740
 Fulvia, wife of Antony, iii. 433,
 485, 490, 492
 Fulvius Flaccus, triumvir, ii. 413
 Functionaries and offices
 under the Empire . . . v. 528
 Funeral of Augustus, iv. 150 *seq*
 — Parentalia, funeral fes-
 tival iv. 396, v. 285
 Funerals (customs at), i. 220, 531,
 658, 659, 686, ii. 561, v. 272-
 284
 Furius (L.), accused by
 tribunes i. 175
 Future life (belief in), I. cxxxvi
 — growth of belief in, v. 723 *seq*
 — indications of presenti-
 ment of, in paganism . v. 729
 Gabii i. 326
 Gabinian law ii. 803
 Gabinus, tribune ii. 798
 — Cæsar supports . . . iii. 7, 213
 — sells Egypt iii. 238
 Gades, last Punic possession
 in Spain i. 683
 Gesates, Gallic tribe . . i. 511
 Galatæ in Asia Minor . . iii. 89
 — under Augustus . . . iii. 622
 Galatians (war against) (192-
 188) ii. 41
 — character of people . . ii. 57
 — defeated ii. 58
 — terms of peace . . . ii. 60
 Galba iv. 550, 559
 — early life iv. 560
 — election to the Empire
 iv. 562
 — rigorous measures . . iv. 563
 — appoints Piso his heir, iv. 565
 — Otho opposes him . . iv. 567
 — struggles for Empire, iv.
 567, 568
 — murder of iv. 569
 Galen, physician, v. 659, vi. 122, 147
 Galerius appointed to assist
 Diocletian and Maximian
 in government . . . vi. 549, 613
 Galilee (Horod, governor of)
 iii. 331
 Gallia Narbonensis, iii. 132, 150
 — in time of Augustus, iii. 555
 Gallic coins iii. 126
 — war iii. 121
 — preliminaries . . . iii. 130-132
 — heroes iii. 207 *seq*
 Gallienus, son of Valerian,
 undertakes the West (255)
 vi. 414
 — war with Postumus in
 Gaul vi. 443, 448
 — against the barbarians in
 Greece vi. 450
 — death vi. 451
 Gallus (Ælius) expedition
 into Arabia iv. 102
 — elegiac poet iv. 170
 — (Cestius), governor of
 Syria (A.D. 66) . . . iv. 626
 — emperor (A.D. 251) . vi. 409
 — death vi. 411
 Games (origin of) i. 542
 — used to bribe the people
 ii. 324
 — in Cæsar's triumph . . iii. 365
 — under Tiberius . . . iii. 296
 — in provinces iv. 472
 — Nero's iv. 482
 — public, v. 524 *seq*, 608, vi. 101
 Gardens v. 601
 Gargano (Monte) I. xi
 Gaul (Cisalpine) i. 585, 606
 — Hasdrubal in, i. 683, ii. 3, 45
 — submission of . . . ii. 70, 490
 — assists Rome in Social
 war ii. 562
 — sends mercenaries to
 Civil war ii. 680
 — governed by Junius
 Brutus ii. 738
 — Catulus sent to, ii. 739, 778
 — Metellus in iii. 33
 — Cæsar governor, iii. 62, 556
 — trade iv. 78, 81, 82
 — (Transalpine) ii. 164
 — war in ii. 483
 — invaded by Cimbri . . ii. 492
 — traversed and confa-
 cated by Pompey . . . ii. 758
 — Augustus's administra-
 tion and reforms . . iv. 50-59
 — public professors first
 appointed iv. 58
 — Drusus in iv. 112
 — Augustus's second visit
 to iv. 50
 — third visit of Augustus
 to iv. 115
 — fourth visit iv. 118
 — under Vespasian . . iv. 669
 — under Marcus Aurelius
 v. 172, 420, 421
 — thoroughly Romanized
 v. 426
 — under Aurelian . . . vi. 495
 Gauls in Italy I. cviii. *seq*
 — early appearance, I. cxix.
seq, 252
 — capture of Rome by, i. 254 *seq*
 — second invasion . . . i. 267
 — truce of forty years . . i. 273
 — reappear i. 273
 — advance to Apulia, i. 274, 352
 — coalition with Italian
 nations, i. 344, 353, 354, 357 *seq*
 — in Sicily i. 473
 — in Lombardy i. 510
 — wars with Rome . . i. 511 *seq*
 — in Hannibal's army, i. 596, 611
 — before Cæsar iii. 89 *seq*
 — as described by Diodorus
 Siculus iii. 90, 97
 — by Strabo iii. 91
 — dress iii. 91
 — dwellings iii. 92
 — fortresses (oppida) . . iii. 93
 — weapons and tools . . iii. 94
 — articles from lake dwell-
 ings iii. 95
 — personal ornaments . . iii. 99
 — warfare iii. 100 *seq*
 — funerals iii. 103
 — social condition, iii. 113, 123
 — religion iii. 105
 — Druids iii. 106
 — superstition iii. 108
 — belief in immortality, iii. 109
 — use of metals iii. 113
 — condition at the time of
 Cæsar iii. 123 *seq*
 — courage in war . . . iii. 186
 — condition under Augus-
 tus iii. 555 *seq*

Gauls, Augustus visits . . . iv. 50
 — his administration, iv. 51-58
 — distinguished authors at
 Rome . . . iv. 489
 — rising under Vindex
 (A.D. 68) . . . iv. 549
 — distinguished in literature under the Antonines
 v. 427, 428
 Gaurus, battle of Mount, i. 317
 Gellius Ignatius . . . i. 357
 Golon of Syracuse . . . i. 627
 Geneva (Caesar at) . . . iii. 133
 Gens . . . i. 68
 — tutelar gods of . . . i. 84
 — patrician . . . i. 8
 — copied by plebeians . . . i. 218
 — Claudii . . . iii. 243
 Genucian law . . . i. 334
 Gorgonia . . . iii. 181, 188
 Germanicus . . . iv. 133, 141, 282
 — victories in Germany
 iv. 287
 — proposal to alter the
 frontier in Germany . . . iv. 288
 — triumph . . . iv. 302
 — sent to the East, iv. 303, 305
 — at Athens . . . iv. 305
 — poisoned . . . iv. 309
 — doubts as to the crime
 iv. 310 n
 — funeral . . . iv. 311
 — (family of) . . . iv. 311
 — destruction of the family
 of, by Tiberius . . . iv. 346, 358
 Germans, ii. 490, 491, iii. 63, 138,
 160, 630, 631, iv. 106-133
 — guards of Caligula, iv. 382,
 391
 — dismissed by Galba . . . iv. 564
 — under Domitian . . . iv. 707
 — under M. Aurelius . . . v. 185
 — war under Alexander
 Severus . . . vi. 311
 — under Maximin . . . vi. 319
 Geta, son of Severus . . . vi. 241
 Getæ . . . iii. 391
 Ghosts (belief in) . . . v. 730 *seq*
 Giraffe, first at Rome . . . iii. 365
 Girls (races for) at Rome, iv. 693
 Gisco, governor of Lily-
 bæum . . . i. 522
 Gladiators at funerals . . . I. cv.
 543, ii. 324, 772, v. 380,
 610, 615
 — exhibited by Catiline,
 senate interferes . . . iii. 13
 — regulations concerning,
 by Tiberius, iv. 296, v. 380, 381
 — emperors as . . . v. 615, 616
 Gladiatorial shows under
 Domitian . . . iv. 693
 Glass made at Rome . . . iv. 78
 — brought from Sidon
 iv. 87, 197 n
 — iridescent, time of
 Hadrian . . . v. 134
 Glaucia associated with
 Marius and Saturninus in
 triumvirate . . . ii. 516
 — killed . . . ii. 521
 Gnostics . . . v. 734

Gods of ancient Italy con-
 trasted with Greek gods
 I. cxxx. *seq*
 — often connected by their
 worship towns of the same
 origin . . . I. cxxxiv
 — (public) . . . i. 77
 — Janus, Jovis, Saturn,
 Minerva, Mars, Quirinus,
 Vesta, Vulcan . . . i. 77
 — Diana, Juno . . . i. 78
 — Fortuna . . . i. 79
 — Tellus, Terra Mater,
 Ceres, Dis Pater, Bona
 Dea or Maia, Faunus,
 Sylvanus, Pales . . . i. 81
 — Rumina, Rubigo, Ver-
 tumnus, Pomona, Feronia,
 Flora, Venus, Liber, Her-
 cules, Tiberinus . . . i. 82
 — (domestic) . . . i. 84-88
 — of the dead, Lemures,
 Manes, and Larvæ . . . i. 88
 — required beautiful
 priests . . . i. 109
 — of Etruria at Rome . . . i. 113
 — statues of, made in wood
 and clay . . . i. 140
 — new, honoured at Rome
 i. 557 *seq*
 — Mens, a new deity . . . i. 605
 — Neptune and Amphi-
 trite received as, at Rome, ii. 167
 — of Gauls . . . iii. 105
 — three-headed god of
 Gaul . . . iv. 31
 Gold (increase of) in Italy
 under Augustus . . . iii. 690
 — under the Empire . . . v. 576
 Golden house of Nero . . . iv. 516
 Gordian, his origin and
 character . . . vi. 322
 — proclaimed emperor
 (A.D. 238) . . . vi. 323
 — death . . . vi. 326
 — father and son pro-
 claimed divi . . . vi. 327
 — (younger), emperor
 jointly with Pupienus and
 Balbinus . . . vi. 328
 — reigns alone . . . vi. 339
 — Timesitheus, prætorian
 prefect . . . vi. 340
 — war with Sapor . . . vi. 344
 — death of Timesitheus,
 Philip succeeds him . . . vi. 344
 — murdered (A.D. 344) . . . vi. 346
 Gorgon (Etruscan) . . . I. lxxvi
 Gospels (the) . . . vi. 167
 Goths, advance of the . . . v. 206,
 vi. 356 *seq*
 — ten invasions by . . . vi. 360
 — against Decius . . . vi. 399
 — disgraceful treaty with
 . . . vi. 410
 — invasions of . . . vi. 420, 456
 — defeated by Claudius . . . vi. 462
 — under Probus . . . vi. 521
 Governors of provinces, office
 and power . . . ii. 173, 176 *seq*
 Gracchus (Sempronius) . . . i. 626,
 630, 649, ii. 69, 73

Gracchus (Tiberius) . . . ii. 153,
 396 *seq*
 — early years, marriage,
 quaestor in Spain . . . ii. 399
 — tribune of the people, ii. 401
 — leads the democratic
 movement, laws proposed
 by . . . ii. 403 *seq*
 — disturbance at Rome, ii. 406
 — appointed with two
 others to redistribute the
 land . . . ii. 407
 — difference with senate, ii. 408
 — discontent of people . . . ii. 409
 — disturbances increase, ii. 411
 — death . . . ii. 412
 — (Caius), quaestor . . . ii. 419
 — character . . . ii. 420
 — proposes new laws . . . ii. 423
 — his projects . . . ii. 423
 — his reforms . . . ii. 426, 432
 — opposition of nobles . . . ii. 433
 — conducts a colony to
 Carthage . . . ii. 436
 — popularity fails . . . ii. 436
 — outbreak in Rome . . . ii. 437
 — his death . . . ii. 439
 Greekwyl (vase of) . . . iii. 124
 Grain trade regulated by
 Claudius . . . iv. 403
 Greece, condition of, at time
 of war with Pyrrhus . . . i. 370
 — influence on civilization
 i. 438
 — visited by Roman depu-
 ties . . . i. 508
 — influence on literature
 i. 533
 — condition of, about 200
 B.C. . . . ii. 8 *seq*
 — state of marine in . . . ii. 19
 — decay of . . . ii. 20 *seq*
 — liberty of, declared by
 Rome . . . ii. 38
 — conquest by Rome ac-
 complished . . . ii. 135
 — sympathizes with Mith-
 ridates . . . ii. 656
 — as Roman province, time
 of Augustus . . . iii. 562
 — depopulation . . . ii. 565, 572
 — decay under the Anto-
 nines . . . v. 443
 — influence in matters of
 intellect . . . v. 468
 — threatened by barbarians
 v. 193
 Greek language lately spoken
 I. cviii
 — education at Rome, ii. 238
 . . . *seq*, 258, 374
 — movement against . . . ii. 527
 — navigation . . . iv. 74
 — settlements in ancient
 Gaul . . . iii. 84
 — physicians at Rome . . . iv. 198
 — teachers . . . v. 445 *seq*
 — islands, condition of,
 under Augustus . . . iii. 576-580
 — cities of Thrace and the
 Euxine . . . iii. 580
 — and Roman science . . . iv. 196

- | | Page | | Page | | Page |
|---------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Greeks in Italy . . . | I. cviii | Hadrian, peace and security | | Hasdrubal, the antelope, sent | |
| -- dates of settlement . . . | I. cix | -- of the Empire . . . | v. 101 | -- to Rome after Zama . . . | i. 695 |
| -- rapid growth . . . | I. cxv | -- laws codified . . . | v. 102 | -- last defender of Car- | |
| -- contrasted with Roman | | -- treasury . . . | v. 103 | -- thage . . . | ii. 147 |
| conquest . . . | i. 386 | -- reforms . . . | v. 104, 106 | -- Carthaginian officer dis- | |
| -- (Campanian) . . . | i. 334, 364 | -- life at Rome . . . | v. 108 | -- tinguished at Cannæ . . . | i. 608 |
| Greenhouses . . . | v. 580 | -- detractors . . . | v. 113 | Hastati . . . | i. 423 |
| Guilds of handicraftsmen, v. | 389, 394, 396 | -- toleration towards | | Hat worn by freedmen at | |
| | | Christians . . . | v. 118-121 | funerals . . . | v. 274 |
| Hadrian, emperor . . . | v. 1 seq | -- choice of successor, v. | 129 | Hearth gods and worship, i. | 86 seq |
| -- personal characteristics, | | -- death of Verus, chooses | | Helena, wife of Constantius, | |
| early career . . . | v. 2 | Antonine . . . | v. 134 | mother of Constantine, vi. | 552 |
| -- connection with Trajan | | -- death . . . | v. 136 | Hellenic influence (early), i. | 60, 136 |
| and Plotina . . . | v. 3 | -- review of reign . . . | v. 141 | -- about 200 B.C. . . | ii. 13 |
| -- succeeds Trajan (117 | | Hamilcar causes disturb- | | Hellenism at Rome, ii. 203 | seq. 258 |
| A.D.), withdraws from | | ance in Cisalpine Gaul, ii. | 29 | -- under the Empire, v. | 657, 658 |
| newly-acquired Eastern | | -- banished . . . | ii. 41, 70 | Helvetii established in | |
| provinces . . . | v. 5 | Hannibal, son of Gisco | | Switzerland and Suabia | |
| -- senate . . . | v. 6, 7 | -- i. 473, 476 | | -- ii. 490, iii. 63 | |
| -- conspiracy against, v. | 8, 9, 10 | -- son of Hasdrubal, early | | -- invite Caesar to authorize | |
| -- his journeys . . . | v. 11 | training . . . | i. 570 | national assembly, iii. 121, 131 | |
| -- system of governing | | -- character given by Livy | | -- war concluded (137) v. | 357 |
| the provinces . . . | v. 12 | -- i. 571 | | Heracles . . . | i. 377 |
| -- examination of his | | -- besieges Saguntum, i. | 572 | Heracleion (siege of) . . . | ii. 105 |
| policy . . . | v. 13, 14 | -- prepares to invade Italy | | Herculaneum, earthquakes | |
| -- military affairs, v. | 15, 18, 20 | through Gaul . . . | i. 577 | at . . . | iv. 655 |
| -- frontiers . . . | v. 21 | -- reaches the Rhone . . . | i. 579 | -- destruction (79 A.D.), iv. | 681 |
| -- Danube . . . | v. 22 | -- crosses the Alps . . . | i. 581 | Hercules (Tyrian), legends | |
| -- colonies in Mœsia, v. | 23, 24 | -- in Cisalpine Gaul . . . | i. 585 | of, refer to Phœnician | |
| -- Pannonia and Rætia, v. | 29 | -- at Thrasimene . . . | i. 597 | influence in Gaul . . . | iii. 83 |
| -- Hadrian's fortifications | | -- repulsed at Spoletto . . . | i. 597 | -- Commodus as . . . | vi. 12 |
| and walls . . . | v. 30 seq | -- in Apulia . . . | i. 603 | -- statue of (Farnese) . . . | vi. 13 |
| -- great wall in Britain, v. | 30-37 | -- at Cannæ . . . | i. 607 seq | Herdonius . . . | i. 203 |
| -- military post in Africa, v. | 39 | -- at Capua, plot to murder | | Herennius, supposed friend | |
| -- spread of Roman life, v. | 42 | -- i. 619 | | of Plato . . . | i. 338 |
| -- further provincial jour- | | -- blockades Casilinum, i. | 625 | -- Pontius, son of . . . | i. 361 |
| neys, Western Gaul (A.D. | | -- surrounded at Capua | | Heresies in the Christian | |
| 121) . . . | v. 45 | -- i. 626 seq | | Church . . . | vi. 196, 197, 208 |
| -- works at Nîmes . . . | v. 45 | -- attacks Rome . . . | i. 651 | Hernicans, i. 171, 187, 243, 351 | |
| -- at Cologne, Bataria, | | -- great efforts to oppose | | Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, iii. | 515 |
| Britain, great wall . . . | v. 47 | -- i. 661 seq., 667 | | -- king of Syria, iii. 624, vi. 84 | |
| -- Spain . . . | v. 48 | -- battle of Metaurus . . . | i. 671 | Hiempsal, joint king of | |
| -- two journeys to Africa, v. | 49 | -- cruelty in Italy . . . | i. 686 | Numidia . . . | ii. 458 |
| -- his fortifications there, v. | 50 | -- recalled to Carthage, i. | 691 | Hiero II., tyrant of Syracuse | |
| -- returns to Rome (120), | | -- desires peace . . . | i. 692 | -- i. 465, 603 | |
| visits the East (122-125), | | -- at Zama . . . | i. 692 | Hieroglyphics, disuse of | |
| in Greece . . . | v. 53 | -- policy after his return | | iii. 605 n., vi. 91 | |
| -- Sicily . . . | v. 54 | -- to Carthage . . . | ii. 41 | High roads (seven) . . . | i. 405 |
| -- love of the picturesque, v. | 54 | -- surrender demanded by | | Himilco . . . | i. 486, 488 |
| -- returns to Rome . . . | v. 54 | Rome . . . | ii. 42 | Hindoos . . . | iii. 551 |
| -- renewed journeys . . . | v. 57-95 | -- assists Antiochus . . . | ii. 43 | Hippopotamus first seen at | |
| -- various public works, v. | 58 | -- at Ephesus . . . | ii. 44, 80 | Rome, time of Augustus, iii. | 691 |
| -- his works at Athens, v. | 59 seq | -- death . . . | ii. 82 | Hispania Ulterior . . . | iii. 50 |
| -- at Ephesus . . . | v. 70 | Hanno, Carthaginian, i. | 465, 468, 522, 525, 621 | History of Rome learnt from | |
| -- sportsman . . . | v. 75 | -- brother of Hannibal, i. | 578, 683 | Greek sources . . . | i. 61-63 |
| -- visits Damascus and | | Hasdrubal (Barca), i. | 483, 484, 570, 577, 662, 667, 672, 676, 682 | Holidays suppressed by | |
| great Eastern cities, v. | 74-81 | -- Gisa (683) . . . | ii. 142 | Augustus . . . | iii. 745 |
| -- Dead Sea . . . | v. 82 | -- son of Hanno . . . | i. 483, 484 | -- (public) . . . | v. 526 |
| -- Petra . . . | v. 84 | -- son-in-law of Amilcar | | Honey . . . | iv. 75, 85 |
| -- visits Egypt . . . | v. 84, 85 | Barcas, conquest of Spain | | Hope (temple raised to) . . . | i. 186 |
| -- his favourite, Antinous, v. | 91 | by . . . | i. 528, 570 | Horace, legionary tribune | |
| -- inscriptions on colossus | | -- treaty with Rome . . . | i. 572 | iii. 465, 490, 531, 672, 747, | |
| of Memnon . . . | v. 91 | -- brother of Hannibal, | | iv. 172-175 | |
| -- his Empress Sabina . . . | v. 92 | left in Spain . . . | i. 577 | Horatii and Curiatii . . . | i. 20-27 |
| -- offices held by . . . | v. 95 | -- struggle with the | | Horatius Cocles . . . | i. 55 |
| -- municipal government, v. | 96 | Scipios . . . | i. 621 | Horses, famous, from Spain | |
| -- returns to Italy, great | | -- Italian expedition, i. | 631, 672 | iv. 85 | |
| buildings . . . | v. 96 | -- son of Gisco . . . | i. 683, 689 | -- from Greece . . . | iv. 85 |
| -- his villa (123-124) . . . | v. 98 | | | -- much valued . . . | v. 597 |
| -- administration . . . | v. 100 seq | | | -- of the sun, probably | |
| | | | | zebras . . . | vi. 106 |
| | | | | Hortensius, orator . . . | iii. 219 |

Hospitality Page
 Hostilius (A.) commands
 army against Perseus of
 Macedon ii. 99
 Husband, rights over wife, i. 145
 Hymn of Frates Arvales, i. 136
 Hyrcanus II., king of Judea
 iii. 331
 Janus, traditional king i. i. 12
 — temple of i. 19
 — chief god i. 77
 — festival of i. 143
 — temple closed i. 510
 — temple closed second
 time (693) iv. 64
 — reopened on account of
 barbarian invasion . . iv. 107
 — temple of, closed for
 third time by Augustus
 iv. 121
 — closed by Nero iv. 543
 — closed by Vespasian, iv. 652
 Iapodes subdued, ii. 163, iii. 560
 Iberians attacked by Pom-
 pey ii. 826, iii. 81, 552
 Icilian law i. 207 n
 Icilius (Sp.), tribune . . i. 204
 Jerusalem iv. 629
 — siege of iv. 632, 633
 — temple of, burned (A.D.
 70) iv. 637
 — end of siege of . . iv. 638
 — takes the name of Ælia
 Capitolina v. 126
 Jews ii. 829
 — massacre under Pom-
 pey ii. 831, iii. 231
 — fight for Caesar . . . iii. 326
 — Caesar gives them the
 civitas iii. 394
 — mourn for Caesar's mur-
 der iii. 420
 — under Antony iii. 514
 — under Herod iii. 624
 — privileges granted to, iii. 625
 — their diffusion . . . iii. 626
 — Greek ideas and lan-
 guage among iii. 628
 — ordered to leave Rome
 by Tiberius iv. 319
 — number of, in Rome
 iv. 507 n
 — Vespasian against . . iv. 589,
 614
 — massacres of iv. 625
 — murder Greeks in re-
 taliation iv. 626
 — bravery of iv. 633
 — after dispersion by
 Titus v. 76, 122
 — persecution under
 Hadrian v. 121, 497
 — under Severus, vi. 89, 90, 126
 Ignatius (S.), martyrdom, iv. 819
 Ilipa (victory of Scipio at), i. 683
 Ilium destroyed by Fim-
 bria ii. 671
 Illyria, i. 507 *seq.*, i. 637, ii. 163
 — Caesar, governor of . . iii. 61
 — condition under Augus-
 tus iii. 560, vi. 540

Illyricum, condition under
 the Antonines v. 433
 — natives exterminated by
 invading barbarians . . v. 434
 — Pliny's account . . . v. 435
 Immortality (opinions con-
 cerning) v. 723, 725
 — teachers of v. 732,
 vi. 151, 160
 Imperator, title of, con-
 ferred on Augustus . . iii. 692,
 698
 Imperial government, orga-
 nization by Augustus, iii. 691
 Imperium iii. 251 n
 India iv. 101, v. 477
 — importations from . . v. 587
 Indigitamenta, gods presid-
 ing over human life and
 circumstances . . . I. cxxxiii
 Industries under the Em-
 pire v. 601
 Industry, national charac-
 teristic i. 141
 — decline of, in third cen-
 tury vi. 382-385
 — under Diocletian . . . vi. 593
 Indutiomarus, chief of Tre-
 viri, conspires against
 Caesar iii. 170
 Inequality of law for
 Romans and other
 Italians ii. 537 *seq.*
 Inexpiable war i. 527
 Informers iv. 336, 473, 721
 Ingenui i. 73
 Ingenuus, emperor vi. 440
 Insubri, Gallic tribe . . i. 510, 579
 582, ii. 72
 Interest (laws to regulate), i. 305
 Josephus iv. 508, 627
 Jovis or Jupiter i. 77
 — Tonans (altar to) . . i. 167,
 iii. 751
 — Jupiter Prædator . . ii. 633
 Ireland visited by Italian
 traders iv. 74
 Iron gates of Danube . . iv. 755
 Irrigation by Arabs . . . v. 78
 — of Africa v. 462
 Iris (temple of), at Rome, ii. 243
 Istria subdued ii. 163
 Ionian origin of two towns
 in Magna Græcia . . . I. cxv
 Italian States (government
 of) ii. 536
 — exempt from military
 service v. 540
 — ambassadors to Alexan-
 der at Babylon . . . i. 337
 Italica, colony founded by
 Scipio i. 684, ii. 157
 Italy (geography of) . . I. i.-xxx
 — climate I. xxvii
 — ancient population, I. lxxxviii.-
 lviii
 — organization of . . . i. 389
 — condition of, after
 second Punic war . . . ii. 1 *seq.*
 — word first used by
 Scipio Æmilianus . . i. 417
 — products iv. 76

Italy and the Roman people
 under Augustus iii. 651
 — decline of agriculture, iii. 652
 — causes of depopulation
 iii. 652
 — growth of peaceful
 manners iii. 672
 — under the Antonines, v. 437
 — causes of decay, v. 442, 444
 Juba iii. 338, 340, 352
 Judæa (Brutus's treatment
 of) iii. 470
 — death of Herod, reign
 of Archelaos iv. 100
 — change in form of gov-
 ernment iv. 100
 — Agrippa in iv. 109
 — birth of Jesus Christ, iv. 121
 — death of Jesus Christ, iv. 368
 — Caligula orders that his
 image shall be erected in
 the Temple in . . . iv. 377
 — war in (A.D. 66) . . iv. 514
 — condition of, in time of
 Vespasian iv. 615-620
 — Roman government of
 iv. 620, 621
 — war breaks out in, iv. 623,
 625, 628, 630
 — Capta iv. 639
 — impostors v. 125
 — insurrection under Ha-
 drian v. 125 *seq.*
 — under Severus . . . vi. 89
 Judges i. 225, 286
 Judicia divided, ii. 445, 529, 532
 Jugera, allotment by agra-
 rian law i. 302
 Jugurtha, king of Numidia
 ii. 449, 454
 — Scipio's judgment of, ii. 454
 — inherits a third of the
 kingdom of Numidia . . ii. 454
 — murders Hiempsal,
 bribes the Roman em-
 bassy, makes war on Ad-
 herbal ii. 458
 — quarrel with Rome be-
 gins ii. 462
 — summoned to Rome . . ii. 463
 — causes Massiva to be
 assassinated ii. 464
 — defeat of Roman army
 ii. 446
 — defeated by C. Metellus
 ii. 467
 — retires to Thala . . . ii. 473
 — surprised at Mulucha, ii. 477
 — capture ii. 479
 — dies by starvation at
 Rome ii. 481
 Julia Domna, wife of Severus
 vi. 81, 116, 117 *seq.*, 258
 — Maesa and Julia Soemias
 vi. 119, 270, 272, 278
 — wife of Pompey . . . iii. 227
 Julian law to protect tri-
 bunes i. 177, 202
 — (90 B.C.), ii. 566, iii. 59, vi. 129
 Julianus buys the Empire
 vi. 34, 35
 — revolt of the army . . vi. 37

- Julianus names Severus his
 colleague vi. 40
 murder vi. 41
 — (Salvius), lawyer under
 Commodus vi. 16
 Julius Caesar born 100 B.C.,
 Sylla commands him to
 repudiate his wife (see
 Caesar) ii. 691, 734
 — consul (B.C. 90) ii. 555
 — death ii. 572, 582
 Junius Pullus i. 487
 Juno, Jovino, mater regina, i. 78
 — sanctuary at Lanuvium, i. 78
 — at Veii i. 248
 — Soepita i. 326
 Jurisconsults under the Em-
 pire v. 666
 Jurisprudence i. 532, iv. 171
 — under Hadrian v. 106
 — in the city v. 337, 661
 — at Rome ii. 275
 Jus civile i. 563, ii. 544
 — civitatis ii. 536, 543, 566
 — connubii ii. 544
 — gentium i. 563, ii. 544
 — Flavianum, see Flavius
 — Italicum, given to
 Asiatic towns vi. 52, 84
 — imaginum i. 69, 155
 — Latii ii. 470 n., 576
 — Quiritium i. 147, 393
 Justin v. 156
 — (S.), martyr, his Apology
 v. 224, 225
 Justitium ii. 586
 Juvenal iv. 699, v. 648

 King (office of) i. 72, 73 *seq*
 — changes in constitution
 and religion under three
 last i. 113, 134
 — crown and purple mantle
 worn by i. 152
 Knights i. 73
 — annual review i. 314
 — privileges re-established
 ii. 783
 — under Augustus, iii. 669, 730
 — under Hadrian, v. 104, 105,
 505, 516
 Kniva, Gothic king vi. 410

 Labienus, lieutenant under
 Caesar, iii. 16, 174, 182, 277, 375
 Labour question at Rome, iv. 74
 Labourers (of) on country
 estates v. 312
 Lætorius, tribune i. 176, 201
 Lævinus marches against
 Pyrrhus i. 376
 Iagidæ, the race extinct
 (B.C. 30) iii. 599
 Lake Fucinus iv. 412
 — drained by Claudius, iv. 415
 — murder of 19,000 men, iv. 416
 Land (division of) I. cxxv. *seq*
 — distribution of, ii. 402, 423
 — in Africa ii. 462 n
 Langobardi iv. 424
 Lanuvium (revolt of), i. 265, 326
 — college of v. 392

 Larcs i. 84 *seq*
 — under Augustus iii. 751,
 iv. 20
 Larinum (defeat of Minucius
 at) i. 605
 Larvæ i. 93
 Laticlave, sign of senatorial
 dignity iii. 422
 Latin war i. 316-329
 — language i. 531, v. 466
 — road i. 651, 652, ii. 702
 Latium (migration of heroes
 to) i. 4
 — wars of Rome with, i. 316,
 321
 Law (Roman), general sur-
 vey of, time of Augustus
 iv. 204, 209
 — of treason and informers
 iv. 336, 473
 — of legacies, under Au-
 gustus and Claudius iv. 406
 Laws of property ii. 278
 — (Roman), gradual im-
 provement of i. 202
 — of Servius i. 127
 — three commissioners
 sent to search for Greek, i. 212
 — regulating offices i. 290
 — of Caius Gracchus ii. 424
 — of Caesar, de Provinciis
 ordinandis and de Pecuniis
 repetundis, iii. 58, 387 *seq*
 — de Sacerdotiis iii. 389
 Lebanon (Severus at) vi. 81
 Lectisternium (ceremony of)
 i. 287, 334, 559, 598 and n
 Legal forms (importance
 attached to) i. 149
 Legal changes, from 133 to 79,
 ii. 316 *seq*
 — under Severus vi. 123-130
 Legates in provinces, ii. 178 *seq*
 Legion (Roman) creation
 of) ii. 265
 — plebeian tribunes ad-
 mitted ii. 293
 — æarii excluded ii. 308
 — during the Samnite war
 ii. 318
 — constitution ii. 422
 — opposed to Macedonian
 phalanx ii. 35
 — difficulty in recruiting, ii. 291
 — proletarii admitted by
 Marius ii. 472
 — occupied in engineering
 work by Marius ii. 495
 — punishment by Caesar
 iii. 294
 — dismissal of 10th legion
 iii. 338
 — Alaudarum iii. 394
 — constitution of the, in
 second century v. 541
 Lentulus, called Batuatius
 ii. 772, iii. 27, 28
 — threatens Caesar, iii. 267, 319
 Lepidus ii. 737
 — sent to Narbonensis, ii. 740,
 743, 745
 — son of, put to death ii. 745

 Lepidus, wife of ii. 746
 — his death ii. 747
 — left in charge of Rome
 by Caesar iii. 286
 — after Caesar's death, iii. 415,
 434
 — takes command of Nar-
 bonensis and Hither
 Spain iii. 446
 — after Philippi iii. 478
 — besieges Lilybæum iii. 501
 — Messina, iii. 509, 510, 708,
 iv. 354
 Leprosy in Hannibal's army
 i. 597
 Leptis town in N. Africa, ii. 451
 Lerida iii. 350
 Leucopetra (battle of) iii. 135
 Lexovii, Gallic tribe iii. 155
 Lex Ogulnia, admitting
 plebeians to sacred offices
 i. 293
 Lex Papiria Pœstelia, for-
 bidding slavery for debt
 i. 307
 Liberæ legationes i. 539
 Libraries at Rome iv. 219
 Library of the Ptolemies
 burnt iii. 325
 — at Alexandria iii. 522
 — founded by Octavia, iii. 755
 — of Augustus destroyed
 iv. 676
 — in private houses, v. 591,
 654
 Libyans iii. 618
 Licinia-Pompeia iii. 228
 Licinian laws i. 282
 — confirmed 290, 302
 — influence of 411, ii. 402
 Licinius Stolo, reformer, i. 280,
 300
 — Macer, tribune ii. 783
 — Crassus succeeds Tiberius
 Gracchus as triumvir, ii. 413
 — governor of Sicily, ii. 615
 — plunders the province
 ii. 619, 620
 — known as Verres, ii. 622, 782
 Lictors i. 158, ii. 173
 Lighthouses iv. 91
 Ligurians, i. 510, ii. 45, 72, 486
 Lilybæum, i. 478, 486, 687, 695
 Lions in Caesar's shows, iii. 365
 Lipari islands i. 467, 483
 Liris river i. 190
 Literature (early forms of)
 at Rome i. 135
 — slow development of i. 532
 — Greek influence on ii. 257
 — general view of ii. 259
 — encouraged under Au-
 gustus iii. 754
 — under Antonines v. 645
 — decline from early
 vigour v. 646
 — general estimate of the
 period v. 654
 — literary societies formed
 v. 664
 — decay of, in third cen-
 tury vi. 391, 393

Livia iii. 682
 Livy iv. 183, 186
 Locusta, employed to poison
 Emperor Claudius, iv. 450, 467
 — banished by Galba . iv. 563
 Logicians at Rome . . vi. 377
 Lollius's death . . . iv. 100
 Lombardy (fertility of) . i. 509
 Londinium on the Tamesis
 iv. 498
 London in time of Diocletian
 vi. 558
 Longinus vi. 475, 491
 Lotteries derived from Nero
 iv. 518
 Lucan, poet, iv. 489, 523, 527,
 v. 648
 Lucanians I. cvi. seq., ii. 2
 Lucca, conference at (B.C.
 56) iii. 221
 Luceres, Roman tribe, i. 167, 117
 Luceria i. 338
 Lucilius, poet ii. 263
 Lucilla, empress, wife of Q.
 Verus vi. 7
 — her conspiracy . . . vi. 15
 Lucius Antonius, iii. 486, 488 seq
 — son of Julia, adopted
 by Augustus iv. 105
 Lucrotia i. 49
 Lucrotius ii. 269, 273
 Lucullus, sent to Sicily to
 put down the rising of
 slaves ii. 510, 733
 — commands war against
 Mithridates ii. 807
 — proconsul of Cilicia . ii. 808
 — defeats Mithridates, ii. 812
 — at Ephesus ii. 815
 — war with Tigranes . ii. 816
 — victory ii. 819
 — besieges Artaxata and
 Nisibis, recalled . . ii. 820
 — luxurious life at Rome, ii. 823
 — triumph granted, iii. 44, 57
 Lucumons, hereditary patri-
 cians of Etruria . . . I. lxx
 Luperalia i. 110
 Lusitanians ii. 65-69
 Lustrum i. 120
 Lutetia, Roman Paris . iii. 178
 Luxury, growth of, ii. 298, 304,
 346
 — increase of ii. 223
 — under the Empire, v. 567, 603
 Lycus (battle of) defeat of
 Mithridates by Pompey, ii. 825
 Lyons (foundation of) origin
 of name iv. 53
 — sides with Nero . . . iv. 422
 — persecution of Christians
 v. 226 seq
 — battle of Lyons, under
 Severus, and results
 vi. 53, 65, 67, 70
 Maccabees ii. 828, iii. 515
 Macedonian war (first). . i. 636
 — war (second) ii. 28
 — termination and results
 ii. 36 seq
 — war (third) ii. 75, 85 seq

Macedonian war, Marcius
 commands in ii. 102
 — as Roman province . iii. 562
 Machines of war i. 643
 Macrinus (Marcus Opellius),
 origin vi. 264
 — emperor (A.D. 217), vi. 265
 — war with Parthia, dis-
 cipline of his soldiers, vi. 268
 — death vi. 275
 Mæcenæ iii. 540, 667, 674,
 iv. 169, 195
 Mæcia, new tribe formed
 from conquered Latins, i. 326
 Mænian law to suppress the
 power of the curiæ . i. 293
 Magic, penalty against . iv. 324
 — at Rome under M.
 Aurelius v. 222
 Magicians iii. 748, vi. 111
 Magister equitum . . . i. 73
 Magistrates, corrupt prac-
 tices ii. 622, 624
 — their extravagances paid
 for by the provinces they
 ruled ii. 631
 — powerlessness during
 Gallic war iii. 214
 — Pompey's law iii. 249
 — new, appointed by Au-
 gustus iii. 715
 — changes under Nero, iv. 474
 — review of position of, v. 331,
 357
 — guarantees v. 366, 369
 Magius, citizen of Capua
 i. 618
 Magna Grecia i. 603, 612
 — condition under Augus-
 tus iii. 575, 655
 Magnesia, battle of . . ii. 56
 Mago, general under Han-
 nibal i. 577, 683
 — death i. 691
 Maia, or Bona Dea, Mater
 magna i. 81
 Majestas (crime of) . . iii. 2
 Malaria ii. 315
 — attacks Gauls . . . i. 259
 Malta, trade in woven goods
 from Phœnician times . iv. 78
 Mamea, learned lady, time
 of Severus vi. 119
 — corresponds with Ori-
 gen vi. 271
 — mother of Alexander
 Severus, supposed to be a
 Christian vi. 313
 Mamerius Æmilius, ple-
 beian dictator i. 237
 Mamertines, Samnite horse-
 men I. cv. 381, 465
 Mamertinum (prison) . iii. 33 n
 Mamilius, dictator of Tus-
 culum i. 203
 Mancipation, customs con-
 cerning i. 149
 Mancipium v. 311
 Manichæans vi. 600, 608
 Manilius (see Gabinus) . iii. 7
 — author, of Augustan age
 iv. 170

Manlius (C.), accused by
 tribunes i. 175
 — saves the Capitol . . i. 258
 — (Marcus), story of . . i. 279
 — dictator i. 288
 — action of his son . . i. 288
 — (Imperiosus); consul
 during Latin war . . i. 322
 — triumph i. 324
 — victory over Latins, i. 325
 — (see Vulso) ii. 57
 Manlius (A.), commissioner
 sent to Greece in search
 of good laws i. 212
 Manners and customs in
 ancient Rome i. 135
 — private i. 140
 — marriage i. 145, 218
 — during Samnite war . i. 410
 — deterioration of . . ii. 118
 — rapid decay in, and
 morals ii. 205 seq., 219, 231
 — domestic ii. 255, 281
 — strife between old and
 new ii. 341
 — decay gradual ii. 375
 — attempt to reform under
 Augustus iv. 258
 — Tiberius iv. 316
 — and morals under the
 Empire v. 565, 579
 — softening of v. 638
 Manufactures (decline of),
 in third century . . . vi. 385
 Marbodius, a Marcoman,
 visits Rome iv. 122
 Marc Antony, iii. 231, 266, 268
 — given command of troops
 in Italy iii. 286
 — at Apollonia iii. 303
 — at Pharsalia iii. 310
 — master of horse to Caesar
 iii. 336
 — consul iii. 396
 — after Caesar's assassina-
 tion iii. 414, 417, 421
 — profits by Caesar's death
 iii. 421, 422
 — repulses Octavius . . iii. 426
 — opposition at Rome . iii. 423
 — accusation of Cicero . iii. 432
 — sets out for Gaul . . iii. 433
 — defeated by Octavius at
 Castel Franco iii. 440
 — at the head of 23 legions
 iii. 443
 — commands the two pro-
 vinces of Gaul iii. 446, 465
 — at Philippi iii. 472 seq
 — in Greece and in Asia,
 luxurious life iii. 478
 — cruel taxation iii. 481, 482
 — goes to Alexandria with
 Cleopatra iii. 485
 — called by Parthian inva-
 sion to Asia Minor . . iii. 491
 — at Athens iii. 492
 — treaty of Brundisium, iii. 492
 — marriage with Octavia
 iii. 493
 — peace concluded at Miso-
 num iii. 496

- Marc Antony, breach of
treaty . . . iii. 497
— meeting with Octavius
at Tarentum . . . iii. 499
— master of the East . . . iii. 511
— at Athens . . . iii. 514
— Jews . . . iii. 515
— war in Parthia . . . iii. 516 *seq*
— rejoins Cleopatra . . . iii. 519
— forbids Octavia to join
him . . . iii. 521
— his will . . . iii. 532
— winters at Patras (32-31)
iii. 534
— his fleet . . . iii. 536 *seq*
— battle of Actium, iii. 536 *seq*
— Antony's flight . . . iii. 538
— his death . . . iii. 544
- Marcellus, i. 516, 614, 639, 644,
657, 659
— consul (a.c. 52) . . . iii. 252
— insults Caesar . . . iii. 253
- Marcia (gens) . . . i. 190
— concubine of Commodus
vi. 25
— a Christian . . . vi. 25
— has him murdered . . . vi. 26
- Marcus Rex, expedition
against barbarians . . . ii. 484
- Marcomanni, war with . . . v. 191
- Marcus Antonius, orator, ii. 604
— Aurelius adopted by
Antoninus Pius (A.D. 121)
vi. 168
— Spanish origin, austere
youth . . . v. 169
— wars threatening . . . v. 172
— campaign in the East
under Cassius . . . v. 176
— treatment of senate . . . v. 178
— administration in Italy, v. 179
— laws and institutions v. 180,
182
— human legislation, v. 183, 201
— terrible pestilence . . . v. 183
— Christians persecuted v. 184
— philosophy of . . . v. 185
— German invasion . . . v. 186
— with Verus oppose inva-
sion . . . v. 191
— second expedition, gladi-
ators in the army . . . v. 192
— want of money . . . v. 194
— no details of the war . . . v. 195
— against the Parthians v. 197
— revolt of Cassius . . . v. 198
— at Antioch . . . v. 204
— at Alexandria, at Athens
v. 205
— returns to Rome, tri-
umph . . . v. 205
— fresh disturbance in
Pannonia (A.D. 178) . . . v. 206
— death at Vienna (A.D.
180) . . . v. 207
— Faustina . . . v. 207, 216
— examination of his
philosophy . . . v. 214
— his "Meditations" . . . v. 215
seq., 679, 680, 723
— Lepidus conspires to kill
Octavius . . . iii. 667
- Maremma . . . I. xxv
- Marian party return to Rome
after Sylla's death . . . ii. 738
- Maritime operations of Rome
(260-255), vi. 474
— disaster . . . vi. 482
— success of Rome . . . vi. 495
— affairs according to Livy
ii. 53-54
- Marius, his early career . . . ii. 445
— tribune, tries to im-
prove the voting, elected
prætor . . . ii. 446
— accused and acquitted,
in Spain, marriage, in
Africa . . . ii. 449
— lieutenant to Metellus, ii. 469
— consul . . . ii. 472
— conducts war against
Jugurtha . . . ii. 474
— surprises garrison of
Mulucha . . . ii. 477
— captures Jugurtha and
divides his kingdom . . . ii. 479
— carries Jugurtha to
Rome . . . ii. 480
— second time consul . . . ii. 483
— sent to guard the Alps, ii. 494
— his treatment of the
legionaries . . . ii. 495
— continued in his consul-
ship three years . . . ii. 497
— battle at Aix . . . ii. 498-500
— consul, fifth time . . . ii. 502
— recalled to oppose the
invasion of the Cimbri, ii. 504
— defeats them at Ver-
cellæ . . . ii. 505
— pride of . . . ii. 507
— uses bribery . . . ii. 510
— becomes triumvir . . . ii. 517
— decline of popularity, ii. 522
— goes to Mithridates, ii. 526,
549, 556
— Social war . . . ii. 561
— commands the whole
consular army . . . ii. 564
— he retires . . . ii. 565
— rivalry with Sylla . . . ii. 580
— flight from Rome . . . ii. 591 *seq*
— Plutarch's account . . . ii. 591-
600
— return to Rome . . . ii. 602
— orders a massacre of his
foes at Rome . . . ii. 604
— death . . . ii. 606
- Marius, the younger . . . ii. 680
— commands the defence
of Latium in Civil war, ii. 681
— defeat at Præneste . . . ii. 682
— defeat and death . . . ii. 688
— blacksmith, emperor, vi. 444
- Marriage between patricians
and plebeians made legal
i. 232
— different forms of . . . i. 551
— laxness concerning . . . ii. 277
— Metellus concerning, ii. 293
— Augustus, laws relating
to . . . iii. 756 *seq*
— under Empire . . . v. 236
— ceremony of betrothal, v. 252
- Marriage, ring used was un-
lucky . . . v. 252
— dowry . . . v. 252
— co-emptio . . . v. 253
— confarreatio . . . v. 254
— poets' account of . . . v. 264
— of soldiers . . . v. 550
— of second . . . v. 267
— Roman idea of, very
high . . . v. 267
— dignity of the matron
v. 259-268
- Mars, public God . . . i. 77
— Augustus' temple of, iii. 750
- Marseilles, ii. 164, 553, iv. 333,
v. 422
— assists Scipio . . . i. 676
— greatest commercial city
of the West . . . ii. 485 *seq*
— Greek origin . . . iii. 84
— revolts from Caesar, iii. 282
— in time of Augustus, iii. 555
— its schools . . . iii. 555
- Marsi . . . I. c. 353, 355
- Martial, author . . . iv. 489
— v. 647
- Martius Rutilus, dictator
i. 273, 289
- Martyrdom of S. Ignatius
and S. Simeon . . . iv. 819
— under Antoninus Pius
v. 155 *seq*
- Martyrs at Lyons . . . v. 230
— in Africa and Sicily, v. 230
— at Carthage (180 A.D.)
vi. 226, 234
- Masinissa, ally of Hannibal
i. 683, 684
— defeated by Syphax, i. 689,
ii. 37, 83, 93, 125, 140
- Mastarna, Etruscan name
of Servius Tullus . . . i. 118
- Masters and slaves . . . v. 294-309
- Maternus, rebellion under
Commodus . . . vi. 21
- Mauretania . . . ii. 451, iii. 616
- Mausoleum of Augustus, iv. 216
- Maximian appointed co-
adjutor with Diocletian
vi. 539, 541, 547, 558
- Maximin (Caius Julius
Verus) emperor (235-238)
origin . . . vi. 317
— war with Germans, vi. 379
— other wars . . . vi. 320
— contempt for, at Rome
vi. 320
— Gordian proclaimed
emperor . . . vi. 323
— returns to Italy . . . vi. 331
— murdered . . . vi. 333
- May (calendar for month of)
i. 142
- Mayence, fortifications of,
by Augustus . . . iv. 116-118
- Measurement of the Pro-
vinces under Augustus, iv. 9, 10
- Meat used in sacrifice eaten
as a religious observance
vii. 513
- Medical instruction and
assistance . . . v. 404, 408

- Mediterranean Sea** i. 1
— Romans first commence conquest beyond, ii. 483, iii. 323
Memmius ii. 462 *seq*
Memnon, statue of, v. 91, 92, 93 vi. 92
Memphis, time of Hadrian, v. 88
Menapii, Gallic tribe iii. 178
Menenius Agrippa, popular advocate i. 165, 173
— accused of treason i. 174
Menhirs, Gallic monuments iii. 117
Menu of dinner of Lentulus v. 583
— of Pliny v. 585
Mercantile parts iv. 78
Mercenaries i. 420, ii. 20, 405
Mercantile of Roman world under Augustus iv. 72, 90
Messalina, wife of Claudius iv. 435
— her vices iv. 438 *seq*
— death iv. 445
Messiah, expectation of iii. 629
and n
Messina, siege of i. 463
— besieged by Lepidus, iii. 509
Mesopotamia organized as a province by Severus vi. 77
Metapontum, Achæan colony i. cxv
Metaurus, battle of i. 671, 686, ii. 2
Metelli i. 412
Metellus i. 483 *seq*
— Macdonicus ii. 152, 437
— (Q. Cæcilius), consul in Africa against Jugurtha ii. 467 *seq*
— besieges Thala ii. 473
— is superseded by Marius ii. 473
— opposes Marius in Rome ii. 518, 603
— prætor joins Sylla, ii. 677, 686
— opposed to Sertorius in Spain ii. 753
— war against pirates in Crete ii. 797
— proposes to recall Pompey from Asia iii. 39
— declared suspended by Senate iii. 49
Micipsa ii. 453, 454
Middle class, decline of ii. 291
Miletus, second city of Roman Asia iii. 594
Military history from the death of Tarquin to the Decemvirs (495-451) i. 179, 198
— from 448 to 389 i. 240, 262
Military regulations exacted from patricians by Valerius Corvus i. 290
— life i. 319
— discipline i. 336
— population i. 390
— organization i. 419
— service i. 420, 433
— sedition i. 684
— recruiting difficult ii. 291
— population ii. 293
Military morality ii. 294, 467
— degradation of conquered general ii. 494
— expenses fell upon the Italian allies, while they were excluded from military glory ii. 541
— order of march iii. 146
— position of sons of senators iii. 726
— matters under Hadrian v. 14 *seq*
— under Antonines v. 538
— education v. 542
— great work executed by the soldiers v. 543
— marriage of soldiers permitted by Severus vi. 133
Military service under Servius Tullus, i. 37, 119, 120 *seq.*, v. 350
— service obligatory, v. 544
— religious and sanitary service and ambulance pay v. 546
— oath v. 547, vi. 134
— life v. 548
— discipline v. 549
— rewards v. 549
— marriage v. 550
— discharge v. 550
— pensions v. 550
— pay increased by Caracalla vi. 248
— anarchy vi. 317 *seq*
— affairs vi. 364-375
— anarchy in the Empire vi. 435-447
Mile stones used by Caius Gracchus ii. 424
— Augustus iv. 16
Milo tribune, iii. 214, 217, 242 *seq.*, 248, 335
Minerva, public god i. 77
Mines under the Empire v. 577
Mining by Phœnicians in Spain iii. 554
— of Spaniards iv. 85
— in Transylvania iv. 763, vi. 385
Minucius i. 598, 605
Misenum, fleet of Augustus at iii. 719, vi. 51
Mishna, composition of, v. 123, 126
Mithras, Persian sun god, worshippers at Rome, iv. 420
Mithridates VI., king of Pontus ii. 525, 561
— invited to join in Social war ii. 574
— war with Rome, Marius appointed to the command ii. 587
— heads insurrection against Rome ii. 639
— surnamed "The Great" ii. 641
— early life and character ii. 641
— extensive conquests, ii. 643
Mithridates VI. establishes a navy ii. 644, 651
— policy in Asia Minor, ii. 647
— conquers Scythians, ii. 648
— extent of kingdom, ii. 649
— unites barbarians against Rome ii. 651
— war declared ii. 653
— victory ii. 653
— massacre of Romans, ii. 654
— marriage with Monima ii. 655
— defeated at Chæronæa ii. 666
— oppression in Asia, ii. 667
— submits to Sylla, ii. 672, 705
— offers to assist Sertorius against Pompey ii. 776
— again assumes the offensive ii. 784
— assisted by pirates, ii. 791
— renewed war with Rome ii. 804
— defeated by Lucullus, ii. 812
— second defeat at Cabira, his wives ii. 814
— renewed war with Pompey ii. 832
— death ii. 833
— body sent to Pompey, ii. 834
— the Pergamean prince ii. 326
— kingdom of Pharnaces given to ii. 334
Mæsia under Hadrian, v. 22 *seq*
— under Antonines v. 436
Money iv. 14, 76
— counterfeit, coined for Indian trade iv. 88
Monied class arises, ii. 337, 340
Monuments at graves v. 279
Morals as described in literature v. 617
— in provinces v. 624
Mosaics iv. 204
Mothers v. 236
— position of v. 250
— of three children independent v. 269
Mucius Sævola i. 55
Muleta, a fine, origin of term i. 137
Mulucha or Malva, fortress in N. Africa ii. 474, 477
Mummus, consul, carries works of art from Greece ii. 137
Munda (battle of) iii. 375
Municipal institutions, v. 319, 413, vi. 130
— government under Hadrian v. 96
Municipia i. 393
Murderers of Cæsar, iii. 413 *seq.*, 438
Murena, prætor in Asia, commands against (83), ii. 804
— defeated ii. 805
Murzes, king of Paphlagonia ii. 58
Music and musicians ii. 281
Mylæ, sea fight at iii. 506

- Myonnesus (battle of) . . . ii. 54
— results . . . ii. 55
- Nabis . . . ii. 39
— attacks Scipio . . . ii. 350, 356
- Nævius, poet . . . ii. 263
- Names (Roman) . . . ii. 445 n
- Naples . . . i. 621
— faithful to Rome in
 Social war, ii. 559, iii. 656, 659
- Napoleon III., "Life of
 Caesar" . . . iii. 134 n
- Nar, river . . . i. 354
- Narbo Martius (Narbonne),
 fortress in South Gaul, ii. 489,
 758, iii. 284, 555, iv. 24
- Narbonensis (insurrection
 of) . . . ii. 639, 756
— Lepidus commands, iii. 446,
 iv. 51
— sides with Vespasian
 against Vitellius . . . iv. 595
- Narnia . . . i. 354
- Narses, king of Persia . . . vi. 566
- Nasica opposed to T. Grac-
 chus . . . vi. 412, 414
- Nations on northern fron-
 tier under Augustus . . . iii. 629
- Naturalism, worship of
 trees, &c. . . i. 94
- Naturalization . . . v. 235, 236
- Naval fight at Naulochus, iii. 506
- Navigation . . . iv. 73, 91
- Navius, augur . . . i. 34
- Navy . . . iv. 133, 342, 474, 482
— losses in . . . iv. 491
— destruction during first
 Punic war . . . iv. 497
— kept in Spain by senate
 iv. 757
- Nemi (Lake), "Mirror of
 Diana" . . . i. xiv
- Nero (C. Claudius), consul
 207 B.C., opposes Hanni-
 bal . . . i. 665 *seq*
— son of Germanicus . . . iv. 344
— (emperor), son of Agrip-
 pina and Ahenobarbus
 iv. 446, 448
— proclaimed emperor, iv. 451
— succession (A.D. 68) . . . iv. 457
— early influences . . . iv. 458
— his tutor, Seneca, iv. 458,
 461, 463
— his mother, Agrippina
 iv. 464 *seq*
— his brother, Britannicus
 iv. 466
— disgrace of Agrippina, iv. 469
— useful reforms, iv. 470, 472
— murders and orgies, iv. 476,
 504
— murder of Agrippina, iv. 478,
 479
— whims . . . iv. 481, 482
— Neronian games . . . iv. 482
— condition of Rome and
 provinces . . . iv. 484
— military events of his
 reign . . . iv. 491-499
— death of Burrus and re-
 tirement of Seneca, iv. 499, 500
- Nero divorces Octavia . . . iv. 500
— public musical perform-
 ances . . . iv. 503
— accused of burning
 Rome . . . iv. 505
— persecutes Christians, iv. 511
— persecutes philosophers
 iv. 514
— rebuilds Rome, his
 palace . . . iv. 516
— his extravagance . . . iv. 517
— his means of gaining
 money, debases the coin-
 age . . . iv. 519
— robs the sanctuaries, iv. 519
— taxation and sumptuary
 laws . . . iv. 520
— conspiracies against iv. 522
— cruelties and murders
 iv. 526 *seq*
— visits the Olympic
 games . . . iv. 544
— brings statues from
 Greece . . . iv. 546
— growing discontent at
 Rome . . . iv. 547
— revolt of Gaul under
 Vindex . . . iv. 549 *seq*
— flight of . . . iv. 555
— his death . . . iv. 556, 557
— Pliny's verdict . . . iv. 557
— Anti-christ . . . iv. 558
- Nerva . . . iv. 734, 738
— praetorians murmur at
 his election . . . iv. 738
— mild administration, iv. 739
— conspiracy of Crassus
 iv. 741
— weakness of . . . iv. 741 *seq*
— adoption of Trajan . . . iv. 742
- Nervii . . . iii. 146, 170, 171, 202
- New nobility . . . v. 505
— germs of corruption, v. 508
- Nicæa, in Bithynia . . . iii. 595
- Nicomedes . . . ii. 554, 647
- Nicomedia, iii. 595, v. 72, 183
— destroyed by earthquake
 and restored . . . vi. 8
— Diocletian received the
 purple at . . . vi. 579
— persecution at . . . vi. 614
— Diocletian returns to
 vi. 627
- Nicopolis founded by Au-
 gustus in memory of Ac-
 tium . . . iii. 540
- Niger, rival of Severus, vi. 45
— defeated at Nicæa, vi. 51, 78
- Nile (statue of) . . . iii. 690
— sources of river, v. 464, vi. 92
- Nimes, Phœnician origin, iii. 84
— (Hadrian's works at), v. 45,
 357, 422
- Nineveh (Severus at) . . . vi. 78
- Nobles, their attitude in the
 time of Gracchi . . . ii. 443
— under Nerva . . . iv. 740
- Nomadic tribes of Asia and
 Africa, time of Augustus
 iii. 649
- Norba (cyclopean walls of)
 ii. 681, 688
- Norbanus commands army
 opposing Brutus . . . iii. 471
- Norehia (tombs at). . . i. 344
- Noricum . . . iii. 63, 558
— trade in iron . . . iv. 85, 108,
 v. 29
- Nubians . . . iii. 649
- Nuceria (conquest of) by
 Fabius . . . i. 350
— contest of Nucerians
 and Pompeians . . . iv. 486
- Numa Pompilius, second
 king . . . i. 15
— disciple of Pythagoras, i. 15
— inspired by Egeria, he
 arranged religious cere-
 monies . . . i. 15
— fixed boundaries of land, i. 19
- Numantia, ii. 154, 401, iii. 552
- Numidia (rival kings of), i. 684,
 ii. 449
— ancient remains, ii. 450, 451,
 480
- Numidians in Hannibal's
 army, i. 580, 589, 596, 597,
 608, 651, 690
— in Social war . . . ii. 562
— against Caesar . . . iii. 344
- Numidicus . . . ii. 525
- Nundinæ . . . i. 141, 294
- Nurses, their position in
 the Roman family . . . v. 240
- Nymphæum, near Smyrna, v. 70
- Oaths (important position
 of) . . . i. 148
— of personal devotion
 i. 347, 358
— sacred nature of . . . i. 412
— legionary . . . i. 422, 429
— military . . . v. 547
- Obsidional crown, highest
 military honour . . . i. 320
- Octavia . . . iii. 493, 499, 520
— wife of Nero, iv. 476, 481, 500
- Octavius, tribune opposed to
 Tiberius Gracchus . . . ii. 406 *seq*
- Octavius (see Augustus)
- Odenathus of Palmyra, vi. 433, 441
— becomes master of the
 East . . . vi. 442, 448
- Officers under the Empire, v. 528
— tabellarii . . . v. 529
— aquarii . . . v. 529
— freedmen . . . v. 531
— secretaries . . . v. 534
- Olympia spared in Mace-
 donian war . . . ii. 135
- Olympus (M.), battles on,
 between Marcius and
 Perseus . . . ii. 102 *seq*
- Omens, i. 263, 357, 367, 487, 553,
 594, 666, 692, ii. 410
- Oppian law . . . ii. 346
- Oracles . . . i. 611, 688, vi. 611
- Orange on the Rhone . . . ii. 493
— great defeat of Romans
 there . . . ii. 494
— arch to commemorate
 victory of Tiberius . . . iv. 323
- Orchomenus, battle between
 Sylla and Mithridates . . . ii. 670

- Order of battle . . . i. 425 *seq*
 Organization of provinces
 see (Augustus)
 Organization of Empire
 under Augustus (*see* Augustus)
 Orgetorix, Gallic chief . iii. 132
 Oriental religions at Rome
 v. 700, vi. 148, 500
 Oringis, battle of . . . i. 683
 Ortygia (island of) . . . i. 639
 Oscans and Sabellians, I. *xc. seq.*,
 323
 Ostia, saltworks, i. 273, 606, 614
 — harbour constructed by
 Claudius iv. 408
 — Trajan enlarges . . iv. 800
 Osuna (laws of) . . v. 356, 359
 Otho, his wife Sabina
 Poppæa iv. 476
 — opposes Galba . . iv. 567
 — succeeds Galba . . iv. 571
 — disaffection of the pro-
 vinces iv. 574, 578
 — marches against the
 rebels iv. 580
 — death of (April, A.D. 69)
 iv. 581
 Ovid iii. 749, iv. 142, 170
 Ovinian plebiscitum, opening
 senate to plebeians . i. 292
 Padua, success against
 Lacedæmonians . . . i. 353
 Præstum I. *cx.* 329, iii. 659
 Paganism (decline of) . . v. 221
 Painting (ancient), at Ardea
 and Cære i. 138
 Palæopolis, Greek colony, i. 334
 Palatine Hill i. 8, 65
 Pales, god of the farm . . i. 81
 Palilia i. 110
 Palladium i. 105
 Palmyra, v. 75, 78, 80, 378,
 vi. 83-85
 — Odenathus prepares for
 war with Sapor, king of
 Persia vi. 433
 — made king there . . vi. 435
 — given title of "Au-
 gustus" vi. 435
 — siege of, by Aurelianus, iv. 488
 — defeat and second re-
 bellion vi. 491
 — city ruined vi. 492
 Paludamentum, military
 robe i. 594
 Pannonia, iii. 558, iv. 114, 494
 v. 28, vi. 415
 Pannonians iii. 63, iv. 742
 Panormus, i. 477, 482, 486, 489
 Pantheon of Agrippa . . iv. 213
 Paphlagonia iii. 586
 Papinian, friend of Severus
 vi. 43, 81, 114, 119, 123 *seq.*, 243
 Papius i. 257, 306
 — dictator, i. 335, 339, 347, 360
 — Carbo, triumvir . . ii. 413
 — Carbo, consul, opposed
 to invasion of Cimbri, ii. 490
 — consul ii. 675
 Parentalia iv. 396
 Parisades, king of Cim-
 merian Bosphorus . . ii. 643
 Parisii, first mentioned by
 Cæsar iii. 178
 Parthia, ii. 837, iii. 232, iv. 494
 — Roman routes to . . v. 74
 — war under M. Aurelius
 v. 177
 — Caracalla vi. 258
 — Macrinus vi. 266
 — campaign of Trajan in
 iv. 824
 Parthians (Crassus sent
 against) iii. 229, 232
 — defeat Crassus . . iii. 236
 — invade Asia Minor, iii. 491
 — Antony's war . . . iii. 515
 — send embassy after
 Antony's death . . iii. 686
 — under Augustus . . iv. 121
 Parties in Italian cities, i. 341
 Paterfamilias (power of), i. 217
 Paternity (laws of), v. 237 *seq.*,
 244
 Paternus (Tarrutianus), law-
 yer under Commodus, vi. 16
 — condemned vi. 16
 Patria potestas . . i. 106, v. 246
 Patricians I. *cxiii*
 — and clients, i. 67, 69, 71, 72,
 154
 — priests of their families
 and clients, new patri-
 cians made by Tarquin
 i. 116
 — consuls i. 152, 155
 — families (extinction of)
 i. 157, 412
 — appoint ædiles and præ-
 tors to balance the ple-
 beian advance in power, i. 285
 — (increased power of), ii. 285
 — created by Julius Cæsar
 iii. 384
 — (new), made by Claudius
 iv. 435
 Patriotism i. 147, 410
 — during second Punic
 war i. 630, 661
 — decline of ii. 271, 315
 Patrons and freedmen, v. 306 *seq*
 Paul (S.) iv. 508, 510, 513
 — his trial v. 340
 Paulina, wife of Seneca, iv. 526
 Paulus Æmilius . . i. 607, 610
 — consul ii. 105
 — commands in Macedo-
 nian war ii. 107 *seq*
 — agreement with Mace-
 don ii. 116
 — triumph ii. 118
 — death ii. 122
 — culture ii. 375
 — vi. 120
 Pausanias v. 57, 117
 Pax romana ii. 201
 Pearls worn by matrons . iv. 77
 — great price of, iv. 87, v. 587
 Pecus i. 169
 — pecunia i. 169
 Pedum i. 326
 Pelasgians I. *xi*
 Poligni I. *c*
 — husbandry and agricul-
 ture of I. *ci*
 Pelusium in Egypt . . iii. 324
 Penal laws concerning Ho-
 nestiores and Humiliores
 iii. 464, v. 388
 Penates i. 84, 86 *seq*
 People (the Roman) . . v. 519
 — public aid of . . . v. 520
 — distributions . . . v. 522, 524
 — public games . . . v. 524
 — open free v. 525
 — pleasures of the—Blues
 and Greens v. 527
 Perennis, præfect of the
 guards under Commodus
 vi. 7
 — his policy vi. 16, 20
 — death vi. 21
 — exiles Pertinax . . vi. 31
 Pergamus ii. 53, 158
 — becomes a Roman pro-
 vince ii. 162, iii. 595
 Perperna ii. 755, 770
 Perpetua (S.), martyr of
 Carthage vi. 227
 Persecution of Christians
 vi. 219 *seq.*, 238
 Perseus, son and successor
 of Philip V. . . . ii. 84
 — incites Greeks against
 Rome ii. 86 *seq*
 — defeats Romans in first
 battle ii. 98
 — defeated at Pydna . . ii. 112
 — surrenders ii. 113
 — death ii. 122
 Persia (war with) under
 Alexander Severus, vi. 306 *seq.*,
 342 *seq*
 — under Valerian, vi. 422 *seq*
 — treatment by Probus, vi. 520
 — Carus vi. 525
 — Diocletian vi. 568
 Pertinax (Publius Helvius),
 general under Commodus
 vi. 9, 21
 — chosen emperor, low
 origin vi. 29
 — early services . . . vi. 30, 31
 — simple life vi. 32
 — murder vi. 34
 — deified vi. 46
 Perugia i. 347
 Perugia (war in 476), de-
 struction of iii. 489
 Pestilence under M. Aure-
 lius v. 183
 — under Commodus . . vi. 23
 — in third century . . vi. 395
 Petra iii. 649
 — position and condition
 under Trajan, iv. 776, v. 75, 84
 Phædrus, poet iv. 170
 Phalanx ii. 5 n., 30
 — organized by Carn-
 calla vi. 369
 Pharnaces, son of Mithri-
 dates iii. 331, 334
 Pharos iii. 326
 Pharsalia (battle of), iii. 309-312

- Philip V. of Macedon pro-
poses to assist Hannibal, i. 627,
636, 637, ii. 22 *seq*
— allies himself with An-
tiochus III. and Prusias, ii. 29
— Sulpicius sent against, ii. 30
— truce of, with Flami-
ninus . . . ii. 34
— defeated at Cynosco-
phalæ . . . ii. 36
— term of treaty with
Rome . . . ii. 35, 37, 55
— third Macedonian war
with . . . ii. 75
— founds Philippopolis, ii. 78
— death . . . ii. 84
— (the Arabian), minister
of and joint emperor with
Gordian II. . . vi. 344
— emperor . . . vi. 347 *seq*
— events of his reign
little known . . . vi. 348
— great celebration of
secular games . . . vi. 349
— (Younger) . . . vi. 349
Philippi (battle of) iii. 471 *seq*
Philippus, freedman of
Pompey . . . iii. 319
Philo of Alexandria . . v. 721
Philopœmen . . . ii. 80
— death . . . ii. 82
Philosophers persecuted by
Nero . . . iv. 514
— (Greek), expelled from
Rome by order of senate
ii. 236, 238
— used as teachers . . ii. 239
— at siege of Athens . ii. 660
— at Rome under the
Empire . . . v. 664 *seq*
— time of Hadrian, public
preaching, dress, &c., v. 119
— their position and in-
fluence . . . v. 682 *seq*
— efforts to satisfy reli-
gious difficulties . . v. 715
Philosophy (sketch of Greek),
ii. 212-217
— taught at Rome by three
Greek philosophers . ii. 234
— under Vespasian at
Rome . . . iv. 663
Philostratus . . . vi. 120
Phlegon, freedman of Ha-
drian, historian . . . v. 117
Phœnicia as a Roman pro-
vince under Augustus, iii. 597
— commerce with . . iv. 87
Phœnicians . . . i. 438
— their colonies . . . i. 440
— trade . . . i. 441
— in Gaul . . . iii. 83, 84
Phraates . . . iii. 518, 687,
iv. 97
Phrygians . . . iii. 586
Physicians at Rome under
Augustus . . . iv. 197
— under Antonines . v. 402 *seq*
— examination of . . v. 404
— practice . . . v. 405
— public support . . v. 406
— of army . . . v. 406
- Picentines . . . I. c
Piet̃y . . . i. 148
Pirates, i. 506, 508, 662, ii. 19
— in Spain . . ii. 757, 766, 784
— war with . . ii. 791
— their number and
wealth . . . ii. 793
— defeat of Antonius, ii. 797
— defeated by Pompey, ii. 803
Piræus besieged by Sylla, ii. 651
Piso, consul, ii. 799, iii. 1, 12, 213
— under Tiberius, iv. 298, 308,
314, 315, 354
— emperor for four days
iv. 570
— conspires against Nero, iv. 522
Placentia . . . i. 590
— besieged by Hasdrubal, i. 667
Plague . . . i. 287, 311, 644, ii. 253
Plautian-Papirian law . ii. 575,
587
Plautianus, præfect of city
under Severus . . vi. 101
— his power . . . vi. 106
— disgrace and murder, vi. 109
Plautilla, daughter of Plau-
tianus . . . vi. 107
Plautius commands expedi-
tion against Britain . iv. 421
— Ælianus, governor of
Mœsia under Hadrian . v. 25
Plautus . . . ii. 260
— attacks Scipio . . ii. 350, 352
Play actors expelled . . ii. 443
— by Tiberius . . . iv. 331
Plebeians (position of) . i. 74
— condition improved by
Servius Tullus . . . i. 119
— marriage of, i. 146, 155, 233
— political position . i. 155 *seq*
— struggles with patricians
i. 163-165, 174
— progress towards equality
i. 201, 222
— admitted to curule offices
i. 235
— admitted to consular
office . . . i. 281
— appointed decemvirs . i. 281
— admitted to all offices
i. 282, 291, 412
— become debased . . ii. 285
Plebiscita given force of law
i. 227
— made binding on all . i. 291
Pliny, naturalist, at Vesu-
vius . . . iv. 681, v. 651
— (Younger's) letters . iv. 807
seq., v. 626, 640, 641, 651
Plotina (empress), wife of
Trajan . . . iv. 748, v. 3
Plots against the Empire
under Augustus . . iii. 668
— against Hadrian . . v. 8
Ploughing . . . i. 141
Plutarch . . . v. 117, 657, 680, 726
Po (valley of) . . . i. 367, 585
— (river) I. xviii. *seq.*, ii. 73,
484, 504
Pœtelian law against can-
vassing . . . i. 286
Poison and poisoners . . v. 618
- Political organization of
ancient Italians I. cxxii. *seq*
— and social life (changes
in) . . . ii. 285 *seq.*, 316
— liberty (idea of) foreign
to Romans . . . iii. 409
— rights . . . v. 235
Polybius . . . i. 421
— Achæan, hostage in
Italy . . . ii. 131
Polycarp (S.) . . . v. 161, 162
Polygonal masonry . . . i. 137
Pomærium . . . i. 7, 389, iii. 701,
748, iv. 655
Pompeian army (comman-
ders of) . . . iii. 338
— after Thapsus dia-
perse . . . iii. 352
Pompeianus, husband of
Lucilla . . . vi. 8, 11
— offered the Empire by
Pertinax . . . vi. 31
Pompeii, partial destruction
of (A.D. 63) . . . iv. 486
— destruction by eruption
of Vesuvius . . . iv. 676-682
— houses at, described
iv. 685-691
— elections at . . . v. 330
— private dwellings . . v. 595
Pompeius Strabo . . ii. 556, 561,
563, 569
Pompey the Great, son of
Strabo . . . ii. 678, 686, 734
— estimate of his charac-
ter . . . ii. 734, 735
— head of aristocratic
party . . . ii. 747
— sent to assist Me-
tellus in Spain . . ii. 758
— reaches by new route,
confiscates in Gaul . ii. 758
— defeated by Sertorius, ii. 759
— joins Metellus . . ii. 764
— complains to senate of
poverty . . . ii. 766
— retreats into Gaul . ii. 769
— treatment of Perperna
ii. 770
— settlement of Spain, ii. 771
— Pampeluna called after
him . . . ii. 771
— parallel with Napo-
leon . . . ii. 785
— triumph and consul-
ship . . . ii. 785
— takes up the popular
side . . . ii. 786
— natural incapacity for
popularity . . . ii. 790 *seq*
— commands war against
pirates . . . ii. 799
— terminates it in ninety
days . . . ii. 803
— takes command in
Asia . . . ii. 823
— victories in Asia, ii. 826, 827
— visits Jerusalem and the
temple . . . ii. 831
— war in Cimmerian Bos-
phorus . . . ii. 832
— defeats Mithridates, ii. 833

- Pompey the Great re-organizes Anterior Asia, ii. 834
 — division of territory ii. 836
 — founds and repeoples cities ii. 837
 — Caesar's policy towards iii. 39
 — returns to Italy iii. 44
 — spoils shown at his triumph iii. 47
 — discredited by senate, iii. 48
 — he takes up the part of demagogue iii. 49
 — triumvirate iii. 53, 61, 213
 — during Gallic war, iii. 214, 217
 — unpopularity (a.c. 55) iii. 221, 225
 — made governor of Spain and Africa iii. 227
 — at Rome iii. 237
 — games, theatre iii. 238
 — rupture with Caesar, iii. 244
 — sole consul iii. 245
 — marriage iii. 247
 — new laws iii. 248
 — enmity to Caesar iii. 250, 251
 — given command of Italian troops iii. 266, 267
 — opposed to Caesar iii. 274
 — retires with senate to Capua iii. 276
 — determines to retire to the East iii. 281
 — sails iii. 284
 — preparations against Caesar iii. 296-304
 — follows Caesar into Thessaly iii. 307
 — battle of Pharsalia, iii. 309-312
 — flight iii. 313
 — in Egypt iii. 314
 — murdered by Septimius iii. 318
 — character iii. 320
 — Hadrian erects his monument v. 84
 — Sextus (son of the former) iii. 421, 431, 492, 495, 497, 505, 506
 — Cnæus (the Younger) iii. 339, 375
 Pompey's pillar, erected by prefect Pompeius vi. 566
 Pomponius Mela, geographer iv. 489
 Pontiffs (election of) ii. 515
 — in the municipia v. 365
 Pontine marshes, i. 190, iv. 799
 Pontius Herennius, Samnite general i. 338
 — passed under yoke by Publius i. 340
 Pontus under Mithridates (see Mithridates) ii. 642
 — destruction, under Pompey ii. 837
 Poppæa, wife of Nero iv. 476-481, 502, 508, 529
 Popilius (M.), consul, his treatment by the senate, ii. 90
 Poplicola (honours decreed to) i. 167
 Popular assembly i. 158
 — concilium plebis i. 161
 Porsenna i. 55, 179
 — conquers Rome and attacks Latium i. 183
 Portia, wife of Brutus, iii. 403 *seq*
 Porticoes iv. 219
 Posen (Etruscan coins found at) I. lxxvi
 Post (imperial) system iv. 803
 — under Severus vi. 140
 Posts v. 482, 529
 Postumius (Sp.), sent to find good laws i. 212
 Postumus emperor (258), vi. 438
 — proclaimed in Gaul, vi. 439, 444
 Pottery (Etruscan) I. lxxxviii
 Practical nature of Roman genius i. 140
 Præneste, i. 139, 266, 268, 270, 326, 352, 391, 622, 681, 688
 Prætorian guards, iii. 725, iv. 559
 — pay v. 551
 — fleets iv. 554 *seq*
 — increase of power under Commodus vi. 28
 — murder of Pertinax vi. 34
 — reconstituted by Severus vi. 44, 100
 — riot vi. 329, 583
 — prefect vi. 123
 — under Diocletian vi. 580
 Prætors i. 152
 — patrician i. 286
 — peregrinus, i. 286, 563, ii. 278
 — office as lawgiver, i. 286, 287
 — sent into province of Sicily i. 501
 — in the provinces ii. 171
 — increased in number by Sylla ii. 710
 — oppression of Spain, iii. 554
 Prayers for the emperor first commanded iii. 709
 Prefectures i. 393
 Prefecture annonæ iii. 716
 — vigilum, night police under Augustus iii. 715
 Pretxtati v. 353
 Priests i. 103 *seq*
 — supported by State i. 110
 — chosen from patricians, i. 155
 Primogeniture (rights of), unknown at Rome, I. cxliii. 147
 Principes i. 423
 Prisoners of war slain in the public shows, v. 610, 613
 Prisons v. 338
 Privernates i. 270
 Privernum i. 326
 Privy council of Augustus and Hadrian v. 104
 Probus, emperor, early history vi. 515
 — his character vi. 516
 — respect for senate vi. 517
 — wars with barbarians in Gaul vi. 518
 — great wall vi. 518
 Probus in Asia Minor vi. 520
 — review of frontiers vi. 521
 — brings in colonies of barbarians vi. 521
 — Saturninus vi. 522
 — public works vi. 524
 — murdered vi. 524
 Proconsulate i. 334
 Procurators in provinces, v. 474
 Proletariate excluded from bearing arms i. 301
 — constant source of disturbance i. 301
 — excluded from army, ii. 292
 — admitted by Marius, ii. 309, iii. 19, iv. 253
 Propertius, elegiac poet, iv. 170
 Property (laws of) v. 235
 Prophetesses among the Germans iv. 608
 Propontis (commercial cities of the) ii. 18
 Proscription, ii. 589, 605, 671, 679
 — by Sylla ii. 690, 700
 — in provinces ii. 703
 — under second triumvirate iii. 447, 462
 Province, meaning of word, Sicily declared, i. 501 and n
 — legislation for i. 501
 Provinces (organization of) ii. 163
 — list of, under Republic, ii. 167
 — governors of, their power and duties, ii. 173 *seq*
 — legates and quaestors of ii. 178
 — taxation of ii. 183
 — miserable condition, ii. 610
 — plunder of ii. 612, 622
 — Cicero on state of, ii. 626
 — no law to protect, ii. 634
 — insurrection of, headed by Mithridates ii. 639
 — morality of ii. 640
 — proscription under Sylla, ii. 703 *seq*
 — taxation ii. 705
 — usurious loans iii. 1
 — (condition of) at the time of foundation of the Empire iii. 548, 618
 — organization of, under Augustus iv. 95
 — Caesar's legislation for, iii. 58
 — under Augustus (see Augustus)
 — under Tiberius, iv. 298, 302, 307
 — under Claudius, iv. 417, 433
 — under Nero iv. 471, 488
 — begin to send distinguished men to Rome as authors and officers, iv. 489, 490
 — impoverished by Nero's extortion iv. 541
 — confusion during struggle after Nero's death, iv. 580, 582
 — prominence of economic questions iv. 734

- Provinces of Arabia formed
— under Trajan . iv. 774, 803
— under Hadrian . v. 23 *seq*
— Marcus Aurelius . v. 204
— criminal jurisdiction in
 v. 337
— prosperity of the, under
 the Antonines . v. 417
— increase of provincial
 territory from time of
 Augustus . v. 419
— of Africa . v. 448 *seq*
— of Asia Minor . v. 465
— administration of, under
 the Antonines . v. 470
— provincial assemblies, v. 473
— prosperity shown by
 the buildings, &c. . v. 474
— higher morality in . v. 624,
 637
— government under Sever-
 us . vi. 139, 141
— under Caracalla's ty-
 ranny . vi. 246
— at peace, under Elaga-
 balus . vi. 279
— under Diocletian, vi. 573 *seq*
Provincial assemblies, ii. 194 *seq*
— cities, classes of, ii. 186 *seq*
 193
— plundered by Roman
 governors . ii. 613, 619
Provincials, their obliga-
 tions to Rome . ii. 182
Prusias, king of Bithynia,
 submits to Rome . ii. 124
Ptolemies (policy of the), ii. 6 *seq*
Ptolemy, Dionysus, brother
 of Cleopatra . iii. 324
— Auletes . iii. 218, 231, 238
— Philadelphus . i. 380
— geographer in time of
 Claudius, iv. 433, v. 117, 960
Public buildings, theatres,
 amphitheatres, &c. . v. 604
Public festivals . i. 110, *seq*
— Lupericalia, Ambarvalia
 i. 112, 533
Public instruction . v. 404
— examination of teachers, 404
Public works (control of), ii. 338
Publian law . i. 177
— confirmed . i. 294
Publius Philo, plebeian,
 prætor and proconsul, i. 292,
 334, 339
— victory over Latins . i. 325
— Volero, tribune . i. 175
Punic wars . i. 435, 696
— operations in Sicily
 during first . i. 464
— maritime operations
 during . i. 474, 495
— treaty at close of first, i. 495
— second Punic war . i. 566
— condition of parties in
 year 216 . i. 625
— operations in Spain
 during second Punic war, i. 676
— debt of second Punic
 war cleared off . ii. 2
— the third Punic war, ii. 141
- Pupienus (M. Clodius
 Pupienus Maximus), pro-
 claimed emperor jointly
 with Balbinus . vi. 327
— murdered . vi. 338
Purification of infants . v. 238
Puteal . i. 139
Pydna (battle of) fought by
 Paulus Æmilius . i. 110
— remains at . i. 111 and n
Pyrrhus (280-272) war with
 i. 370
— called in by Tarentines, i. 374
— first victory . i. 376
— besieges Asculum . i. 378
— warned by Fabricius of
 treachery . i. 380
— crosses into Sicily . i. 380
— death . i. 382
- Quadi . v. 191, vi. 515
Quadratus, first Christian
 apologist . v. 119
Quadrirèmes . v. 555
Questiones perpetuæ . ii. 586
— renewed by Sylla . ii. 717
Quæstors (office of) . i. 73
— in provinces . ii. 178 *seq.*,
 v. 357
Quæstorship . i. 235
— number increased . i. 238
Quinctia (gens) . i. 193
Quinquennalis . v. 353
Quinquireme (Carthaginians),
 model of Roman war ships
 i. 474
Quinquiremes . v. 555
Quintilian . iv. 489, v. 654
Quintillii, companions of
 Romulus . vi. 20
Quintillus (death of) . vi. 110
Quirina, new tribe formed
 in . vi. 241, i. 498
Quirinal . i. 257
Quirinus, Sabine god wor-
 shipped at Rome . i. 77
Quirites . i. 389, 393
- Races at Rome . iv. 693
Ramnenses, Roman tribe, i. 67, 117
Ravenna (Cicero at) . iii. 251
— Cæsar at . iii. 266
— fleet of Augustus at, iii. 719
— of Tiberius . iv. 327,
 vi. 51, 416, 627
Reforms of Sylla . ii. 707
— failure of . iii. 1
Regia (Lex) . v. 212
Regillus (battle of Lake) i. 189
Regulus (Atilius), consul
 i. 479, 480
— heroic death . i. 484
Religion . i. 77, 112
— twofold in character,
 public and private . i. 100
— State control of, i. 407, 417, 552
— in the provinces . ii. 178
— decline of . ii. 210, 232
— (Oriental) at Rome . ii. 240
— three phases of Roman, ii. 256
— encouraged by Sylla . ii. 718
- Religion under Augustus, iii. 746,
 iv. 15-25, 259
— under Vespasian . iv. 651
— under the Empire . v. 690
— decay of the old, v. 693, 694,
 697
— invasion of Oriental, v. 700,
 702
— worship of Mithra and
 Cybele . v. 703
— evil practices . v. 709
— ritualism . v. 711
— belief in magic and other
 superstitions . v. 712
— of Epictetus, divine
 unity . v. 719
— efforts of the philoso-
 phers to satisfy difficul-
 ties in . v. 715
— future life . v. 723
— nature of the soul . v. 728
— at beginning of third
 century, vi. 148, 149 *seq.*, 165
— Christian dogmas, vi. 165-179
— Church organization, vi. 181
 seq
— pagan, under Elaga-
 balus . vi. 281
— under Alexander Severus, vi.
 297
— under Valerian . vi. 428
— (foreign at Rome) . v. 222
— of the State . v. 346
— toleration at Rome . iv. 727
Remaneipatio . v. 253
Remi, Gallic tribe . iii. 174, 204
Remus . i. 5-7
Republic, attempts to re-
 constitute, causes of
 failure . iii. 1, 252
— restored under Em-
 peror Tacitus . vi. 511
Republicans at Philippi, iii. 473
— after Brutus's death, iii. 487
— party censures . iii. 668
— restoration (attempt at)
 iv. 391, 561
Rescripts of Trajan, Marcus
 Aurelius, and Severus . vi. 219
— of Diocletian . vi. 596
Revenues of the Empire
 under Augustus . iii. 722
Rhætians subdued by
 Augustus . iv. 108
— under Hadrian . v. 29
Rhegium faithful to Rome, i. 625
Rhetoric encouraged, v. 655, 665
Rhetoricians paid as teachers
 v. 403
Rhine (barbarians on the), iii. 63
— Cæsar builds a bridge
 across . iii. 161 n
— second bridge . iii. 179
— Trajan . iv. 744
— the frontier of, Roman
 conquest . iii. 636
— legions (flotilla attached
 to) . iii. 719, iv. 58
— frontier attacked by
 barbarians . iv. 106
— Augustus visits . iv. 115
— fortifies . iv. 116

- | | Page | | Page | | Page |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Rhine frontier, time of Nero | iv. 496 | Rome (growth of), under | | Rome (results of Social war | |
| — war of Vespasian on the | iv. 606 | late kings | i. 113, 131 | at) | ii. 579 |
| Rhinoceros, first at Rome | iii. 691 | — towns subject to, under | | — insurrection of slaves, ii. | 600, 601 |
| Rhodes joins Rome in Syrian | | Tarquin | i. 133 | — massacres and outrages | |
| war | ii. 48 | — architecture in | i. 137 | by command of Marius | ii. 604-606 |
| — fleet of | ii. 60 | — review of general con- | | — reforms under Sylla | ii. 710 <i>seq</i> |
| — offers to mediate in third | | dition under the kings | i. 151 | — involved in wars (79 to | ii. 765 |
| Maccedonian war | ii. 105 | — under the patrician con- | | — revolution under Spar- | ii. 772 |
| — makes overtures to | | suls (509-367 B.C.), i. | 153-262 | tacus | ii. 784 |
| Rome | ii. 126, 164 | — increase of territory by | | — under Macer | ii. 784 |
| — withstands Mithridates | | conquest | i. 252 | — conquests in Asia Minor | ii. 804-838 |
| ii. 655, 686 | | — attacked by Gauls | i. 257 | under Lucullus and Pom- | |
| — conquered by Brutus, iii. | 469 | — and sacked | i. 261 | pey | ii. 838 |
| Rhone | i. 579, ii. 493 | — rebuilding | i. 263 | — internal condition, 67 | |
| — Marius occupies | ii. 494, iii. 132 | — capture by Gauls men- | | B.C. | iii. 1 <i>seq</i> |
| Ring used in marriage | v. 252 | tioned by Aristotle | i. 263 | — criminal classes in | iii. 9 |
| Riot under Commodus, | | — slow growth of do- | | — troubles at, up to forma- | ii. 35 |
| caused by scarcity and | | minion | i. 387 | tion of first triumvirate, | |
| plague, against Cleander | vi. 23, 24 | — treatment of conquered | | Caesar's view of the | iii. 58 |
| Roads to Cisalpine Gaul, iii. | 278 | towns in Italy | i. 393 | duties of | iii. 58 |
| Roman majesty | i. 235 | — constitution | i. 412 | — affairs at, during Caesar's | |
| — character | i. 412 | — virtue (ideal of) | i. 484 | proconsulate | iii. 210-270 |
| — policy in provinces | ii. 185 | — losses of, in first Punic | | — corruption at | iii. 238 |
| — army, changes in, ii. | 495 <i>seq.</i> | war | i. 497 | — causes tending towards | |
| vi. 364 | | — increase of territory, i. | 507 <i>seq</i> | monarchy | iii. 271 |
| — people under Augustus | iii. 660 | — increase of wealth | i. 530 | — monarchy at | iii. 360 |
| — roads | iv. 15 <i>seq</i> | — consternation at Hanni- | | — games | iii. 365 |
| — remains in Transylvania | | bal's victories | i. 598 | — state of, after Caesar's | |
| iv. 763 | | — measures at, after Canne | | murder | iii. 415, 418, 419 |
| — walls | v. 30, vi. 518 | — strength reduced by | | — condition of (B.C. 43-36) | iii. 459 <i>seq</i> |
| — civilization (spread of), v. | 42 | Punic wars | i. 615 | — improvements under | |
| — Africa | v. 461 <i>seq</i> | — attempt to revenge the | | Augustus | iii. 523 |
| — Asia | iii. 589 | ruin of Capua by burning | i. 657 | — poverty | iii. 653 |
| — 500 cities of | iii. 594 | — depopulation during | | — absenteeism at | iii. 654 |
| — building materials, iv. | 221 | second Punic war | i. 661 | — growth of the city, iii. | 655 |
| — society during first two | | — assisted by various | | — population | iii. 656 |
| centuries Christian era | v. 233-413, 643 | Italian nations against | | — condition of society at | iii. 668 <i>seq</i> |
| — army, i. 421, iii. 729, vi. | 364 | Hannibal | i. 687 | — beautified by Augustus | iii. 742 |
| — change in its force and | | — conquest of the world | ii. 1 | — tradesmen at | iv. 77 |
| character | vi. 365-375 | by | ii. 1 | — buildings in | iv. 219 |
| Rome (geographical posi- | | — penetrates to the East, ii. | 25 | — material for building | iv. 221, 225 |
| tion of) | I. v | — second war with Mace- | | — peaceful condition of | |
| — soil | I. xxx | don | ii. 28 | city in reign of Nero, iv. | 483 |
| — geological strata | I. xxx | — war with Syria | ii. 41 | — literary condition, iv. | 489, 490 |
| — early human remains | I. xxxvi | — third Macedonian war, ii. | 75-123 | — provincials begin to be | |
| — connection with Oscans | | — conquest of Spain and | | important at | iv. 489 <i>seq</i> |
| and Sabellians | I. xci. <i>seq</i> | influence there | ii. 149-158 | — destructive fire (A.D. 64) | iv. 505 |
| — religion | I. cxxiv | — extent of dominion, ii. | 164 | — city rebuilt | iv. 516 |
| — together with property | | — political changes in, ii. | 285-291 | — disturbances between | |
| was the basis of Roman | | — in the time of Tiberius | | Vitellius and Vespasian | iv. 559, 600 |
| aristocracy | I. cxxvi. <i>seq</i> | Gracchus | ii. 400 | — city beautified by Ves- | iv. 652 |
| — religious organization | I. cxxviii. <i>seq</i> | — alarmed by northern | | pasian | iv. 652 |
| — under the kings (753- | | barbarians | ii. 483 | — city destroyed by con- | iv. 676 |
| 510), formation of people, i. | 1 | — defeated in Gaul | ii. 493 | — restoration by Domi- | iv. 694 |
| — meaning of name | i. 1 | — condition of, at the | | tian | v. 319 |
| — size under kings | i. 37 | opening of the second | | — the city in Roman life | |
| — constitution during the | | Servile war (103-91) | ii. 508 | — its magistrates, juris- | |
| regal period | i. 59-76 | — concentration of Italian | | prudence, &c. | v. 340 |
| — history (sources of), i. | 59-63 | aristocracy at | ii. 536 <i>seq</i> | — garrison of | v. 554 |
| — probable origin of i. | 63-67 | — citizen of, value of title | ii. 536 <i>seq</i> | | |
| — religion and religious | | — position of, in Social war | ii. 553 | | |
| institutions | i. 77-112 | — terror at | ii. 561 | | |
| | | — advantage of her geo- | | | |
| | | graphical position | ii. 561 | | |
| | | — unsuccessful during first | | | |
| | | year | ii. 569 | | |

- Rome (life at), under the
 Empire . . . v. 568 *seq.*, 579
 — plague and fire under
 Commodus . . . vi. 23
 — buildings of Caracalla
 . . . vi. 259
 — scandals under Elaga-
 balus . . . vi. 280
 — alarmed by the incur-
 sions of barbarians . . . vi. 416
 — wall of Aurelian . . . vi. 473
 — under Diocletian, vi. 578, 627
 Romulus . . . i. 5, 12, 64
 — work of . . . i. 76
 — staff of, found . . . i. 263
 Rostra . . . i. 327, 353
 — head placed above, i. 589,
 604, 605
 Roumania, modern Dacia,
 . . . iv. 764
 — colonized by Trajan, iv. 763,
 765
 Rufinus, conquest of Sam-
 nium . . . i. 381
 Rullus (agrarian laws of), iii. 18
 Ruspina, African port . . . iii. 343
 Rutilus (Marcus) . . . i. 347
 Sabina Poppea, wife of
 Otho and Nero . . . iv. 476
 — empress of Hadrian,
 . . . v. 92, 133
 Sabine women (rape of) . . . i. 11
 Sabines . . . i. xcix. 184
 — war with, i. 214, 240, 355
 Sabinus, general in Gallic
 war . . . iii. 156
 — and Eponina (story of)
 . . . iv. 612
 Sacerdotal colleges . . . i. 100 *seq.*
 — filled vacancies by co-
 option . . . i. 109, ii. 712
 — functions . . . v. 366
 Sacred mount . . . i. 217
 — spring . . . i. 602
 Sacrifices . . . i. xcix. 38
 — at funerals . . . v. 279
 Safety (augury of), cere-
 mony . . . iii. 691
 Saguntum, colony of Ardea
 . . . i. xciii
 — besieged by Hannibal, i. 572
 — defence and capture, i. 575
 — engagement of Pompey
 and Sertorius . . . ii. 764 *seq.*
 Saint Acheul (Gallic re-
 mains at) . . . iii. 94
 Salassi (barbarian tribe) . . . ii. 484
 Sales (customs at) . . . i. 149
 Sallust . . . iii. 361
 Salonina (empress), wife of
 Gallienus . . . vi. 416
 Salvius leads the slaves in
 Sicily . . . ii. 510
 — Julianus, jurisconsult
 under Hadrian . . . v. 102
 Samarobriva, Cæsar winters
 at . . . iii. 178
 Sambre (battle of) . . . iii. 148
 Samnites . . . i. ci. *seq.*
 — first war . . . i. 316 *seq.*
 — character of country, i. 317
 Samnites, allies of Rome, i. 322
 — second war (326-312) i. 328
 — third war, i. 344, 353, ii. 681
 — destroyed by Sylla, ii. 702
 Sapor succeeds Ardeshir in
 Persia . . . vi. 343
 — war with Rome, vi. 344, 423
 — sacks Antioch . . . vi. 424
 — at war with Palmyra, vi. 434
 Saracens begin to be noticed
 . . . vi. 353
 Sardinia, i. 476 *seq.*, 505, 526,
 ii. 420, iv. 78
 — Lepidus in . . . ii. 746
 — grain from . . . ii. 798
 Satan . . . vi. 164
 Saturn, god who protects
 the grain . . . i. 77
 Saturninus, tribune, ii. 516, 520
 — with Glaucia seizes the
 Capitol . . . ii. 521, 586
 Satyricon, of Petronius . . . v. 618
 Saxons, origin of name . . . vi. 361
 — aggressive . . . vi. 537
 Scaptia, new tribe formed of
 conquered Latins . . . i. 326
 Scapula, Pompeian leader
 . . . iii. 375
 Scaurus (M. Æmilius), sent
 to settle dispute between
 Jugurtha and Adherbal, ii. 461
 Scepticism (growth of), ii. 236 *seq.*
 Schools . . . v. 404
 — of medicine . . . v. 406, vi. 560
 Science at Rome . . . ii. 217, 282
 — study of . . . v. 658-661
 — and art under Augustus
 . . . iv. 195
 Scipio Barbatus . . . i. 356, 358
 — defeated in naval action
 . . . i. 483
 — (P.) . . . i. 579, 586 *seq.*
 — slain in Spain . . . i. 649
 — (Cneius) in Spain, i. 676 *seq.*
 — (P. C.), in Africa . . . i. 684
 — treatment of mutiny . . . i. 685
 — consul . . . i. 685
 — in Sicily . . . i. 688
 — lands in Africa . . . i. 692
 — returns victorious to
 Lilybæum . . . i. 695
 — triumphal progress
 through Italy . . . i. 695
 — receives name of Afri-
 canus . . . i. 696, ii. 43
 — (L.) . . . ii. 55, 140
 — opposed to Cato, ii. 350 *seq.*
 — in Asia . . . ii. 353
 — Æmilianus . . . ii. 143
 — besieges Carthage . . . ii. 144
 — in Spain . . . ii. 151, 154
 — waning popularity . . . ii. 353
 — campaign in Asia . . . ii. 353
 — refuses to account for
 treasure received . . . ii. 354
 — found guilty of pecu-
 lation . . . ii. 355
 — return to favour, ii. 355, 357
 — last days . . . ii. 358
 — epitaphs . . . ii. 358, 359
 — friendship with Poly-
 bius . . . ii. 377
 Scipio Æmilianus esteemed
 by Cato . . . ii. 378
 — elected censor . . . ii. 379
 — his great qualities, ii. 380 *seq.*
 — condemns the action of
 T. Græchus . . . ii. 416
 — death . . . ii. 419
 — (Metellus), Pompey's
 father-in-law, iii. 267, 340, 352
 — general of Pompey . . . iii. 307
 Scordisci, barbarian tribe, ii. 484,
 iv. 114
 Scribonianus rebels against
 Claudius . . . iv. 436
 Scythians and Sarmatians
 under Augustus . . . iii. 638
 Secular games to celebrate
 1000th anniversary at
 Rome . . . vi. 349
 Segesta, ally of Carthage
 . . . i. 468, 476
 Segobriges, tribe in Gaul, iii. 87
 Sejanus (Ælius), minister of
 Tiberius . . . iv. 329, 343
 — growing unpopularity
 . . . iv. 346
 — made a demi-god . . . iv. 348
 — Tiberius's treatment, iv. 349
 — his murder . . . iv. 351
 Seleucidæ (kingdom of),
 condition about 200 B.C. . . ii. 4
 Sempronian family . . . ii. 397
 Sempronius . . . i. 589, 598, 603
 Senate . . . i. 72
 — authority of . . . i. 154, 300
 — members . . . i. 157
 — action of, on accession of
 plebeians to curule office
 . . . i. 291, 414, 606
 — power of, ii. 48, 254, 317, 322
 — senators degraded . . . ii. 443
 — venality . . . ii. 520
 — Drusus attacks . . . ii. 533
 — reproached by Philippus
 . . . ii. 744
 — grants amnesty to fol-
 lowers of Lepidus . . . ii. 747
 — authority of . . . iii. 254
 — irregular proceedings
 against Cæsar . . . iii. 268
 — punishment of expul-
 sion . . . iii. 1, 2
 — punishment of Cati-
 line's conspiracy . . . iii. 29, 32
 — retires to Capua with
 Pompey . . . iii. 276
 — position under Cæsar, iii. 383
 — in time of Augustus, iii. 668-
 672, 693, 727, iv. 251
 — under Tiberius . . . iv. 280
 — opposed to Claudius, iv. 393-
 395
 — provincial aristocracy
 admitted to, by Claudius
 . . . iv. 435
 — under Vespasian . . . iv. 650
 — under Domitian . . . iv. 723
 — protected by the Anto-
 nines . . . iv. 739
 — protection renewed by
 Trajan . . . iv. 744
 — renewed by Hadrian, v. 6, 109

- Senate, duties and office of
 new v. 509
 — its pomp v. 510
 — servility v. 512, 513
 — as school for administrators v. 514
 — Severus's treatment vi. 67
 — Macrinus vi. 268
 — Julia Mæsa granted a seat in vi. 279
 — of women, its duties, vi. 279
 — under Elagabalus vi. 283
 — under Maximin, and anarchy vi. 334, 338
 — asked to choose a successor to Aurelian vi. 508
 — under Tacitus vi. 511
 — honoured by Probus, vi. 517
 Senatus consultum, ii. 93, 95, 320, iii. 132, 135
 Seneca, philosopher, tutor to Nero, son of Agrippina iv. 448, 458
 — contrasted with Cicero iv. 459, 475, 489, 522, 526
 — on slavery, v. 640, 658, 674
 Senones i. 254, 256, iii. 178
 — second invasion, i. 267, 511
 Septimius murders Pompey iii. 318
 Sequani iii. 130 *seq.*, 134
 Serapis (temple of) at Rome ii. 243
 Serica or China iv. 77, 434
 Serpent charming I. ci
 Sertorius in Spain, ii. 738, 747
 — leader of Marian party ii. 748
 — review of previous career ii. 748-753
 — position in Spain, ii. 754 *seq.*
 — education of Spaniards by ii. 756
 — defeats Pompey ii. 759
 — negotiates with Mithridates ii. 766
 — escape at Bilbilis ii. 769
 — retreat of Pompey and Metellus ii. 769
 — assassinated ii. 770
 Servile war ii. 393
 — suppressed in Sicily by Calpurnius Piso ii. 395
 — (second) ii. 508, 514
 Servilius i. 175, ii. 513, 796
 Servius Tullus, sixth king (578-534) i. 35
 — great wall i. 36
 — reforms i. 117
 — war with Veientes i. 118
 — raises the plebeians i. 119
 — institutes festivals i. 119
 — institutes the lustrum i. 120
 — political reforms i. 123
 — laws i. 127
 — increase of territory i. 131
 — improvements in Rome i. 132
 — treaties i. 133
 — Greek versions of his history i. 133
 Severus (Septimius), general
 under Commodus vi. 37
 — opposes Julianus vi. 38
 — emperor vi. 41
 — African origin vi. 42
 — the military power, triumphs in vi. 45
 — honours Pertinax vi. 47
 — his rivals, Albinus and Niger vi. 48
 — expedition to the East, vi. 50
 — victory over Niger vi. 51
 — disunion in the Empire, vi. 52
 — siege of Byzantium vi. 53
 — restoration of Byzantium vi. 55
 — his justice vi. 56
 — further Eastern conquests vi. 56
 — return to Europe vi. 57
 — adoption of Albinus vi. 57
 — trouble with Albinus, vi. 58
 — adopts M. Aurelius as his father vi. 61
 — senate turns against him vi. 62
 — war in Gaul vi. 64
 — victory over Albinus, vi. 65
 — battle of Lyons vi. 65
 — treatment of senate vi. 67
 — expedition against Volugeses IV., of Parthia vi. 71
 — siege of Atræ vi. 73
 — his children vi. 74
 — results of Eastern campaign vi. 75, 78, 86
 — inscriptions vi. 75
 — Mesopotamia vi. 77
 — Antioch vi. 79
 — his wife, Julia Domna vi. 81
 — in Palestine vi. 88
 — in Egypt vi. 90-99
 — the Danube frontier, returns to Rome (A.D. 202) vi. 100
 — arch of triumph vi. 100
 — his præfect Plautianus vi. 101-109
 — tyranny vi. 113
 — his character vi. 114 *seq.*
 — his wife vi. 116
 — persons of note his friends, vi. 119, 120-122, 124
 — legislative work, vi. 124-130
 — moral and military reforms vi. 135
 — buildings vi. 137, 138
 — his journeys, his sons vi. 142
 — he visits Britain vi. 142
 — his old age and death (A.D. 211) vi. 145
 — estimate of his character and rule vi. 146
 — treatment of Christians vi. 210
 Seville, founded under Augustus iv. 60
 Sextius (L.), reformer i. 280
 Sibyl of Cumæ i. 43, 45, 115
 Sibylline books, i. 512, 554, 602, ii. 253, 678, iii. 239
 — Sylla renounces ii. 719
 — Augustus preserves, iii. 747
 Sicily (condition of), at time of war with Pyrrhus i. 371, 380
 — first Punic war i. 464
 — war carried back to, i. 482
 — condition of i. 492
 — lost to Carthage i. 498
 — declared Roman province i. 501, 606
 — in Social war ii. 562
 — plundered by Rome, ii. 615
 — granary of Rome, i. 502, 638 *seq.*, 645
 — rising of slaves in, ii. 509
 — Lepidus's lieutenant, Perperna, in ii. 746
 — grain ships from, fail, ii. 798
 — receives the Jus Latii iii. 394
 — condition under Augustus iii. 575, iv. 64, 78
 Sidicini i. 322, 327
 Sila (forest of), refuge of slaves I. xi
 — last retreat of Hannibal, I. xii
 — supplied Roman timber I. xii, ii. 576
 Silanus, lieutenant of Scipio i. 683
 Silius, lover of Messalina, iv. 441
 — Italicus v. 646
 Silk, value at Rome in time of Cæsar iii. 365, iv. 87
 Sixtus (Pope) martyred, iv. 432
 Slavery declined under influence of philosophy, v. 640
 — Seneca and D. Chrysostom on v. 673
 Slaves for debt i. 305
 — ii. 306, 310, 312, 386, 387
 — immense number of, ii. 386, 389
 — cruelty to ii. 390 *seq.*
 — revolt of, in Sicily, ii. 393
 — picture of ii. 509
 — freed and enlisted by Pompeius Silo in the Social war ii. 574
 — exported from Gaul, iii. 126, 643
 — war under Spartacus, ii. 773
 — of Epirus esteemed, iii. 565
 — under the Empire, v. 245, 600
 — under Severus vi. 126
 — in third century vi. 382
 — legislation for, under Nero iv. 473
 — from Cappadocia v. 73
 — relations with masters, v. 294 *seq.*
 — improvement in their position v. 298, 640
 — freed by will v. 642
 Smyrna, Hadrian visits, v. 68, 183
 Soemias vi. 270
 Social war, its causes, ii. 536-549
 — peculiar character, ii. 550 *seq.*

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Social war, strength of opposing parties . . . ii. 552</p> <p>— generals . . . ii. 554</p> <p>— two consuls defeated, alarm at Rome . . . ii. 561</p> <p>— second year (89) . . . ii. 569</p> <p>— peace restored . . . ii. 572</p> <p>— terrible results . . . ii. 576</p> <p>Societies . . . v. 389</p> <p>— under supervision . . . v. 390</p> <p>— literary . . . v. 654</p> <p>Socii or Federals . . . i. 397</p> <p>Sophists under Hadrian, v. 115</p> <p>Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal . . . i. 690</p> <p>Sora, garrison in valley of Liris . . . i. 316</p> <p>Spain conquered by Carthage . . . i. 528</p> <p>— second Punic war in, i. 572</p> <p>— Hannibal in . . . i. 578</p> <p>— many tribes in, join Rome . . . i. 606, 627</p> <p>— operations under the Scipios in . . . i. 676 <i>seq.</i></p> <p>— sedition in . . . i. 684</p> <p>— condition of, about 200 B.C. . . ii. 3</p> <p>— second conquest of . . . ii. 65</p> <p>— from 178 to 153 B.C., ii. 150</p> <p>— becomes Romanized, ii. 157 <i>seq.</i></p> <p>— barbarians enter . . . ii. 494</p> <p>— Sertorius in command of . . . ii. 738</p> <p>— impoverished and discontented . . . ii. 770</p> <p>— treatment by Pompey . . . ii. 771</p> <p>— war in (B.C. 45) . . . iii. 370</p> <p>— review of its condition . . . iii. 371, 372</p> <p>— at time of Augustus . . . iii. 552-555, iv. 59</p> <p>— admiration of Rome, iv. 61</p> <p>— merchandise . . . iv. 82, 85</p> <p>— revolt against Nero (A.D. 68) . . . iv. 551</p> <p>— under Vespasian . . . iv. 669</p> <p>— under the Antonines, v. 420</p> <p>— chief Roman cities of, v. 429</p> <p>— distinguished natives, v. 430</p> <p>— invaded by Franks, vi. 415</p> <p>Spaniards (distinguished), at Rome, time of Nero, iv. 489</p> <p>Sparta (condition of) about 200 B.C. . . ii. 15, 44</p> <p>Spartacus, a Thracian, elected with two others chief of the gladiators . . . ii. 773</p> <p>— calls 100,000 slaves to liberty, opposed by Gellius and Crassus . . . ii. 778</p> <p>— deceived by pirates, ii. 779</p> <p>— struggle with Crassus, death . . . ii. 780</p> <p>Spinning . . . i. 46, 141</p> <p>Spoleto repulses Hannibal . . . i. 597</p> <p>Sportulæ . . . v. 382</p> <p>Spurius Mælius . . . i. 236</p> <p>— Carvilius . . . i. 616</p> | <p>Statius . . . v. 646</p> <p>Statue (first), at Rome, i. 37</p> <p>— of Jupiter modelled by the Etruscan Turrinus, i. 115</p> <p>— adapted by Romans from neighbours . . . i. 139</p> <p>— of Juno carried from Veii . . . i. 248</p> <p>— of Marcus in forum, i. 351</p> <p>— of Jupiter on Capitoline hill . . . i. 361</p> <p>— from Ambraia brought to Rome . . . ii. 65</p> <p>— of Jupiter at Olympia . . . ii. 115</p> <p>Statues brought from Greece to Rome . . . ii. 137</p> <p>— plundered from Sicily . . . ii. 622</p> <p>— brought from Greece, ii. 742</p> <p>Stipula, origin of term, ii. 115</p> <p>Stoicism . . . v. 213 <i>seq.</i>, 668</p> <p>— its teaching approaches Christianity . . . v. 675</p> <p>Stoics at Rome, iv. 515, 536 <i>seq.</i>, v. 675</p> <p>Stola, matron's mantle, i. 145, 267</p> <p>Strabo, geographer . . . iv. 170</p> <p>Strenæ, origin of étrennes, i. 143</p> <p>Suessa, modern Sessa . . . i. 327</p> <p>Suessiones, defeated by Cæsar . . . iii. 146</p> <p>Suessula (victory of) during Samnite war . . . i. 321</p> <p>Suetonius, general under Nero, iv. 499, 656, v. 117, 653</p> <p>Suevi, barbarian tribe . . . iii. 63</p> <p>— described by Cæsar, iii. 137, 158, 630, iv. 113, vi. 360</p> <p>Suffrage under Augustus, iii. 767</p> <p>Suicide at battle of Philippi . . . iii. 475</p> <p>— epidemic under Tiberius . . . iv. 356</p> <p>— under Claudius, iv. 435, 437</p> <p>— defended by Stoics . . . v. 216</p> <p>Sulpicius sent with two other commissioners in search of good laws . . . i. 212</p> <p>— Galba (consul 200 B.C.) sent against Philip V. . . ii. 29</p> <p>— (tribune 88 B.C.), ii. 582, 586</p> <p>— killed . . . ii. 589</p> <p>— his schemes brought forward again . . . ii. 600</p> <p>Sumptuary laws, ii. 444, iii. 368, iv. 520</p> <p>— of Aurelian . . . vi. 502</p> <p>Sun worship introduced by Elagabalus at Rome . . . vi. 282, 500</p> <p>Sundials . . . ii. 261, 282</p> <p>Superstitions . . . i. 96 <i>seq.</i>, 143</p> <p>— in time of distress . . . i. 287, 516, 555, 649, ii. 411, iii. 747</p> <p>— attacked by Tiberius, iv. 320</p> <p>Suze . . . iv. 55</p> <p>Sybaris . . . I. cxii</p> <p>Sylla, his character contrasted with Marius's . . . ii. 477</p> <p>— in Social war . . . ii. 564</p> <p>— rivalry with Marius . . . ii. 580</p> | <p>Sylla, his action in the East . . . ii. 581</p> <p>— appointed to command against Mithridates . . . ii. 581</p> <p>— marches against Rome . . . ii. 589</p> <p>— disturbances in Rome, ii. 590</p> <p>— conduct in the East (92) . . . ii. 649</p> <p>— besieges Athens . . . ii. 658</p> <p>— campaign in Greece, ii. 659 <i>seq.</i></p> <p>— victory at Orchomenus . . . ii. 670</p> <p>— receives submission of Mithridates . . . ii. 672</p> <p>— return of, to Greece, ii. 674</p> <p>— lands at Brundisium . . . ii. 677</p> <p>— his cause that of aristocracy . . . ii. 678</p> <p>— victory at Præneste . . . ii. 682</p> <p>— enters Rome . . . ii. 683</p> <p>— dictatorship . . . ii. 690</p> <p>— proscriptions, ii. 691 <i>seq.</i>, 700</p> <p>— reforms and laws . . . ii. 707</p> <p>— absolute power . . . ii. 708</p> <p>— encourages religion . . . ii. 718</p> <p>— abdication of (79) . . . ii. 720</p> <p>— his wife Metella . . . ii. 721</p> <p>— second marriage . . . ii. 721</p> <p>— death and funeral, ii. 722-725</p> <p>— estimate of his work, ii. 727-731, 733</p> <p>— work undone, ii. 790, iii. 243</p> <p>Sylvanus, rural god . . . i. 81</p> <p>Sylvia . . . i. 4, 139</p> <p>Syphax, king of Numidia, i. 684, 689, 695</p> <p>Syracuse, besieged by Carthage . . . i. 380</p> <p>— Hiero II., king of . . . i. 465</p> <p>— Theocritus living in, i. 469, 487</p> <p>— Gelon, i. 627, 638, 639, ii. 510, iv. 487</p> <p>Syria (war against, 192-188) . . . ii. 41</p> <p>— naval engagement with Rome . . . ii. 54</p> <p>— terms of peace with Rome . . . ii. 56</p> <p>— under Augustus . . . iii. 597</p> <p>— formed into a province . . . ii. 836</p> <p>— prosperity . . . iv. 100, vi. 80</p> <p>Syrtis (the) . . . ii. 481, iii. 614</p> <p>Syrus, dramatic writer . . . iv. 190</p> <p>Table (luxury of the), under the Empire . . . v. 580-582</p> <p>Tacfarinas . . . iv. 368</p> <p>Tacita (worship of), recommended by Numa . . . i. 20</p> <p>Tacitus . . . iii. 621</p> <p>— account of Germans, iii. 633</p> <p>— on Tiberius . . . iv. 327 <i>seq.</i></p> <p>— his history fails, iv. 646, 699, v. 652, vi. 514</p> <p>— (emperor) . . . vi. 510</p> <p>— his character and rule . . . vi. 513</p> |
|---|---|--|

Tages, a dwarf who taught wisdom to Etruria . i. lxxi
 Tanaquil, wife of Tarquin . i. 30-35
 Tarentine pirates . i. 342
 Tarentum . i. 368, 373
 — conquest of, i. 380, 647-658
 Tarpeian hill . i. 131
 — rock . i. 215-220
 — Manlius cast from . i. 279
 — Sylla orders a slave to be cast from, for treachery . ii. 589, 676
 Tarquin the Elder (616-578) fifth king . i. 29-35
 Tarquinii, war with . i. 268
 Tarquinius Superbus, fourth king (534-510) . i. 40
 — wars . i. 41
 — colonies . i. 42
 — death . i. 57
 — political action . i. 128
 Tarraconensis (Uterior Spain is called) . iv. 60
 Tarragona taken by Franks . iv. 414
 Taurini, Gallic tribe . i. 513
 Tauromenium, situation of . i. 502-639
 Taxation of the provinces . ii. 183, 191, 338, 389, iv. 471
 — of matrons by second Triumvirate . iii. 460
 Taxes under the Empire,
 — land tax . v. 559
 — capitation . v. 560
 — on legacies . v. 560
 — on domain lands . v. 560
 — indirect . v. 561
 — coronary gold, payments in kind . v. 562
 — under Diocletian . vi. 588
 — land, chief source of revenue . i. 278
 — under Augustus . iii. 721
 — under Nero . iv. 471
 Taxiles, ally of Mithridates . ii. 665
 Teanum capital of Samnites . i. 317
 — given up after first Samnite war . i. 321
 Tell (the) . iv. 306, v. 462
 Tellus, god of lower world, i. 81
 Tempe, vale of . ii. 101
 Temples built by Etruscans under Greek influence . i. 115
 Ten tables, laws of . i. 213
 Tergeste . iii. 560
 Teronce, poet . i. 265, 353, 379, ii. 633
 Terentia, wife of Clodius, iii. 43
 Terentilius Arsa, bill of, i. 201, 211
 Torni, cascade of . i. 363
 Torracina . i. 243
 — garrison at . i. 316
 Terra Mater, goddess of lower world . i. 81
 Tortullian . v. 753, vi. 202-212
 Testudo . ii. 105
 Teutobokh, king of Teutones . ii. 502, 505

Teutones . ii. 483, 497
 Thapsus, battle of . iii. 350
 Theatres . v. 605
 — the shows . v. 606
 Thebes destroyed . ii. 135
 Theft, severe punishment of . i. 219
 Theocritus . i. 469
 Thermae, at Rome . iv. 220
 — of Caracalla . vi. 260
 Thermopylae, battle of . ii. 49
 Thessalonica . iii. 564
 Thirty tyrants, period of . vi. 412
 Thrace . ii. 639, 784
 — under Augustus . iii. 621
 — taken by barbarians, iv. 114, 306, 322, v. 436
 — Probus in . vi. 520
 Thrax, victim of Nero . iv. 533
 Thurium, battle of . ii. 666
 Thusnelda brought to Rome . iv. 302
 Tiber, quays built . i. 131, 273
 — overflow of banks . i. 287
 — regulated by Augustus . iii. 744
 — bed deepened by Claudius . iv. 412
 Tiberius, son of Livia, iv. 105-107
 — in Germany . iv. 122
 — first declares the danger which threatens from barbarians, defends Germany . iv. 133
 — his services . iv. 145
 — reign of . iv. 269
 — character in early life . iv. 270-274
 — first measures . iv. 279
 — military revolts . iv. 281-287
 — his government at Rome . iv. 291
 — in provinces . iv. 298
 — domestic troubles . iv. 301
 — poisoning of Germanicus . iv. 307
 — doubts as to crime . iv. 310
 — rewards the family of Germanicus . iv. 315
 — administration of . iv. 315
 — morals, supervision of, iv. 316
 — suppression of Jews, iv. 319
 — administration of justice . iv. 320
 — economy . iv. 321
 — revolts in provinces . iv. 322
 — in Africa . iv. 325
 — death of Drusus . iv. 330
 — change in character of . iv. 335
 — severities of . iv. 340-342
 — he leaves Rome for Capri . iv. 342
 — imprisons Agrippina, iv. 344
 — causes Sejanus to be murdered . iv. 351
 — cruelties . iv. 352
 — doubts regarding the atrocities of Capri . iv. 355 n
 — administration during closing years . iv. 359 seq

Tiberius, death of . iv. 364-367
 — not apotheosised, or placed on official list of emperors by senate . iv. 370
 — Gemellus, grandson of emperor Tiberius . iv. 370
 Tibullus, elegiac poet . iv. 170
 Tibur . i. 326, 352
 — sanctuary . i. 391
 Ticinus, battle of . i. 589, 327
 Tigranes, ally of Mithridates . ii. 642 seq
 — death . ii. 650, 805, 816
 — struggle with Lucullus . ii. 817
 — with Pompey . ii. 825
 — of Armenia . iv. 98
 Timesitheus, minister of Gordian II. . vi. 341
 — wise administration, vi. 342
 — honours and death (A.D. 243) . vi. 344
 Titienses, Roman tribe, i. 67, 117
 Titus, son of Vespasian . iv. 589
 — undertakes reduction of Jerusalem . iv. 592
 — on death of Vespasian becomes emperor . iv. 670
 — Berenice . iv. 672 n
 — generosity . iv. 672-675, 679
 — death . iv. 679
 — Jewish legend . iv. 680
 Toga praetexta . i. 594
 — virilis, assumption of, v. 242
 — festivities on the occasion . v. 379
 Toilet, articles for ladies' . v. 573 n
 Tombs . v. 282, 635
 — Etruscan, I. lxxxiii. lxxxvii
 — customs concerning, i. 88, 89
 Torquatus, origin of word, i. 268
 Toulouse . iii. 555
 Toys . v. 241
 Trade at Rome . iv. 77
 — under the Antonines, v. 475, 477
 — possibly with China . v. 478
 — custom house dues . v. 479
 — results of, extended, v. 481
 Traditional kings of Latium . i. 2 seq
 Trajan, governor of Upper Germany under Domitian . iv. 704, 710
 — adopted by Nerva . iv. 742
 — birth and early offices . iv. 743
 — elected emperor (A.D. 98-117), first measures, iv. 744
 — his works on the Rhine, iv. 745
 — military successes, iv. 745, 746
 — returns to Rome (99), simplicity of life, iv. 748, 751
 — Dacian war . iv. 751
 — works on the Danube, iv. 755
 — great roads . iv. 756
 — conduct of war . iv. 757
 — victory over Decebalus . iv. 758

- Trajan, second war (A.D. 105), bridge over Danube . . . iv. 760 n
— final conquest of Dacians . . . iv. 762
— column . . . iv. 766, 775
— general, Cornelius Palma . . . iv. 775
— administration of, iv. 779, 788
— establishes secret ballot . . . iv. 780
— character . . . iv. 782
— financial matters . . . iv. 789
— benevolent measures, iv. 789, 794
— public works . . . iv. 795, 804
— builds Ancona and Civita Vecchia . . . iv. 796
— sanitary works . . . iv. 796
— in Egypt . . . iv. 800
— bridges . . . iv. 800
— embellishments in the provinces . . . iv. 800
— immense number of his works . . . iv. 804
— correspondence of Pliny and . . . iv. 807
— letters concerning Christians . . . iv. 815, 818
— treatment of Christians . . . iv. 819
— his expedition against the Parthians (A.D. 113) . . . iv. 824
— conquest of Armenia, iv. 827
— at Antioch, Mesopotamia . . . iv. 828
— enters Babylon (A.D. 116) . . . iv. 829
— disturbances in the West . . . iv. 832
— review of his reign, iv. 833, 834
— bridge over Danube, v. 27
Trasimene (battle of) . . . i. 595
Travelling under the Empire . . . v. 482, 489
— dangers to travellers, v. 489
Trebia (battle of) . . . i. 591
Treboman law excluding patricians from the tribunate . . . i. 232
Trerus, river . . . i. 189
Treveri, tribe famed for horsemanship in Gaul, iii. 147, 259, iv. 608
Trevi (fountain of), water brought to Rome by Agrippa . . . iii. 743
Triarii (the) . . . i. 349, 423
Tribes of Rome, i. 67 *seq.*, 119
— now formed . . . i. 270
— thirty five, i. 386, 498, iii. 56, v. 519, 520
Tribune of the celeres, first magistrate in the city after the king . . . i. 73
— duties of . . . i. 126
— office of . . . i. 159
— appointment of Brutus and Sicinius . . . i. 165
Tribune, important results of tribunate . . . i. 166
— growth of power, i. 178, 238
— increase of number . . . i. 204
— Camillus, tribune seven times . . . i. 266, 415
— office held by persons of high rank . . . ii. 287
— murder of the tribune Octavius . . . ii. 407
— loss of rights under Sylla . . . ii. 711
— proposed restoration, ii. 783
— Licinius Macer on . . . ii. 784
— Pompey restores the rights of tribuneship . . . ii. 790
Tribuni majores and Tribuni minores . . . iii. 729
Tripoli . . . v. 463
Triremes . . . v. 555
Triumphal ceremonies, i. 519, ii. 118 *seq.*
Triumvirate of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus . . . iii. 53
— second (B.C. 43-36), iii. 440, 460
— renewed friendship, iii. 496
Triumviri capitales . . . i. 295
Trojan origin of Rome (rise of the myth of) . . . i. 63
Tullia . . . i. 39, 40
Tullianum prison . . . iii. 33 n
Tullius, chief of Volscians, i. 191
Tullus Hostilius (673-640), third king . . . i. 20-28
— legend of Livy concerning . . . i. 21-27
— military institutions, i. 113
Tumuli . . . I. lxxxiv
Tusculum . . . i. 184, 326, iii. 451
Tutela (legend of) . . . i. 267
Twelve Tables (laws of), i. 217
— characteristics of, i. 223, ii. 277
Tyrras, Roman colony at the mouth of Dniester . . . v. 23
Tyre . . . iii. 599, vi. 81
Tyrrhenians . . . I. xliii
— pirates of . . . i. 342
Tyrrhenian Sea . . . i. 506
Ulpian . . . vi. 120, 283, 300
Umbrians . . . i. 211 *seq.*, 625
— resist Scipio . . . i. 687
Unelli, Gallic tribe . . . iii. 155
Usury . . . i. 143, 144, 160, 289, 306, 307
— in provinces . . . ii. 631
— limited by Lucullus . . . ii. 815
Utica . . . i. 566, 687, 690, ii. 142, iii. 340
Uxellodunum, last Gallic town to resist Caesar . . . iii. 208
Vaccæi . . . ii. 69, 151
Vadimonius (lacus) . . . i. 348, 367
"Væ victis" . . . i. 261
Vaga, trading station . . . ii. 467
Valeria, wife of Coriolanus, i. 191
Valerian law confirmed . . . i. 294
— way . . . i. 404
— emperor . . . vi. 411, 413, 424
— persecutions . . . vi. 427, 441
Valerius (consulship of) . . . i. 158
— opposes Appius . . . i. 214
— (M.), combat with a Gaul . . . i. 273
— surnamed Corvus, i. 274 *seq.*, 290, 318, 320, 347, 355
— consul . . . i. 51
— (Procillus) . . . iii. 141
— (Flaccus) . . . ii. 343, 359, 668, 670, 671, 674
— (Messala), friend of Augustus . . . iii. 717
Valens, legate of German legion . . . iv. 574
Vanquished (treatment of) . . . i. 326, 362
— at Capua . . . iv. 656
— enemies (treatment of) . . . i. 389, 396, ii. 36, 75, 121, 305
— pillage of . . . ii. 334 *seq.*
Varian law . . . ii. 582, 586
Varinius (prætor) sent against the gladiators under Spartacus . . . ii. 774
Varius, author of the Augustan age . . . iv. 170
Varro (consul 216 B.C.), i. 607, 615
— on agriculture . . . iii. 746
— estimate of . . . iv. 186-189
Varus . . . iv. 128
— defeat and death . . . iv. 132
— eagles recovered . . . iv. 424
Vatinian plebiscitum gives Caesar command in Gaul and Illyria . . . iii. 61, 63
Veii . . . i. 38, 187
— war against (B.C. 482), i. 197, 241, 243
— capture of . . . i. 244 *seq.*
— proposal that Romans should migrate there . . . i. 263
Velaria, screen from the sun in the theatre . . . ii. 743
Velina, tribe of . . . i. 498
Velinus Mons . . . i. 362
Velites . . . i. 423
Velitræ (revolt of) . . . i. 265
— conquest . . . i. 326
Veneti attack Gauls . . . i. 258
— powerful Gallic tribe, iii. 153
— their ships . . . iii. 153
— defeated by Romans, iii. 155
Venetia . . . i. 353, 510
Ventidius, general under Antony . . . iii. 491, 514
Venus Erycina (temple of) . . . i. 478, 488
Vercellæ (battle of), Cimbri defeated at . . . ii. 505
Vercingetorix, Gallic leader . . . iii. 180
— his military talents . . . iii. 182 *seq.*
— operations against Caesar . . . iii. 196
— his end . . . iii. 202
Vergasivellaun . . . iii. 201
Verginius Rufus . . . iv. 552
Verres (C. Licinius), malpractices of . . . ii. 622 *seq.*
— death of, by proscription . . . iii. 450

- Verulamium . . . iv. 498
 Verus (L. Ceionius Commodus), chosen to succeed Hadrian . . . v. 129
 — sent to Pannonia, death before Hadrian . . . v. 134
 — (brother of above), v. 171, 173
 Vesta, public god . . . i. 77
 — worship restored by Augustus . . . iii. 751
 Vestals . . . i. 4, 104-107, 117
 — punishment of . . . i. 327, 614
 — honoured by Augustus . . . iii. 753
 — Domitian's severity, iv. 696, vi. 246, 284
 Vesontium (battle of) . . . iv. 549
 Vespasian, his honesty as collector of taxes, review of his life . . . iv. 588
 — commands three legions against Jews . . . iv. 589
 — Josephus's prophecy, iv. 591
 — proclaimed emperor in Alexandria (A.D. 69), iv. 591
 — struggle with Vitellius . . . iv. 594, 595
 — emperor (A.D. 69), war with Batavi . . . iv. 604
 — peace restored . . . iv. 614
 — Jewish war . . . iv. 614, 632
 — at Rome . . . iv. 641 *seq.*
 — wars and peace . . . iv. 644
 — his character . . . iv. 646
 — encourages good men, iv. 648
 — renewal of Roman nobility . . . iv. 649
 — his justice . . . iv. 650
 — tries to restore religion . . . iv. 651
 — buildings . . . iv. 652-655
 — accused of parsimony, iv. 656
 — administration of finance . . . iv. 660
 — endowment of literature and art . . . iv. 661
 — care of allied and subject nations . . . iv. 666
 — his foreign policy, iv. 668
 — his death . . . iv. 670
 — work in Africa . . . v. 452
 Vesuvius (Mount) . . . I. xiv
 — battle at . . . i. 323
 — occupied by gladiators . . . ii. 773
 Vetera Castra . . . iv. 606
 Vettius heads a Servile insurrection . . . ii. 509
 Veturia, mother of Coriolanus . . . i. 191
 Vin Egnatin, military road . . . iii. 307, 470, 565, 576
 Vibenna (Cæles) . . . i. 118
 Vicesima hereditatum . . . iii. 722
 — . . . iv. 12
 Victorina, mother of Victorinus . . . vi. 446
 Victorinus, Gallic emperor . . . vi. 445
 Vienna (Vindobona) . . . v. 434
 Villa . . . i. 141, 143
 Vindalium, great battle with Gallic tribes . . . ii. 487
 Vindex (Julius), leads revolt against Nero . . . iv. 549
 Vindicius . . . i. 51
 Virgil expatriated from Mantua . . . iii. 490
 — poems . . . iii. 745
 — death (19 B.C.) . . . iv. 105, 169, 175-183
 Virginia . . . i. 215
 Virginius . . . i. 215
 Viriathus in Spain . . . ii. 151
 Viromandui opposed to Cæsar . . . iii. 147
 Vitellius, rival of Otho, iv. 572, 578
 — emperor . . . iv. 582
 — character and acts, iv. 584-586
 — opposes Vespasian . . . iv. 592
 — abdication . . . iv. 597, 598
 — continued fighting, iv. 598, 599
 — death . . . iv. 603
 Vitriified buildings in Gaul . . . iii. 127
 Vitruvius on architecture . . . iv. 170, 196
 Volaterræ . . . ii. 687, 689
 Volcæ Tectœagi, barbarians in Gaul . . . ii. 493
 — defeated by Marius . . . ii. 496
 Volcanic eruptions . . . vi. 395
 Volcanoes (active European) only found in Italy . . . I. xiii
 Volero . . . i. 201
 Vologeses . . . iv. 491
 — IV., king of Parthia . . . vi. 70
 Volsci . . . I. xc. *seq.*
 Volscians, war with, i. 163, 186
 — conquest of . . . i. 190
 — attacks on Roman territory . . . i. 240
 — finally destroyed . . . i. 270
 Voltumna (temple of), meeting-place of Etruscan chiefs . . . I. lxix
 Volusenus sent to explore Britain by Cæsar . . . iii. 163
 Vulcan . . . i. 77
 Vulcanal . . . i. 78
 Vulci (tomb at) . . . i. 118
 Vulciates . . . i. 367
 Vulso (Manlius), consul . . . i. 479
 — in Galatia . . . ii. 57
 — concludes Asiatic war . . . ii. 62, 64
 Wall of Romulus . . . i. 10
 Walls as fortifications . . . v. 30
 — useless when not defended . . . vi. 518
 Water supply . . . v. 604
 Wealth (increase of), ii. 225 *seq.*, 346
 — of Romans under the Empire compared with that of modern nations . . . v. 571, 578
 — decline of, in third century . . . vi. 386
 Weapons . . . i. 423 *seq.*
 — changes made by Marius . . . ii. 495
 — used by Sylla . . . ii. 666
 Wedding customs . . . v. 254
 Weights and measures under supervision in time of Augustus . . . iv. 75
 — used in trade . . . v. 480
 Wheat for distribution supplied by frumentary provinces . . . iii. 738
 — scarcity under Commodus . . . vi. 23
 Widowers and widows . . . v. 263
 Wills . . . v. 284, 387, 642
 Wine . . . iv. 76, 85, 87, v. 585
 Winter (hostilities during), i. 247
 Women (position of) in early Rome . . . i. 144
 — could not, except Vestals, bequeath property . . . i. 145
 — their extravagance limited . . . ii. 346 *seq.*
 — appear in politics . . . iii. 43
 — place in society from 79 to 30 B.C. . . iii. 222
 — deputation of, wait on triumvirate . . . iii. 460
 — (notable) at Rome under Augustus . . . iii. 682
 — position in Rome . . . iii. 755
 — as portrayed by Virgil . . . iv. 179
 — practising as physicians . . . iv. 198
 — Hadrian's law concerning . . . v. 107
 — the condition of married . . . v. 259-271
 — morals . . . v. 629
 — virtues and learning of . . . v. 630, 631
 Worship of emperors and others . . . iv. 38
 Writing in ancient Italy (use of) . . . i. 59
 Xanthippus, the Lacedæmonian . . . i. 481
 Xanthos conquered by Brutus . . . iii. 469
 York, Eboracum . . . v. 47
 Zama (battle of) . . . i. 692 *seq.*
 — importance of . . . i. 696
 — Jugurtha at . . . i. 468
 Zealots . . . iv. 625, 629, 631
 Zenobia, queen of Palmyra . . . vi. 474
 — her origin, beauty, and learning . . . vi. 475
 — her court . . . vi. 477
 — her wars . . . vi. 478-484
 — correspondence with Aurelian . . . vi. 487
 — defence of Palmyra, vi. 488
 — escape . . . vi. 489
 — in Aurelian's triumph, vi. 497
 — after life . . . vi. 498
 Zeugitana . . . ii. 451

WIDENER LIBRARY

Harvard College, Cambridge, MA 02138: (617) 495-2413

If the item is recalled, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return. (Non-receipt of overdue notices does not exempt the borrower from overdue fines.)



Thank you for helping us to preserve our collection!

